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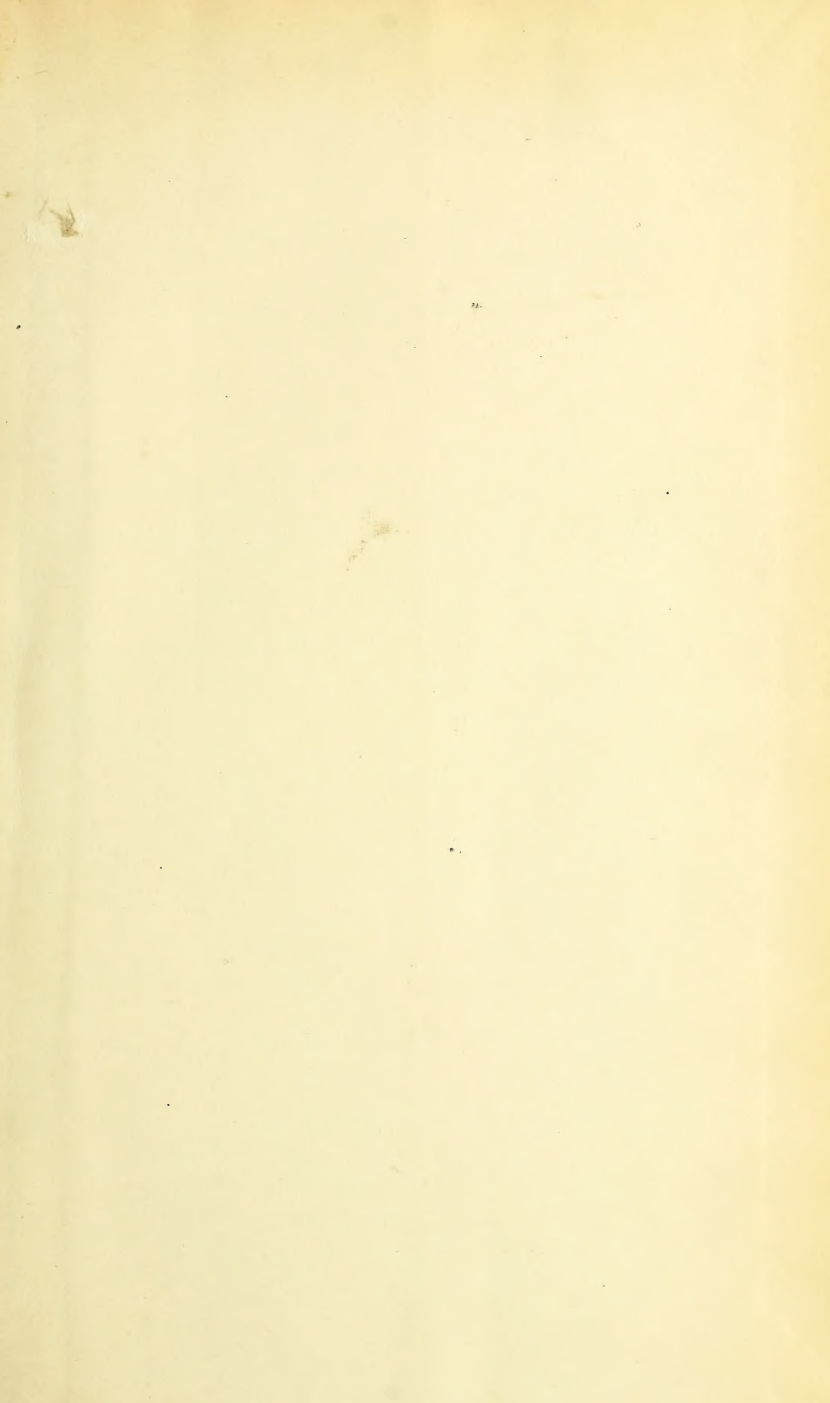
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THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The

American Historical Review

AMUNCLAE A SERPENTIBUS DELETAE

LEAVING Tarracina and going toward Fundi, after having walked the via Appia for four miles, between the skirts of Mount Giusto and the banks of the river Canneto, you come to one of the issues of the large lake, Fundanus, formed by the numerous streams which drain the ample valley surrounding it. This lake in ancient times must have occupied a much wider territory than at present and must have had much more active and direct communication with the sea. The region, which will shortly be traversed by a railroad, destined to make it once more, as in the past, the route of more rapid communication between Rome and Naples, is now infected with deadly malaria and has for many scores of years been avoided by those travellers who, from Latium, venture as far as the coasts of Campania. Yet this same region was famous in the Roman era for the fertility of its plains, which, though of a swampy nature, yielded the renowned vines which produced the Caecuban wine. Likewise, as is proved by the conspicuous ruins of funerary monuments along the via Appia, and as is indicated by the story of Speluncae (now Sperlonga), where Tiberius came so near to losing his life, it was one of the favorite spots among the great and wealthy of Rome.¹ Here, too, near the lake of Fundi, is said to have flourished the city of Amyclae or Amunclae, whose disappearance gave rise to the strangest and most startling stories.²

¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, IV. 59; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 39; cf. Strabo, V. 233 C. From passages in Strabo, *loc. cit.*; Pliny, *Natural History*, XIV. 52, 65; Athenaeus, *Epitome*, I. 27; Martial, XII. 17 (cf. XIII. 115), it is demonstrated that the *Fundana vina* were distinct from the *Caecubum*. Moreover Pliny says that even before his time the vines of the *ager Caecubus*, supported on poplar trees planted in this swampy region, had become no longer as famous as they had once been. Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXIII. 35.

² Isigonus Nicaensis, frag. 17, in Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, IV., p. 437: *λίμνην εἶναι Μυκλαίαν καλούμενην καὶ παρ' αὐτῇ πόλιν ἔρημον, ἣς τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας στερηθῆναι τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑδρῶν.*

Amunclae, it seems, was a city founded by the Laconians led by Castor and Pollux, the two splendid divinities of Sparta. They were joined by Glaucus son of Minos, from Crete, who, it would seem, fraternized with the natives of the place. The Laconians belonged to the Pythagorean sect, which forbade the slaying of animals; consequently the founders of the town, being averse to killing the snakes which infested the surrounding swamps, were exposed to their deadly bites.³ By means of this tale was explained the proverbial phrase *tacitae Amyclae*, recorded in Lucilius, Cicero, and Vergil. Cicero, however, adopted a quite different explanation from this. According to him the inhabitants of Amyclae had perished through a lack of courage, enduring offenses from their enemies without resistance and, in fact, in perfect silence. According to the ancient commentators the version of Lucilius, alluded to with the quotation: *Nam scio Amyclas tacendo perisse*,⁴ was quite similar to that of the Roman orator. The version which was supposed to have been known to Lucilius was the following: It was said that the inhabitants of Amyclae frequently received false reports of the approach of the enemy, whereupon, growing tired of being so often frightened to no purpose, they promulgated a law by which such announcements were forbidden. But one fine day, it seems, the enemy actually came, and, as no one dared to warn the imprudent people, they fell into the power of their assailants and were slain.⁵

It has been suggested that the story of the Italian Amyclae or Amunclae, inasmuch as the town was founded by Laconians, may very probably have been a repetition and translation of what had already been related concerning Amyclae in Laconia, which, after many long wars, fell in the time of King Teleclos into the hands of the Spartans.⁶ The fact that in other places near Amyclae Spartan pioneers settled in ancient times goes far to support this hypothesis. Caieta (now Gaeta), according to the source of Strabo, was so named by the Laconians, who, in their language, called any

³ Servius *ad Aeneid.* X. 564.

⁴ Cicero and Lucilius *apud* Serv. *ad loc.*

⁵ Servius, *loc. cit.*; Varro *apud* Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, VIII. 104: "in Italia Amynclas a serpentibus deletas" (*cf. ibid.*, III. 59); Solinus, II. 32. Isigonus (see note 2) says that the Amynclaeans were deprived of their own city διὰ τὸ πλεῖθος τῶν ὑδρῶν. It has been conjectured, however, that the words πλεῖθος τῶν ὑδρῶν are to be corrected into τῶν ὄψεων.

⁶ The Greek origin of this tale is sustained, for instance, by Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, II., p. 658. On the other hand, the Roman character of the proverb on Amunclae was pointed out by Otto, *Römische Sprichwörter*, 103. *Cf.* Hirschfeld in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, *sub voce*.

concavity *καίεται*. Formiae, also, must have been a colony belonging to the same people, and its Laconian name, "Ὀρμία (Hormiae), was given to it on account of its good landing. We have no other hint concerning the formation of Spartan or Laconian colonies in Italy except at Tarentum.⁷ For Amyclae, Caieta, and Formiae, we are left to depend upon historical reconstructions based upon analogy of names and upon grammatical etymologies.

The mention, moreover, of the Pythagorean sect to which the founders of Amyclae, led by the Dioscuri, belonged, puts us easily in the way of discovering the origin of these curious tales. Tarentum, as is well known, after the disappearance of Pythagoras and the persecution of the Pythagoreans, became the citadel of their doctrines; and in the fourth century B. C., the Aristotelian philosopher Aristoxenos of Tarentum, speaking of the natives of Italy who had become followers of Pythagoras, mentioned the Messapii, the Lucani, and the Romans.⁸ And this statement is confirmed by the story of King Numa, who, in spite of the nearly two hundred years which must have elapsed between him and the Samian philosopher, was made his disciple in the same manner as the Laconians at Amyclae in the times of the Dioscuri and Glaucus.

It is not necessary, however, to seek in Aristoxenos for the localization of the myth of the Dioscuri in the Italian Amunclae; one may quite as well consider writers who have followed the same directions and criteria. We find mentioned, for instance, and located on the borders of the Pomptine marshes and hard by the boundaries of the region of which we are speaking, Metabus, lord of Privernum and father of the virgin Camilla, and also the swamp, Satura.⁹ Now it is evident that Metabus is but the localization of the Messapian hero, of whom we find another localization in the Latin Messapus, sung by Vergil. And as for the *atra palus Saturae*, also celebrated by the Mantuan poet, the Hellenization of the indigenous name, *Astura*, is quite evident. It is altogether easy, in fact, to recognize in the swamp Satura the port Saturium, near Tarentum, which received its name from Satura, the nymph beloved by Neptune, who

⁷ Strabo, V. 233 C; cf. Paulus Diaconus, *Epitome of Festus*, 83 M, s. v.; Serv. *ad Aeneid.* VII. 695. The modern name of Mola di Gaeta means, as I learned on the very spot, the mill of Gaeta. In our day the town has again been christened Formiae.

⁸ Aristoxenos, frag. 5, in Müller; *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, II., p. 273. For a discussion of this entire question see my *Storia di Roma*, I. 1, pp. 16 ff., 287 ff.

⁹ The Vergilian myth of Metabus, father of Camilla, is already found in Cato *apud* Serv. *ad Aen.* XI. 567. Servius, perhaps, like Vergil, had his Ennius before him; that is to say, Cato's master and friend.

was the protector of the city.¹⁰ The Italian name, *Astura*, was made Hellenic by a Tarentine writer, just as *Amunclae* was Hellenized into *Amyclae*. In the same way the name of the neighboring town of *Sinuessa* was changed to the Greek name *Sinops*.¹¹ Among the writers of Magna Graecia who were most successful in transplanting the myths of their fatherland to Latin and Italian soil may be mentioned Livius Andronicus, Pacuvius, and Naevius; but foremost and most efficacious among them was the Messapian, Ennius, who, born near Tarentum, was so imbued with the culture of that town as to be considered a Tarentine. This fact may well lead us to suppose that, even before Lucilius and Strabo, Ennius must have known of the localization of the Laconian and Messapian heroes at Privernum, Astura, Amyclae, Caieta, and Formiae.

But it is useless to linger on hypotheses which reveal the truth in only a very general way. Rather we shall find it advantageous to consider the Greek character of the story and its probable Tarentine origin, and to try to discover which among the legendary tales concerning the end of Amunclae is the most ancient and the least mingled with fable, and which contains some kind of historical nucleus. I say historical nucleus, because no critic, however skeptical, would be justified in asserting that Amunclae is the pure fancy of grammarians or antiquaries, or that the name of the sea, of the gulf, and of the Amunclani mountains is not derived from a city of such a name. Certainly there must have been a time when these shores were dangerous for Greek navigators and commerce;¹² and, if in the eighth century, B. C., Circe and the Laestrygonians were localized in the region of Monte Circello, that proves that the Chalcidian navigators of Cumae and Regium dared not venture too freely on the Auruncian, Volscian, and Latin shores, where Graius and Latinus were supposed to be Circe's sons, and where Agrius and Latinus, according to Hesiod, were masters of the splendid Tyrrhenians. But the Phocaean navigators from Velia to Massalia and

¹⁰ Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII. 801; cf. Serv. *ad loc.*: "alii 'Asturae' legunt quod si est paludem pro flumine posuit, nam haud longe a Terracina oppidum est Astura et cognominis fluvius."

¹¹ The form *Amunclae* is used, for instance, by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, III. 59, alongside that of *Amyclae*, whereas VIII. 104 has *Amyncias*. 'Ἀμυνκλανός is given by Athenaeus, III. 121 a. The best MSS. of Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 59, have *Amunclanus*. Solinus, II. 32, reverses the real order of the transition from the one name to the other, where he says: "Amunclas quas Amyclas ante Graeci condiderant." With regard to the substitution of Sinops for Sinuessa, see Livy, X. 21; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, III. 59.

¹² Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, II. 13; Horace, *Ode*, III. 17, 1 ss.; cf. Pais, *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*, I., p. 258.

from Massalia returning to the Aegean Sea could not have helped, as they coasted the Italian shores, stopping also on the coasts of the gulfs of Caieta and Fundi. Those who stopped at Circeii and at Antium, at the mouth of the river on which rose the temple of Satricum (Conca), evidently did not avoid the extended and fertile shore which was to become famous for the Caecuban vine.¹³ Nor can we suppose that these shores were left untouched by the active navigators of the Greek cities of Campania, especially Cumae, which, at the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth, had political relations with the people on the coast of Latium. That this must have been so is shown by the story of Aristodemus Malacus and of Aricia in the time of the Etruscan invasions. There is no reason, however, for disbelieving in the existence of Amunclae, or for rejecting without investigation the account of its sudden disappearance.

It is not now a question of discussing either of the stories of the destruction of Amunclae, whether the result of the laziness of the silent citizens, or due to the bite of the serpents, which the faithful keepers of the Pythagorean doctrines would not take measures to prevent.¹⁴ The first of these traditions, perhaps, as we have already said, a translation of a Greek story regarding the Peloponnesian Amyclae, we have no means of reconstructing with precision. The second is a foolish idea of those who insisted in finding in the well-known Pythagorean silence the explanation of a pre-existing proverb. On the whole, however, while the most recent tradition speaks of snakes, the other and more probable tells of wars brought on by hostile peoples. How serpents should have been substituted for men in the story may be readily understood when we consider that to the Latin *serpentes* corresponds the Greek word ὄφεις. Now from Hesychius and from Stephen of Byzantium we learn that some people, instead of saying *Opici*, pronounced Ὀφικολί, and that

¹³ It is hardly necessary to mention the passage of Herodotus, I. 167, where it is said that the Phocaeans were the first to navigate the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian seas. In regard to the travels of the Massiliots to Rome, see Justinus, XLIII. 3, 5, and regarding the travels of the Massiliots to Athens, see Demosthenes, πρὸς Ζηρόθην, 883 (4, 5): Concerning the mouths of the Tiber, and Antium and Circeii, the chief stations of the Greek navigators along the shores of Italy, see Pseudo-Scylax, 4 ss. The results of the excavations at Conca (Satricum) are given in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, pp. 23, 69, 99, 167, 190; 1898, p. 166.

¹⁴ Solinus, II. 32, who probably draws his material from such a source as Varro, speaking of the snakes of Amunclae, relates these particulars: "illic frequens vipera insanabili morsu brevior haec ceteris quas in aliis advertimus orbis partibus ac propterea, dum despectui est, facilius nocet."

the *Osci* were called thus ἀπὸ τῶν ὄφεων.¹⁵ Joannes Lydus, in his turn, informs us that ὀφφικίζειν meant to speak the Oscan language.¹⁶ The simultaneous existence of the forms *Samnites* and *Saunites*, *Sabini* and *Sapini*, to indicate people of the same origin, explains to us how near to the forms *Opicoi* and *Osci* may be that of Ὀφικοί. The question whether the cult of the snakes, which is characteristic not only of various Italic races of Oscan origin, like the Marsi, but also of many other primitive races, both ancient and modern, may have given rise to this designation and form, this we leave for students of primitive religions to consider. It is nevertheless a well-established fact that in the cult of the *hirpus*, of the bull, and of the *picus* is to be found the origin of the names *Hirpini*, *Itali*, and *Piceni*.¹⁷ For one part we find it important only to establish that the exchange between Ὀπικοί and Ὀφεις gave birth to the legend of the serpents, a legend known to Isigonus of Nicaea, and already accepted by Varro, among Latin authors, and afterwards repeated by the writers who profited more or less directly by the writings of this Roman *Polyhistor*.¹⁸

If, then, we discard the snakes and the virtues of the Pythagoreans who preferred to be bitten rather than kill them, there remain the Opici, the enemies of Amunclae. There remain, that is to say, the Ausones, a people of Oscan origin who really inhabited the mountains above the plains of Fundi, and above the *ager Caecubus* and the swamps near which the town of Amunclae rose. That Amunclae should have been destroyed by Oscan people may well be admitted; besides, there is the tradition, well known to Vergil, of the hero Camers, the son of Volceus and master of most extensive lands—

qui fuit Ausonidum et tacitis regnavit Amyclis.¹⁹

Nor does the view maintained by the Vergilian commentator, who knew that the Ausones, together with the Cretan Glaucus, were sup-

¹⁵ Stephen of Byzantium, *s. v.*: Ὀπικοί ἔθνος Ἰταλίας . . . οἱ δὲ ὅτι Ὀφικοί ἀπὸ τῶν ὄφεων. Cf. Hesychius, *s. v.*

¹⁶ Lydus, *De Mensibus*, I. 13, says, regarding Laurentum, that it was held by some to be an Opic city, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὀππικίζειν, καὶ ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὀφφικίζειν τὸ βαρβαρίζειν Ἰταλοὶ λέγουσιν. Cf. Cato apud Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXIX. 14.

¹⁷ The cult of the snakes among the Marsi, who charmed them, is well known. See the material gathered by Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, II., p. 454. If I am not mistaken the coins of the Peligni hint at the cult of snakes. See Garrucci, *Monete dell' Italia Antica*, tav. 72, no. 28 6s.

¹⁸ In regard to Isigonus, source to Varro, and the most ancient sources of Isigonus himself, see Susemihl, *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, I., p. 480.

¹⁹ Vergil, *Aeneid*, X. 564.

posed to have founded our town, disagree with this interpretation. But putting aside mythical names and circumstances, it is well known that the mixing and fusion of indigenous populations with foreigners has been quite characteristic of many colonies, both ancient and modern. The story which Thucydides tells, for example—to keep within the limits of Greek colonization—regarding the Greek founders of the Hyblaeon Megara and the Sicels who showed them the seat of their new city, leads us to infer that there was such a fusion.²⁰ Thus it was that Hellenes and Oscans lived in community at Cumae.²¹ Thus, later, Greeks and Samnites lived together at Neapolis and Parthenope.²² In the times of Ducetius the new generations of Sicels, who had been civilized by contact with the Greeks, and had become also more numerous and more daring, attempted to supplant their masters, or at least to free themselves from oppression. Likewise new generations of Sabellic stock endeavored to overpower their kinsmen at Capua and Arpi, where indigenous elements lived in community with the Greeks.²³ Similarly, in the case of Amunclae, it is easily understood how the people who dwelt round about upon the ramparts of the Apennines, or those who had penetrated thither from the valley of the Trerus and the Liris, must have swooped down upon the city of the plain, which had prospered above all on account of its Hellenic trade.

A simple glance at the geographic position of Amunclae is sufficient to demonstrate to us how the life of this town must have developed in consequence of those same conditions which created the flourishing Pisa, on the Etruscan coast, and Satricum, on the coast of the Volscian country. It was the very same conditions that caused the prosperity of Aquileia, Altinum, and Venice, and later of the neighboring Grado. The Amunclaeian swamp, communicating with the waters of the sea and offering convenient hiding places and defenses against the attacks of the natives, must very early have favored the development of a commercial factory, and later of a real town; just as the swamp sacred to the nymph, Marica, at the mouth of the Liris or Glanis, gave life to Minturnae. It is also probable that in ancient times lake Amunclanus, as Isigonius called it, or lake Fundanus, as it was later called, was much more exten-

²⁰ Thucydides, VI. 4.

²¹ Velleius, I. 4.2: *Cumanos Osca mutavit vicinia.*

²² Livy, VIII. 22 ss.

²³ The attempt by the Italic Sidicini to conquer the territory of Capua is well known. See Livy, VII. 29 ss. Regarding Arpi and the sea towns of Apulia, the words of Livy, IX. 13.7 (*ad circa 320 B. C.*) can be connected with the Greek coins of such cities in those times. See Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 37 f.

sive, perhaps double the present area. Nor does there seem to be any reason to doubt that the lakes S. Puoto and Lungo, which today are separated from lake Fondano by a plain about three miles in width, formed originally part of a single swamp. That the plain surrounding Amunclae was almost entirely occupied by this swamp, and that the ground devoted to the culture of the Caecuban vines was very restricted, is quite evident from the passage in Pliny where it is said that those vineyards had been destroyed partly through neglect of the farmers and partly by the narrowness of the ground made still narrower by the canal with which Nero purposed to join Ostia and Baiae.²⁴ Then again, the declaration by this same author that floating islands existed in this lake leads one to believe that there was once a deeper and more extended body of water than exists today, and that large quantities of earth have been washed into it by the rich torrents flowing down from the surrounding mountains.²⁵

The progressive filling up of the swamp with earth brought down by the streams from the mountains rendered the seat of the Amunclaeans less healthy and secure. The same thing happened, as the ancients themselves observed and recorded, to other cities situated near swamps that had become malignant.²⁶ It is sufficient to recall that the island of Circeii became a peninsula,²⁷ and that the same conditions were repeated on the shores of the Adriatic. Salapia, which had become unhealthy in the times of the free Roman republic, transported itself a distance of four miles inland.²⁸ Nor is it to be forgotten how, on these very same coasts, Sipontum and then Manfredonia struggled in vain against these same topographic conditions. When Amunclae became a prey of the neighbors who had come down from the mountains, it had to be abandoned for the same reasons that led to the abandonment of the palisades at the estuary of the Sarnus, not far from the region where as early as the fifth century, at least, Pompeii and Nuceria arose. For the destroyed Amunclae, Fundi was substituted. The new city was naturally built in a dryer region, and, being built by the conquerors, who

²⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XIV. 61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 209. In regard to floating islands in the different lakes of ancient Italy (for example, the lakes of Cutiliae and Vadimonis), a research of scientific character is still lacking, but there is no reason to doubt what even today many conscientious observers in different regions of the world have noted.

²⁶ Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, I. 4.12. In regard to the twenty-four cities existing in the Pomptine marshes, see Mucianus *apud* Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, III. 59.

²⁷ Theophrastus, *De Historia Plantarum*, V. 8.3, *et apud* Plin. *N. H.*, III. 57 ss.; Varro *apud* Serv. *ad Aen.* III. 386.

²⁸ Vitruv. *de Arch.*, I. 4.12.

had come down from the mountains, it arose on the lower slopes of Mount Passignano. In like manner the old Minturnae, buried in swamps which are now dried up, was succeeded in the Middle Ages by the castle of Traetto, built upon a hill.

Fundi, as is well known, is one of the most noted towns of ancient Italy, thanks to the superb girdle of walls of the type called also by the ancients cyclopean. Such walls, in the eyes of the ancients, as also in ours, were in strong contrast with the more modest constructions built of smaller and more regular parallelepipeds, or with less monumental materials. Such constructions, however, do not, as is now generally known, date back to so early an age as the ancients supposed. The recent excavations at Norba—excavations begun in the hope of finding traces of the very ancient city of the so-called Pelasgians—have led to the conclusion that such works barely date back to the fifth century, while some of them belong to a still later time.²⁹ When the interest in this kind of study and research has increased among us, we shall some day examine the walls of Circeii, Signia, Arpinum, Aletrium, and others of the many ancient Italian fortifications; and perhaps we shall succeed in unveiling the secret of the age in which they were built. For the present we are only left to conjecture that the magnificent quadrangular wall surrounding Fundi does not belong to an age anterior to the fifth century. The possibility that the city of Amunclae may have been lost to the Greek element and to their indigenous allies about this same age is obvious. It was, in fact, in the fifth century that the Sabellic tribes of the North conquered the plain of Latium and displaced the Etruscans; while those of the South, having overpowered the Greeks of Cumae and the Etruscans of Volturnum, founded, in that century, the state of Capua.

The place where the ancient Amunclae stood has not been discovered.³⁰ But one day, perhaps, when excavations shall have been made, traces of the ancient town may be found in a region near the lake of Fundi. Who knows? Then, very probably, will be brought to light the ruins of palisades like those which have been found at

²⁹ Regarding the excavations at Norba, see the report of L. Savignoni in the *Proceedings of the Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (Rome, 1904), III., p. 255 ss.

³⁰ For more or less uncertain and even suspicious indications, see Romonelli, *Topografia Istorica del Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1819), p. 409, who, referring to Pratilli, mentions a locality called Micano two miles from Terracina, and records also a spot named Vasche di Amicle, near the river Canneto. (Quoted by Notarianni.) Cf. B. Amante, *Memorie Storiche e Statutarie di Fondi* (Rome, 1903), p. 7.

Adria, those on which a more ancient Pisa rested, and those which the excavations begun by me have demonstrated to exist even in the old estuary of the Sarnus, near Pompeii.³¹

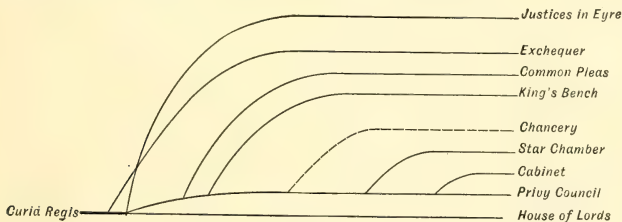
³¹ As soon as the official commission which is in charge of the new excavations will print the materials sent in by me two years ago, I will discuss the palisades excavated in 1903 near the river Sarno, through my initiative and orders, and the precious Greek and Italian objects found there.

ETTORE PAIS.

THE DESCENDANTS OF THE CURIA REGIS

THE publication by Mr. L. O. Pike of a chart of the descent of English institutions,¹ leads me to print a somewhat similar chart which I have used for a number of years past in my instruction in English constitutional history in Yale College. It may prove useful to other teachers.

It will be seen at once on comparison that Mr. Pike's chart is more complete than mine, that it contains more detail, and gives more attention to chronology.² My own was kept intentionally free from detail, and made to include only the larger features of the constitution in order to bring out as clearly as possible, for class room purposes, the relation of the principal modern institutions back to the *curia regis*, and the generic position which the *curia* occupies in constitutional history. From its very simplicity, I venture to think that this chart brings out graphically these points and relationships, which it is of great importance to keep in mind, more clearly than does Mr. Pike's. This is its only special value.



To understand English constitutional history, particularly the more puzzling features of it, there are two things which must be seen clearly at the beginning and never lost from sight. The first of these is the position of the *curia regis* in the feudal state—the fact that the feudal government was simple and undifferentiated and

¹ *The Public Records and the Constitution. A Lecture* (London, 1907), by Luke Owen Pike.

² Reference should also be made to a chart of the descent of French institutions, which has special reference to the various royal councils, published by M. Noël Valois in *Le Conseil du Roi aux XIV^e, XV^e, et XVI^e Siècles* (Paris, 1888). If I am correctly informed a chart, somewhat like Mr. Pike's, has been used in instruction in Oxford for some time. It has not been published, I believe, but it would be to the general advantage if it were.

that the general organ of that government, the organ for everything not merely local, was the *curia regis*. All those functions which we are accustomed to assign in the modern state to different institutions, or sets of officials, were exercised in the feudal state by the *curia* without consciousness of difference or any attempt at distinction. I am accustomed in my instruction to emphasize three general functions as especially defining the business of the *curia*—legislative, judicial, and conciliar.³ The point which it is of the greatest importance to understand clearly at the start is that these three functions, which we should call distinct, were exercised without distinction by the one institution, the *curia regis*. As I have said elsewhere: "In a single session of the court, advice might be given to the king on some question of foreign policy, and on the making or revising of a law; and a suit between two of the king's vassals might be heard and decided: and no one would feel that work of different and somewhat inconsistent types had been done. One seemed as properly the function of the assembly as the other."⁴

The second fact which must never be forgotten is the existence of the *curia regis* in two forms. The fact is so peculiar according to modern ideas that it is difficult to describe it in language which is at the same time accurate and sufficient to convey an understanding of the case. The *curia regis* was constantly in session under one or the other of two forms, never at the beginning apparently under both at once. One is the great *curia regis*, called after a time *magnum concilium*, meeting occasionally only, on special summons, and composed of all tenants in chief, lay and ecclesiastical, who might be summoned, and the great officers of state and of the household, who undoubtedly in early times would all be included also among the tenants in chief. The other is the small *curia*, practically in constant session when the other was not, called, when men began to distinguish it somewhat clearly from the other, the perpetual, or ordinary council, and composed of the royal officers, and of tenants in chief who were in attendance on the king, or might happen to be at court. The point of importance and of difficulty is not the composition or the meeting of the smaller *curia*, but the fact that it was in rights, powers, and functions, the larger. It was not a committee of the larger, its powers were not vested in it by the larger, it was not responsible to the larger; it was the larger. What-

³ For completeness, the function of the *curia* in reference to the administrative system should also be included, and Mr. Pike's chart brings out as mine does not the relation of these institutions in later times to the others which were derived from the common source.

⁴ *The Political History of England*, vol. II. (1905), p. 182. See the fuller account of these institutions there given.

ever the larger might do the smaller might do, and the three functions which I have named as belonging to the *curia regis* in the feudal state were exercised by it under both forms alike.

These then are the two essential things to have clearly in mind in beginning to study the constitutional history of England: that all the functions of the state were exercised by a single institution, and that that institution existed under two forms which were distinguished from each other only by size and manner of meeting. Now the process by which the modern constitution has been formed from this simple feudal state was that of differentiation—first the setting off of a particular sort of business into a class by itself, for mere convenience sake, then the assignment of certain men belonging to the *curia* to have the special duty of looking after that class of business. So gradually a cleavage took place which after a time gave rise to a separate institution. In this way one institution after another was thrown off from the original *curia*, the differentiation following always the general lines of function. It should be noticed also that it was from the small *curia* in all cases that the splitting off occurred. This is natural, for the fact that it was in constant session put into its hands particularly the carrying on of government.

What the first differentiation was, I believe no one can say with certainty, but I am inclined to think that it was a tendency to set off by itself the financial business which we know as exchequer business. However this may be, the differentiation which is fundamental and which has the largest influence on later history is that of the smaller from the larger *curia regis*. As the formation of two distinct institutions, generally recognized as such, this took place only during the thirteenth century, but we may fairly say that it began when men began to notice that the *curia* existed under two forms. We probably can detect this fact in written evidence no earlier than the reign of Henry I.⁵ I have endeavored to represent on the chart the two as going on side by side and united till about that time, and then beginning to separate and, from a later point, from some time in the thirteenth century, rather before the separation of the chancery system, as running down to the present along two parallel lines.

At this point must be emphasized the fact that both divisions alike carried on permanently the three functions of the original

⁵ To me it seems impossible to suppose that the *curia* did not exist in these two forms in the earlier reigns, and probably back to the very beginnings of this form of political organization. Whether this can be proved or not, is another matter.

curia. Circumstances tended in each line to emphasize one of these functions, to subordinate another, and to dwarf almost out of existence a third, but all three belonged equally to each institution after the separation. The union of new, representative elements with the *magnum concilium* to form Parliament, threw the emphasis in that line upon the legislative, but the House of Lords continued to exercise the judicial function, though it did not share it with the House of Commons, which could inherit nothing from the *curia regis*.⁶ The separate conciliar function practically disappeared, though not as the right of the individual peer, nor would its exercise by the House of Lords at any time in the past have seemed a straining of the constitution. Along the other line it was the conciliar function which was naturally emphasized, the judicial remained, but in a subordinate place, and the legislative became insignificant, the modern orders in council bearing scarcely a trace of the source from which they came. It is only by having this fact clearly in mind that we can understand the reason for such seeming anomalies in the English constitution as the process of impeachment, and the existence of two supreme courts of appeal, the one, the House of Lords, primarily a legislative body, the other, the judicial committee, a part of the king's council.

A third differentiation began, as I think probable, at about the same time as the two already mentioned, though it was not put into permanent form until later,⁷ that of the justices in eyre, intended at the start merely to exercise in local districts, instead of at the king's court, for convenience and greater efficiency, both administrative and judicial functions of the *curia*.⁸ The itinerant justices' court was a session of the *curia* held locally. By degrees the administrative functions, which these itinerant courts had exercised in the counties, came to be better performed by other institutions which had in the meantime been developing, and they gave themselves up more and more exclusively to their judicial work, but unimportant relics of the old administrative functions of the *curia regis* may still be found in the operation of these courts in England, and of their American representatives, our circuit courts. I have made the line which represents the development of the exchequer court to cross the line of these courts, and brought it into close relation with those

⁶ That the judicial power of the House of Lords was exposed to some danger in the thirteenth century from the development of royal justice, and in the fourteenth from some confusion of mind on the part of Parliament, are no doubt facts, but neither affected the final result in the least.

⁷ See my article in this REVIEW, VIII. 487.

⁸ Mr. Pike's chart distinguishes the justices of assize from the justices in eyre, and this should of course be done in any detailed study.

of the other common law courts, because in my use of this chart I have emphasized the judicial development and paid little attention to the administrative. Of the three common law courts, I think I have placed about correctly the time and chronological order of their evolution, but it is impossible to indicate on a chart the fact that they were brought into existence by the continuous operation of the same principle.

The separation of the chancery system from the council I have shown by a broken line because, while the jurisdiction of the chancellor was a jurisdiction belonging to the council, developed by it, and derived by the chancellor from it, the chancellor never exercised that jurisdiction himself in or through the council, but only outside it, as more or less of a usurpation, an absorption at least of a function not originally pertaining to him. The function, however, just as truly belonged to the *curia regis* as did that which fell to the common law courts. The Court of Star Chamber is always a difficulty to the beginner in constitutional study. The origin and right of its functions, its institutional standing-ground, and the ease with which such a seemingly anomalous piece of machinery was set up and operated, with no sense of anything revolutionary or unusual, are found puzzling. It is most easily understood, as is the historical ground of a separate chancery system, when it is carried back to the original *curia* and its relationship to that institution is made clear.

The last differentiation which I notice is that of the cabinet, but this is of so peculiar a character as to give rise to a problem for the maker of a chart. Historically it is clearly an offshoot of the council and should be so represented. But it has now absorbed the whole conciliar function of the old *curia*, and left the Privy Council existing, so far as real business goes, only in committees. Should it not be the ending of the main line instead of an offshoot? Again the cabinet has brought together in its hands functions which make it, startlingly for modern times, a reproduction of the old smaller *curia*. Control of the administrative system belongs to it. Its relation to Parliament almost makes it a legislative body. It has been called a third house. Only the judicial function is lacking. A comparison of this sort brings out clearly the position of the cabinet in the modern constitution, but it is quite as easy to show historically that it derives from its line of descent only one of these functions, the conciliar, and that its administrative and legislative responsibilities have come to it from other sources.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION: THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE QUESTION¹

THE news of the passage of the Boston Port Bill reached the southern provinces in the summer of 1774. In North Carolina, as elsewhere, meetings were held in the principal towns and in several of the counties, and a general meeting was proposed, to be composed of deputies chosen from every county and town entitled to representation in the Assembly. This first general convention of the people of North Carolina was held in New Bern on August 25, 26 and 27, 1774. On the last day resolutions were adopted declaring allegiance to the crown of Great Britain but vigorously asserting rights as Englishmen, denouncing the Boston Port Bill, naming three delegates (William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell) to the Continental Congress to be held in Philadelphia the following autumn, and recommending "to the deputies of the several Counties, That a Committee of five persons be chosen in each County by such persons as accede to this association to take effectual care that these Resolves be properly observed and to correspond occasionally with the Provincial Committee of Correspondence of this province."²

The committee for Mecklenburg County, in Charlotte, on May 31, 1775, passed a set of resolutions which were published in *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* (Charles Town) for June 13, 1775; in *The North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern) for June 16, 1775; and in *The Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington) for June 23, 1775. The following are the resolutions as they appear in *The North-Carolina Gazette*:

Charlotte Town, Mecklenburg County, May 31.
This Day the COMMITTEE met, and passed the following

RESOLVES:

WHEREAS by an Address presented to his Majesty by both Houses of Parliament in *February* last, the *American Colonies* are declared to

¹ *The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775, and Lives of Its Signers.* By George W. Graham, M.D. (New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company. 1905. Pp. 205.)

² *The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence: A Study of Evidence Showing that the Alleged Early Declaration of Independence by Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, on May 20th, 1775, is Spurious.* By William Henry Hoyt, A.M. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. xv, 284.)

³ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IX. 1043-1049.

be in a State of actual Rebellion, we conceive that all Laws and Commissions confirmed by, or derived from the Authority of the King or Parliament, are annulled and vacated, and the former civil Constitution of these Colonies for the present wholly suspended. To provide in some Degree for the Exigencies of the County in the present alarming Period, we deem it proper and necessary to pass the following RESOLVES, *viz.*

1. That all Commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the Crown, to be exercised in these Colonies, are null and void, and the Constitution of each particular Colony wholly suspended.

2. That the Provincial Congress of each Province, under the Direction of the Great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive Powers within their respective Provinces; and that no other Legislative or Executive does or can exist, at this Time, in any of these Colonies.

3. As all former Laws are now suspended in this Province, and the Congress have not yet provided others, we judge it necessary, for the better Preservation of good Order, to form certain Rules and Regulations for the internal Government of this County, until Laws shall be provided for us by the Congress.

4. That the Inhabitants of this County do meet on a certain Day appointed by this Committee, and having formed themselves into nine Companies, *to wit*, eight for the County, and one for the Town of *Charlotte*, do choose a Colonel and other military Officers, who shall hold and exercise their several Powers by Virtue of this Choice, and independent of *Great-Britain*, and former Constitution of this Province.

5. That for the better Preservation of the Peace, and Administration of Justice, each of these Companies do choose from their own Body two discreet Freeholders, who shall be empowered each by himself, and singly, to decide and determine all Matters of Controversy arising within the said Company under the Sum of Twenty Shillings, and jointly and together all Controversies under the Sum of Forty Shillings, yet so as their Decisions may admit of Appeals to the Convention of the Select Men of the whole County; and also, that any one of these shall have Power to examine, and commit to Confinement, Persons accused of Petit Larceny.

6. That those two Select Men, thus chosen, do, jointly and together, choose from the Body of their particular Company two Persons, properly qualified to serve as Constables, who may assist them in the Execution of their Office.

7. That upon the Complaint of any Person to either of these Select Men, he do issue his Warrant, directed to the Constable, commanding him to bring the Aggressor before him or them to answer the said Complaint.

8. That these eighteen Select Men, thus appointed, do meet every third *Tuesday*³ in *January, April, July, and October*, at the Court-House, in *Charlotte*, to hear and determine all Matters of Controversy for Sums exceeding Forty Shillings; also Appeals: And in Cases of Felony, to commit the Person or Persons convicted thereof to close Confinement.

³ *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* prints "Thursday", but all other contemporary copies and the court records themselves show "Tuesday" to have been correct.

ment, until the Provincial Congress shall provide and establish Laws and Modes of Proceeding in all such Cases.

9. That these Eighteen Select Men, thus convened, do choose a Clerk to record the Transactions of said Convention; and that the said Clerk, upon the Application of any Person or Persons aggrieved, do issue his Warrant to one of the Constables, to summons and warn said Offender to appear before the Convention at their next sitting, to answer the aforesaid Complaint.

10. That any Person making complaint upon Oath to the Clerk, or any Member of the Convention, that he has Reason to suspect that any Person or Persons indebted to him in a Sum above Forty Shillings, do intend clandestinely to withdraw from the County without paying such Debt; the Clerk, or such Member, shall issue his Warrant to the Constable, commanding him to take the said Person or Persons into safe Custody, until the next sitting of the Convention.

11. That when a Debtor for a Sum below Forty Shillings shall abscond and leave the County, the Warrant granted as aforesaid shall extend to any Goods or Chattels of the said Debtor as may be found, and such Goods or Chattels be seized and held in Custody by the Constable for the Space of Thirty Days; in which Term if the Debtor fails to return and discharge the Debt, the Constable shall return the Warrant to one of the Select Men of the Company where the Goods and Chattels are found, who shall issue Orders to the Constable to sell such a Part of the said Goods as shall amount to the Sum due; that when the Debt exceeds Forty Shillings, the Return shall be made to the Convention, who shall issue the Orders for Sale.

12. That all Receivers and Collectors of Quitrents, Public and County Taxes, do pay the same into the Hands of the Chairman of this Committee, to be by them disbursed as the public Exigencies may require. And that such Receivers and Collectors proceed no farther in their Office until they be approved of by, and have given to this Committee good and sufficient Security for a faithful Return of such Monies when collected.

13. That the Committee be accountable to the County for the Application of all Monies received from such public Officers.

14. That all these Officers hold their Commissions during the Pleasure of their respective Constituents.

15. That this Committee will sustain all Damages that may ever hereafter accrue to all or any of these Officers thus appointed, and thus acting, on Account of their Obedience and Conformity to these Resolves.

16. That whatever Person shall hereafter receive a Commission from the Crown, or attempt to exercise any such Commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an Enemy to his Country; and upon Information being made to the Captain of the Company where he resides, the said Captain shall cause him to be apprehended, and conveyed before the two Select Men of the said Company, who, upon Proof of the Fact, shall commit him the said Offender, into safe Custody, until the next setting of the Convention, who shall deal with him as Prudence may direct.

17. That any Person refusing to yield Obedience to the above Resolves shall be deemed equally criminal, and liable to the same Punishments as the Offenders above last mentioned.

18. That these Resolves be in full Force and Virtue, until Instructions from the General Congress of this Province, regulating the Jurisprudence of this Province, shall provide otherwise, or the legislative Body of *Great-Britain* resign its unjust and arbitrary Pretentions with Respect to *America*.

19. That the several Militia Companies in this county do provide themselves with proper Arms and Accoutrements, and hold themselves in Readiness to execute the commands and Directions of the Provincial Congress, and of this committee.

20. That this committee do appoint Colonel *Thomas Polk*, and Doctor *Joseph Kennedy*, to purchase 300lb. of Powder, 600lb. of Lead, and 1000 Flints, and deposit the same in some safe Place, hereafter to be appointed by the committee.

Signed by Order of the Committee.

EPH. BREVARD, *Clerk of the Committee.*

In a letter dated "New Bern 18th. June 1775" Richard Cogdell inclosed a copy of *The North-Carolina Gazette* containing the foregoing resolutions to Richard Caswell, in attendance on the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, with these comments thereon: "you'l Observe the Mecklinburg resolves, exceed all other Committees, or the Congress itself. I send you the paper wherein they are incerted as I hope this will come soon to hand."

On June 16, 1775, Governor Martin issued a proclamation in which he denied the allegations of designs on the part of the British Ministry and Parliament to enslave Americans, lately made by the revolutionary party in the counties of the Wilmington district, and severely denounced the revolutionists in North Carolina.

On Tuesday, June 20, 1775, the several committees in the district of Wilmington met in the court house in Wilmington, and Richard Quince, sr., was unanimously chosen chairman. Among the matters taken up was Governor Martin's proclamation of the 16th, and a committee of three was appointed to answer it. On Wednesday, the 21st, this committee returned its answer "which was read and ordered to be printed in the public papers and in hand bills". The preamble of the resolutions presented by this special committee and approved of by the general meeting of the committees closed with the following language:

We, then, the Committees of the counties of New Hanover, Brunswick, Bladen, Duplin and Onslow, in order to prevent the pernicious influence of the said Proclamation, do, unanimously, resolve, that in our opinion, his Excellency Josiah Martin, Esq, hath by the said Proclamation, and by the whole tenor of his conduct, since the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, discovered himself to be an enemy to the happiness of this colony in particular, and to the freedom, rights and privileges of America in general.

At a meeting of His Majesty's council for North Carolina, held June 25, 1775, Governor Martin called the attention of the council to the

sedition Combinations that have been formed, and are still forming in several parts of this Colony and the violent measures they persue in compelling His Majesty's Subjects by various kinds of intimidations, to subscribe Associations, inconsistent with their Duty and allegiance to their Sovereign, The obliging People to frequent meetings in Arms, by the usurped Authority of Committees, the recent Assemblage of a Body of armed Men, in the town of Wilmington for the purpose of awing His Majesty's Loyal Subjects there into submission to the dictates of an illegal and tyrannical tribunal erected there under that name, and the late most treasonable publication of a Committee in the County of Mecklenburg, explicitly renouncing obedience to His Majesty's Government and all lawfull authority whatsoever.

In a letter written at Fort Johnston, North Carolina, June 30, 1775, Governor Martin detailed to the Earl of Dartmouth, British Secretary of State for the American Department, what had happened in North Carolina since his last despatch (no. 33). He recounted a visit to him from the citizens of New Bern on the 23rd of that month, told of news he had received of some ammunition and arms which General Gage was sending to him and of his apprehension that they would fall into the hands of the revolutionists, of his removal to Fort Johnston from New Bern, of the taking and carrying off of some cannons that had lain behind his house, of the necessity he had been under of publishing the proclamation of the 16th of June (a copy of which he enclosed) and of the reply thereto of the committees at Wilmington on the 21st, using this language:

The News Paper enclosed will shew Your Lordship that the same spirit of Sedition and extravagance that gave cause to that Act of Government, has produced an impudent and formal contradiction of the undeniable truths it contains, under the authority of a Committee; proving irrefragably that People embarked in a bad cause, scruple not a avail themselves of the basest falsehoods, and calumnies to support it according to custom, and as the last effort of malice, and falsehood, Your Lordship will find this Publication proscribes me as an Enemy to this Province in particular, and to America in General.

After detailing how he could organize a regiment of loyalists in North Carolina, Governor Martin referred to his council as follows:

The Minutes of Council held at this place the other day, will make the impotence of Government here as apparent to your Lordship, as anything I can set before you.

In the next paragraph Governor Martin wrote:

The Resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburg which Your Lordship will find in the enclosed News Paper, surpass all the horrid and

treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of this Continent have yet produced; and Your Lordship may depend, its Authors and abettors will not escape my due notice, whenever my hands are sufficiently strengthened to attempt the recovery of the lost authority of Government. A Copy of these Resolves I am informed were sent off by express to the Congress at Philadelphia, as soon as they were passed in the Committee.

Governor Martin discussed other matters, and a second time spoke of what "your Lordship will see on the minutes of the Council". He referred to the enclosed proclamation once, to "the enclosed News Paper" twice, and to the minutes of council twice. No other enclosures are mentioned in the letter. He referred to two different matters as published "in the enclosed News Paper". One of these was the reply made to his proclamation of June 16 by the committees of the Wilmington district on June 21, and the other was the resolves of the committee of Mecklenburg of May 31. The "enclosed News Paper", therefore, could only have been one issued between June 21 and June 30, and was undoubtedly *The Cape-Fear Mercury* of Wilmington, of Friday, June 23, 1775. It was necessarily the Wilmington paper of that date or the New Bern paper of the same date, as all other papers were too far off to have permitted of the news of the 21st going and the printed paper coming back between the 21st and the 30th. We have already seen that the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31 were published in the New Bern paper of June 16. It is hardly likely that they were republished in the same paper on the 23rd. Fort Johnston was too far off for Governor Martin to have received a paper on the 30th, the day of publication, so it is evident that it was *The Cape-Fear Mercury* of June 23 to which Governor Martin twice referred in his letter of June 30 as "the enclosed News Paper", and *The Cape-Fear Mercury* of the 23rd had probably copied the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31 from *The North-Carolina Gazette* of the 16th, though it is possible that a third copy of the resolutions was sent to *The Cape-Fear Mercury* and arrived too late for use in the issue of the 16th.

The letter of June 30 was termed by Governor Martin despatch "No. 34". On July 6 he wrote another letter ("No. 35") to Lord Dartmouth in which he said:

I have engaged Mr. Alexr Schaw whom I have now the honor to introduce to your Lordship to charge himself with this Letter, and my Dispatch No. 34.

On July 16 Governor Martin wrote to Lord Dartmouth:

Since the departure of Mr. Schaw who was charged with my Dispatches to your Lordship No. 34 and 35, Duplicates of which are herewith enclosed . . . Having an opportunity of writing safely by a passenger in a Merchant's Ship, I could not let it escape me without giving your Lordship the Accounts contained in this letter relative to the operations of the Army at Boston.

The passenger referred to was a Mr. Burgwine, and on September 15 Lord Dartmouth wrote to Governor Martin:

I have received from the hands of Mr. Burgwine your dispatches numbered 34, 35, 36, 37 and 38, the two first being Duplicates, the originals of which you mention to have been trusted to Mr. Schaw, who has not yet appeared.

The original of despatch "No. 34" reached Lord Dartmouth soon after and is now in the British Public Record Office. The original wrapper thereof, which probably contained the usual endorsement which would show the number of the enclosures received, were it at hand, was mislaid. Only two enclosures are with the letter now: the proclamation of June 16 and the minutes of the council of June 25. The newspaper mentioned by Governor Martin is missing and on the back of the last page of the letter, where an endorsement was made after the loss of the wrapper, is this pencilled memorandum: "Printed Paper taken out by Mr. Turner for Mr. Stevenson,⁴ August 15th, 1837." This memorandum, taken with the words of Governor Martin's letter ("No. 34"), shows that only one newspaper was enclosed and that it necessarily contained both sets of resolutions referred to as in the "enclosed News Paper". The duplicate of despatch "No. 34" is still in the collection of papers left by Lord Dartmouth and retains its original wrapper and thereon is endorsed "3 Inclosures". Only two of these are therein now: the minutes of the council of June 25 and a manuscript copy of the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31. That shows what resolutions Governor Martin referred to when he spoke in the council meeting on June 25 of "the late most treasonable publication of a Committee in the County of Mecklenburg" and what resolutions he referred to as "in the enclosed News Paper" which he enclosed to Lord Dartmouth in his letter of June 30.

In a proclamation which Governor Martin issued to the people of North Carolina from "on board His Majesty's Sloop *Cruizer* in Cape Fear River", August 8, 1775, he again referred to the Wilmington and Mecklenburg resolutions as follows:

Whereas I have seen a publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* which appears to be proceedings of a General Meeting of People stiling them-

⁴ The then United States minister to England.

selves Committees of the District of Wilmington signed Richard Quince Sen^r Chairman, in which the well known and incontestible facts set forth in my Proclamation bearing date the 12th day of June last are most daringly and impudently contradicted, and the basest and most scandalous Seditious and inflammatory falsehoods are asserted evidently calculated to impose upon and mislead the People of this Province and to alienate their affections from His Majesty and His Government and concluding in the true spirit of licentiousness and malignity that characterizes the production of these seditious combinations with a resolve declaring me an Enemy to the Interests of this Province in particular and America in General.

And whereas I have also seen a most infamous publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* importing to be resolves of a set of people stiling themselves a Committee for the County of Mecklenburg most traitorously declaring the entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country and setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the Laws and subversive of His Majesty's Government.

Here we have the direct statement that he had seen the two sets of resolutions in *The Cape-Fear Mercury*. He had stated in his letter of June 30 that both sets of resolutions, which he described in language very similar to this, were in the same paper and we have seen that in his duplicate letter he sent a copy of the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31, as the resolutions that were in that paper. The proof is conclusive, therefore, that the resolutions Governor Martin referred to on three separate occasions were the resolutions of May 31 and that they were printed in *The Cape-Fear Mercury* of June 23, 1775, after having been printed in two other papers the preceding week.⁵

⁵ In an article in *The State* (Columbia, S. C.) of July 30, 1905, this reviewer, discussing this subject, made the following statement in reference to the resolutions of May 31: "These resolutions were printed in *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal*, a weekly newspaper published in Charles Town, S. C., on Tuesday, June 13, 1775, and about the same time in *The Cape-Fear Mercury*." That statement was immediately questioned by Dr. A. J. McKelway of Charlotte, who wrote to this reviewer as follows: "Your statement that the Resolves of the 31st. were published in the *Cape Fear Mercury* is without historical proof. In investigating that matter of the duplicate letter to Lord Dartmouth, through the kind offices of Ambassador Choate, I discovered that the 'enclosed Newspaper' was not the *Cape Fear Mercury* but the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, a copy of which you have doubtless perused in the Charleston Library."

Acting upon that advice the writer stated in his pamphlet, *The True Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence"* (Columbia, S. C., 1905), that the duplicate of despatch "N^o. 34" "contains a manuscript copy of the resolutions of May 31st, and they are credited to *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* of June 13, 1775". The truth revealed by photographs of the manuscript copy of the resolutions in the duplicate despatch shows that it is almost impossible to get the truth from secondary sources when people misrepresent things. There is

Bold as these resolutions were they did not declare the "entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country" as Governor Martin in his haste supposed but merely provided temporarily for "the better preservation of good order" in the county during the suspension of the laws under the declarations of the British Parliament and the British civil officers. The temporary government so formed became permanent after the Declaration of Independence by the American provinces July 4, 1776, and the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31, 1775, under which the temporary government was organized, soon came to be looked upon extra-legally or traditionally by the people of that section of North Carolina as a county declaration of independence. The earliest evidence that such view of the resolutions was held by anyone is to be found in an historical sketch which was discovered in 1904 among the Moravian archives at Bethania, N. C. It is in German, undated, and unsigned, but in a most critically prepared paper, which has been published several times, Miss Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem, N. C., has shown that it was written by Traugott Bagge about September, 1783. The following is the paragraph (translated) referring to the Mecklenburg "Declaration" under the sub-head "1775".

I cannot leave unmentioned at the end of the 1775th year that already in the summer of this year, that is in May, June or July, the county of Mecklenburg declared itself free and independent of England, and made such arrangements for the administration of the laws among themselves, as later the Continental Congress made for all. This Congress, however, considered these proceedings premature.

The next link we have in this chain of tradition constructed by fallible human recollection is a document which was prepared by John McKnitt Alexander in 1800. It appears that his house was destroyed by fire in April, 1800; that he had had therein some contemporary records of the Mecklenburg proceedings and resolutions of May, 1775, and that some time between April 6 and September 3, 1800, he prepared a rough summary of the salient features of the so-called "Declaration" and associated events as he remembered

no evidence whatever on "the duplicate letter to Lord Dartmouth" to warrant the assertion that "the 'enclosed newspaper' was not the *Cape Fear Mercury* but the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*." The name of the newspaper is nowhere given in any of the Martin papers now before us, but internal evidence in those papers shows which newspaper it was, as will be seen above.

Another volunteer correspondent also misled the writer into saying that Sparks had asserted in one of his manuscripts (Harvard Library, Sparks MSS., vol. LVI.) that the paper sent over by Martin was the *Charles Town Gazette*. Sparks says in that manuscript that it "was undoubtedly the 'Cape Fear gazette'".

them. This summary shows that he had no recollection of the phraseology of the document which he termed a declaration of independence, but it is quite apparent that he was trying to recall the resolutions of May 31. He fixed the date of the passage of the "Declaration" as 12 o'clock, May 20, 1775, and credited their passage to a committee.

The next reference to this "Declaration" is embodied in the following toast that was offered at a banquet held in Charlotte on the night of the 4th of July, 1808:

By Jos. Pearson—The Patriots of Mecklenburg: the first to declare Independence—May their sons be the last to acknowledge themselves slaves.⁶

The next traditionary mention of this "Declaration of Independence" is to be found in a valedictory address delivered at Sugar Creek Academy, in Mecklenburg County, June 1, 1809, and published in *The Minerva*, of Raleigh, for August 10, 1809. The following is the pertinent extract from the address:

On the 19th of May 1776, a day sacredly exulting to every Mecklenburg bosom, two delegates duly authorized from every militia company in this county* met in Charlotte—After a cool and deliberate investigation of the causes and extent of our differences with G. Britain, and taking a view of the probable result; pledging their all in support of their rights and liberties; they solemnly entered into and published a full and determined *declaration* of independence, renouncing forever all allegiance, dependence on or connection with Great Britain; dissolved all judicial and military establishments emanating from the British crown; established others on principles correspondent with their declaration, which went into immediate operation: All which were transmitted to Congress by express, and probably expedited the general declaration of Independence. May we ever act worthy of such predecessors.

This address was evidently prepared by a person of mature years, as one may see by a perusal of the whole of it, and, as the teacher of the Sugar Creek Academy, Samuel C. Caldwell, was a son-in-law of John McKnitt Alexander, it is simple enough to trace the source from which emanated the reference to the "Declaration of Independence" made in the valedictory. While the paragraph quoted describes very inaccurately the resolutions of May 31, 1775, it is in keeping with what John McKnitt Alexander wrote in 1800. The committee did not publish a "full and determined declaration of Independence, renouncing forever all allegiance, dependence on or connection with Great Britain"; but expressed the opinion that by Great Britain's own acts the laws had become nullified in North

⁶ See *The Raleigh Register*, July 28, 1808.

Carolina and that Mecklenburg County was without the benefits of a government. The resolutions of May 31 did provide for the dissolution of "all judicial and military establishments emanating from the British crown" and for the establishment of "others on principles correspondent with their declaration", but the dissolution was to be only temporary, and the provision as to courts was never carried out, as is shown by the records of the county court in Charlotte. Governor Martin's letter of June 30, 1775, to the Earl of Dartmouth confirms the statement that the resolutions "were transmitted to Congress by express".

To the asterisk in the above extract the following foot-note appears in *The Minerva*: * "The present county of Cabarrus was then included in Mecklenburg." The significance of that foot-note and its bearing on future evolutions of this "Declaration of Independence" will become apparent later.

John McKnitt Alexander died July 10, 1817. During the same year Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry* appeared in which the claim was made that Henry "gave the first impulse to the ball of the Revolution". This was followed by discussions as to whether the earliest movements that led to American independence took place in Virginia or Massachusetts. During the session of Congress of 1818-1819 the claim was made that North Carolina made the earliest movement; that the people of Mecklenburg County had declared independence before July 4, 1776. Senator Macon and Representative William Davidson, the representative of the district including Mecklenburg County, wrote to persons in that section for information: Macon to General Joseph Graham, and Davidson to Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander, a son of John McKnitt Alexander. The latter sent Davidson the following account of the disputed event which he said he had copied from papers left by his father. Davidson gave it to Macon, who sent it to the *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, wherein it was published April 30, 1819.

It is not probably known to many of our readers, that the citizens of Mecklenburg County, in this State made a Declaration of Independence more than a year before Congress made theirs. The following Document on the subject has lately come to the hands of the Editor from unquestionable authority, and is published that it may go down to posterity.

North-Carolina, Mecklenburg County,
May 20, 1775

In the spring of 1775, the leading characters of Mecklenburg county, stimulated by that enthusiastic patriotism which elevates the mind above considerations of individual aggrandisement, and scorning to shelter themselves from the impending storm by submission to lawless power,

&c &c held several detached meetings, in each of which the individual sentiments were "that the cause of Boston was the cause of all; that their destinies were indissolubly connected with those of their Eastern fellow-citizens—and that they must either submit to all the impositions which an unprincipled, and to them an unrepresented parliament might impose—or support their brethren who were doomed to sustain the first shock of that power, which, if successful there, would ultimately overwhelm all in the common calamity. Conformably to these principles, Col. Adam Alexander, through solicitation, issued an order to each Captain's Company in the county of Mecklenburg, (then comprising the present county of Cabarrus) directing each militia company to elect two persons, and delegate to them ample power to devise ways and means to aid and assist their suffering brethren in Boston, and also generally to adopt measures to extricate themselves from the impending storm, and to secure unimpaired their inalienable rights, privileges and liberties from the dominant grasp of British imposition and tyranny.

In conforming to said Order, on the 19th of May, 1775, the said delegation met in Charlotte, vested with unlimited powers; at which time official news, by express, arrived of the Battle of Lexington on that day of the preceding month. Every delegate felt the value and importance of the prize, and the awful and solemn crisis which had arrived—every bosom swelled with indignation at the malice, inveteracy and insatiable revenge developed in the late attack at Lexington. The universal sentiment was: let us not flatter ourselves that popular harangues—or resolves; that popular vapor will avert the storm, or vanquish our common enemy—let us deliberate—let us calculate the issue—the probable result; and then let us act with energy as brethren leagued to preserve our property—our lives,—and what is still more endearing, the liberties of America. *Abraham Alexander* was then elected Chairman, and *John M'Knitt Alexander*, Clerk. After a free and full discussion of the various objects for which the delegation had been convened, it was unanimously Ordained—

1. *Resolved*, That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form or manner countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great-Britain, is an enemy to this Country,—to America,—and to the inherant and inalienable rights of man.

2. *Resolved*, That we the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the Mother Country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and abjure all political connection, contract or association with that Nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties—and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

3. *Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent People, are and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing Association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the General Government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual cooperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

4. *Resolved*, That as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this County, We

do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each and every of our former laws,—wherein, nevertheless, the Crown of Great-Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities or authority therein.

5. *Resolved*, That it is also further decreed, that all, each and every military officer in this county is hereby reinstated to his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz: a Justice of the Peace, in the character of a '*Committee man*,' to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy, according to said adopted laws, and to preserve peace, and union, and harmony in said County,—and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a more general and organized government be established in this province.

A number of bye-laws were also added, merely to protect the association from confusion and to regulate their general conduct as citizens. After sitting in the Courthouse all night, neither sleepy, hungry, or fatigued, and after discussing every paragraph, they were all passed, sanctioned and declared *unanimously*, about 2 o'clock, A. M. May 20. In a few days a deputation of said delegation convened, when Capt. *James Jack* of Charlotte was deputed as express to the Congress at Philadelphia, with a copy of said Resolves and Proceedings, together with a letter addressed to our three Representatives there, viz: *Richard Caswell*, *Wm. Hooper* and *Joseph Hughes*—under express injunction, personally, and through the state representation, to use all possible means to have said proceedings sanctioned and approved by the general Congress. On the return of Capt. Jack, the delegation learned that their proceedings were individually approved by the members of Congress, but that it was deemed premature to lay them before the House. A joint letter from said three members of Congress was also received, complimentary of the zeal in the common cause, and recommending perseverance, order and energy.

The subsequent harmony, unanimity and exertion in the cause of liberty and independence, evidently resulting from these regulations, and the continued exertion of said delegation, apparently tranquilised this section of the State, and met with the concurrence and high approbation of the Council of Safety, who held their sessions at Newbern and Wilmington alternately, and who confirmed the nomination and acts of the delegation in their official capacity.

From this delegation originated the Court of Enquiry of this County, who constituted and held their first session in Charlotte—they then held their meetings regularly at Charlotte, at Col. James Harris's and at Col. Phifer's alternately one week at each place. It was a civil Court founded on military process. Before this judicature all suspicious persons were made to appear, who were formally tried and banished, or continued under guard. Its jurisdiction was as unlimited as toryism, and its decrees as final as the confidence and patriotism of the County. Several were arrested and brought before them from Lincoln, Rowan and the adjacent counties—

[The foregoing is a true copy of the papers on the above subject, left in my hands by John M'Knitt Alexander dec'd; I find it mentioned

on file that the original book was burned April, 1800. That a copy of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson in New York, then writing a History of North-Carolina, and that a copy was sent to Gen. W. R. Davie. J. M'KNITT.]⁷

The facts shown by the resolutions of May 31, 1775, and other authentic records preclude the possibility of any such action having been taken on May 20, 1775, as described in the narrative accompanying the foregoing resolutions. The resolutions of the 31st provided for the organization of the people of Mecklenburg into a regiment of militia at a future date. The colonel of that regiment could not have called a convention of two representatives of each company of that regiment to meet twelve days before provision had been made for the organization of the regiment. The resolutions of the 31st provided for the future organization of a convention of two selectmen from each of the nine companies of the regiment. This convention, not yet in existence on May 31, 1775, could not have done something on May 20, 1775. This narrative states that John McKnitt Alexander was elected clerk of the convention. The resolutions of May 31 show that Ephraim Brevard was secretary of the committee which passed the resolutions, and John McKnitt Alexander said in his rough summary that the "Declaration" was passed by a committee and made no claim for himself as its secretary. This narrative asserts that Adam Alexander was colonel of the Mecklenburg regiment and called the convention. The authentic records of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina show that Thomas Polk was appointed colonel and Adam Alexander lieutenant-colonel, respectively, of the Mecklenburg regiment by that body, September 9, 1775.⁸ This narrative makes Abraham Alexander chairman of the convention. It appears by a much published certificate, dated November 28, 1775, respecting the loyalty of William Henderson, that Abraham Alexander was then "Chairman of the Committee of P. S." for Mecklenburg County. That accounts for our chairman of the "convention".⁹

The genuineness of this "Declaration" was immediately questioned and the testimony of eye-witnesses to the traditional "Declaration" was invoked, Colonel William Polk, himself an eye-witness, being most active in collecting this testimony. But a critical analysis of the statements so made (which were published in local newspapers at the time and in pamphlet form by Colonel Polk

⁷ From the files in the Library of Congress.

⁸ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*. X. 206.

⁹ The permanent presiding officer of a convention is called president, and was so called in 1775 as well as to-day.

in 1822) will show that this testimony sustains the resolutions of May 31, of which there was then no copy before the public, rather than the "Declaration" produced by Alexander, the former paper reasserting itself upon the memories of the witnesses in spite of what the printed memoranda furnished them.

Among those who made statements at this time, having before them the printed version of the alleged "Declaration", was Captain James Jack, who said that he had carried the "Declaration" to Philadelphia, leaving Charlotte in June and passing through Salisbury where court was in session and where the "Declaration" was read aloud in open court to the assembled populace. John McKnitt Alexander had said in his rough notes made in 1800 that Captain Jack had carried the "Declaration" to Philadelphia and Governor Martin had said in his letter of June 30, 1775, that the resolutions of May 31, 1775, had been sent to Philadelphia immediately upon their passage. The only court held in Salisbury for a month or more after May 20, 1775, was held from the 1st to the 6th of June. It is evident that Jack carried the resolutions of May 31.

In August, 1819, Colonel William Polk sent Judge A. D. Murphey a revised copy of what had been published in the *Raleigh Register* a few months before, saying: "The resolutions of the Mecklenburg delegates is taken from a manuscript copy given by Dr. Jos. McKnitt Alexander of Mecklenburg. I cannot vouch for their being in the words of the Committee who framed them, but they are essentially so." Judge Murphey further revised and polished up this paper and published it in *The Hillsboro Recorder* in March, 1821.

Some time elapsed after the publication of Alexander's "Declaration" before any claim was publicly made that it had been signed. About 1825 a broadside appeared containing the first three of the resolutions of this "Declaration" with a list of the alleged "signers" appended thereto, this list being made up of every name that had been mentioned by the memory-witnesses as connected with the committee or "convention". It was at once seen that this was a manufactured product and the compiler of it soon admitted that he had printed it merely as a souvenir of the semi-centennial of the adoption of the "Declaration". Nevertheless the names appended thereto have ever since been regarded by the super-credulous as real "signers". But the court records of Charlotte and Salisbury show that Robert Harris, Abraham Alexander, Robert Irwin, Richard Barry, John Foard, Hezekiah Alexander, Adam Alexander, and others of the alleged "signers" sat as justices of the peace in the

county court of Mecklenburg and held court regularly every quarter up to and including the session of July, 1776, in the name of the King; that William Kennon, another alleged signer, practised before the King's court at Salisbury on the second of June, 1775, and that Waightstill Avery, another alleged signer, was appointed "Attorney for the Crown" at Salisbury, August 2, 1775.

On July 4, 1828, *The Charleston Mercury* published another version of the "Declaration" slightly different in verbiage from all previous versions. The contributor signed his article "Guilford". In November of the same year another slightly different version appeared in Garden's *Anecdotes of the American Revolution*, but it is plainly to be seen upon comparing the Guilford and Garden versions that the latter was revised from the former.

In 1829 Judge F. X. Martin of Louisiana, formerly of North Carolina, published a history of North Carolina in which he incorporated this "Declaration". It is clear from the context, the circumstances under which it appeared, and the absence of accurate references as to the source from which it was obtained, despite the claim in his preface that his work had been prepared twenty years before, that this version of the "Declaration" was obtained after the other chapters of his work had been prepared, and the correspondence of Judge Murphey, now in evidence, shows that Martin used the version Judge Murphey published in March, 1821.

In the same year that Martin's history appeared Thomas Jefferson's works were published and therein was found a letter from Jefferson to John Adams in which Jefferson declared that this "Declaration" was spurious and that he had never heard of it before. An examination of Adams's writings and additional letters by Jefferson still in manuscript reveals the fact that Adams fully agreed with Jefferson and that they were both quite indignant over this alleged "Declaration". Jefferson's letter aroused renewed interest in the matter in North Carolina and drew from Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander a verbose, bombastic contribution on the subject to *The Yadkin and Catawba Journal* of Salisbury, of November 9, 1830, under the caption, "Declaration of Independence, by the citizens of Mecklenburg County (then including Cabarrus) North Carolina, on the 20th day of May, 1775", and over his full name. The following are the most pertinent passages from that contribution:

To every ingenious mind, the difficulty is at once obvious of establishing by *positive* proof, such a transaction, 55 years after its occurrence, when no record of the transaction could be *officially* kept; when a long Revolutionary war supervened; the place of its occurrence, for a season, being in the occupation of the enemy; when all the delegates

are in the silent grave, and when the validity of the transaction has never been called in question until Mr. Jefferson, in a letter of his recently published, pronounced it "a spurious and unjustifiable quiz". . . . [He here gives abstracts from the certificates of the eye-witnesses before mentioned.] There is now a paper in my possession, written and signed by J. M. Alexander, and purports to be extracted from the old minutes, etc. Of this there is no date to show when these extracts were made; the introductory part is similar, as far as it goes, to that placed in the hands of Gen. Davie. The Resolves entered into, are in this extract noticed as follows: . . . [He here quotes inaccurately a part of the rough summary left by his father.] I hold these papers, certificates, etc., subject to the inspection of any one desirous of examining them.

From the preceding certificates, it appears most probable that there were drawn up by a select committee, a declaration of grievances and a formal Declaration of Independence, which, if so, was the paper sent on by Captain Jack to Congress; the original of which is lost to us through the death, shortly afterwards, of Dr. Ephraim Brevard, the Chairman of the Committee, and by the occupation of Charlotte by Cornwallis, where the Dr. lived, and where his papers probably were. But be this as it may, we have an authentic copy of these resolves and bye-laws mentioned in so many of the certificates, in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander, and certified by him as Clerk, which had been by him deposited with Gen. Wm. R. Davie, for the use of some future historian; and after the death of the General, procured and deposited with us, by Dr. Samuel Henderson, now Clerk of the Superior Court of this County. . . . [He here repeats the resolutions that he had published in the *Raleigh Register* in 1819.]

These Resolves having been concurred in, bye-laws and regulations for the government of the standing Committee of Public Safety were enacted and acknowledged, etc., etc. The whole proceedings of the delegation, though interesting, are too long for this publication.

In the certificate which he published in the *Raleigh Register* "J. M'Knitt" stated that he had found it "on file" that a copy of the "proceedings" was sent to General Davie. This "copy" was obtained by Dr. Samuel Henderson from Major F. William Davie soon after the General's death and given to Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander. Henderson certified to that effect, November 25, 1830, stating that he knew the handwriting to be that of John McKnitt Alexander, and that the paper was torn and that Major Davie had told him, when asked how it had become torn, that his sisters had torn it, "not knowing what it was".

At its session of 1830-1831 the General Assembly of North Carolina appointed a committee to investigate certain historical records including the papers pertaining to Dr. Alexander's "Declaration". The Doctor turned over to the committee certain evidences he had gathered and the committee reported in favor of the genuineness of the "Declaration" and ordered their report and the papers upon which it was based to be published.

During the next few years several copies of the resolutions of May 31, 1775, were discovered and critical historians at once saw the foundation for the tradition and the testimony of the eye-witnesses. But the myth had become a reality, and logical deductions and reliable evidence could not now carry weight with the myth-worshippers.

After the report of the legislative committee the papers which Dr. Alexander had loaned were returned to him and about 1845, after his death, were given into the custody of the state by his family. A paper hitherto unmentioned was now discovered among them. It contained the same resolutions and historical note, with a few textual variations, as were published in the *Raleigh Register* of April 30, 1819. To this paper and the "half sheet" whereon John McKnitt Alexander's rough summary had been written the following certificate was attached:

No. Carolina, {
Mecklenburg County. }

The sheet and torn half sheet to which this is attached (the sheet is evidently corrected in two places by John McKnitt Alexander as marked on it —the half sheet is in his own handwriting) were found after the death of Jno. McKnitt Alexander in his old mansion house in the centre of a roll of old pamphlets, viz: "an address on public liberty printed Philadelphia, 1774;" one "on the Disputes with G. Britain, printed 1775"; and "an address on Federal policy to the Citizens of No. C., a held at Hallifax the 4 of April, 1776," which papers have been in my possession ever since. Certified Novr. 25th, 1830.

J. McKNITT.

In an address delivered at an Academy near Charlotte, published in the *Raleigh Minerva* of 10th Augt., 1809, the Mecklenburg Declaration is distinctly stated, etc.

As to the full sheet being in an unknown handwrite, it matters not who may have thus copied the original record: by comparing the copy deposited with Genl. Davie they two will be found so perfectly the same, so far as his is preserved, that no imposition is possible—the one from the same original as the other is conclusive. I have therefore always taken from the one which is entire, where the other is lost. the entire sheet is most probably a copy taken long since from the original for some person, corrected by Jno. McKnitt Alexander, and now sent on. the roll of pamphlets with which these two papers were found I never knew were amongst his old surveying and other papers untill after his death. they may have been unrolled since 1788.

J. McKNITT.

All of the Davie "copy" was gone except the last two resolutions and the following certificate in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander, which had received no notice from the legislative committee or Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander or any other of

the champions of the genuineness of the "Declaration" published in 1819:

It may be worthy of notice here to observe that the foregoing statement, though fundamentally correct, may not literally correspond with the original record of the transactions of said delegation and court of inquiry, as all those records and papers were burnt with the house on April 6, 1800; but previous to that time of 1800 a full copy of said records, at the request of Dr. Hugh Williamson, then of New York, but formerly a representative in Congress from this State, was forwarded to him by Colonel William Polk, in order that those early transactions might fill their proper place in a history of this State, then writing by said Dr. Williamson, in New York. Certified to the best of my recollection and belief, this 3d day of September, 1800.

J. MCK. ALEXANDER.

This is the history in brief of the so-called "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" as told by the records submitted in evidence in the two volumes cited at the beginning of this review and by additional evidence cited by this reviewer and not cited in either book. From the first publication of the alleged "Declaration" in the *Raleigh Register* to the present there has been an interminable controversy going on over the question of the genuineness of this document, and these two volumes are resultants of that controversy. In them are arrayed the bulk of the evidence and arguments heretofore presented on either side of the controversy and, in addition thereto, both Messrs. Graham and Hoyt have presented many new phases of the question, much additional evidence, and many new arguments.

Dr. Graham has abandoned the main point contended for by the early advocates of the "Declaration" alleged to have been passed May 20, 1775, and has advanced a new theory which does not stand the test of critical examination. Heretofore it has been vigorously contended that the "Declaration" as published in the *Raleigh Register* was a correct copy of the original and the certificate thereon by John McKnitt Alexander stating that it was written from memory has been ignored. Dr. Graham now admits that that "copy" was made from memory and not correctly worded. He sets up the claim that the Martin and Garden copies were obtained from original sources and therefore genuine copies. As they differ from each other about as much as they differ from the *Raleigh Register* version it would be puzzling to know which of them really is the correct version, but for the fact that Mr. Hoyt shows conclusively that neither was taken from original sources but that both of them as well as all other versions so far produced in evidence were drawn

from the *Raleigh Register* version and altered to suit the taste of the writer or the idiosyncrasies of the printer. Dr. Graham has offered some new evidence to sustain the validity of the "Declaration" alleged to have been passed on the 20th, but he has failed to grasp securely the import of that evidence or represent it accurately, and Mr. Hoyt has with little difficulty refuted every item of it. In addition to the copies of the "Declaration" published by Martin and Garden, the school boy's declamation and the Davie "copy"—all of which are shown by Mr. Hoyt not to sustain the validity of the alleged "Declaration" of the 20th—Dr. Graham offers three more items of evidence equally unsubstantial.

The first of these is a poem entitled "A Modern Poem" by "The Mecklenburg Censor". Dr. Graham asserts that that poem was dated March 18, 1777, and quotes the first seventeen lines of it, the last three of which run

First to withdraw from British trust,
In Congress they the very first,
Their Independence did declare.

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There is a complete copy of "A Modern Poem" in the Charleston Library; it bears annotations by a citizen of Charlotte in 1777, and does not contain the three lines quoted. The poem was written in satirical criticism of the action of the people of Mecklenburg County in choosing delegates to the constitutional convention of 1776 and had nothing to do with any action taken in May, 1775. It was published by another citizen of Mecklenburg on March 30, 1777, and "The Editor" stated that he had considered the poem too harsh *until* he "saw the same spirit of insipid indifference prevailed at our last election, held on the 10th day of March". Mr. Hoyt points out that this proves that the poem Dr. Graham quotes from is not the original if it is dated March 18, 1777, and that the three lines relied on to sustain the genuineness of the "Declaration" alleged to have been passed on May 20 do not consist with the rest of the poem or with the well established history of the time.

Dr. Graham cites certain Mecklenburg deeds that date independence from 1775 as proof that Mecklenburg passed that specific "Declaration" on May 20 of that year. Mr. Hoyt has answered by showing that it is nothing unusual to find a deed dated one year too soon or one year too late.

Dr. Graham cites the tombstone record of Benjamin Wilson Davidson which gives the date of his birth as May 20, 1787, and states that Davidson's sons had said that their grandfather had

called their father "My Independence Boy" and that his neighbors had called him "Independence Ben". The tombstone does not give the date of Davidson's death, although quite positive as to the date of his birth. It appears to be debatable whether "My Independence Boy" was not born on the 4th of July rather than the 20th of May, or whether, having been born on May 20, he did not receive that designation after the publication in 1819 of the alleged "Declaration" of May 20, rather than in his infancy. Dr. Graham furnishes no evidence to settle these questions one way or the other. The statements of his father, Major John Davidson, an alleged signer of the "Declaration", shows that he had entirely forgotten the date and most of the circumstances of the meeting when questioned about it more than forty-five years after.

Dr. Graham insists that the Martin letter of June 30, 1775, referred to the "Declaration" of May 20, but the Martin papers themselves quoted here and by Mr. Hoyt show that every reference made by Governor Martin was to the resolutions of May 31.

Mr. Hoyt has produced the most scholarly work yet presented on this much-mooted question and has done it according to the most approved methods of the school of scientific history, "minute and accurate investigation, reserved judgment, impartial feeling, a fondness for institutions rather than for personalities, and a touch of iconoclasm in dealing with the accepted facts of the old school". In his preface he says: "I came to my subject before Dr. George W. Graham's book was announced, with the intention of writing a defence of the authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration, but the irresistible logic of facts drove me to my present position." Each item of evidence pro or contra has been most carefully considered in a most impartial manner; its strength and its weakness shown and its value given. Each argument has been met freely and completely; there has been no shirking or evading or misrepresenting or perverting; just what the records show has Mr. Hoyt given and weighed with fine judgment. He has given the real value of, or completely refuted, every item of evidence Dr. Graham has presented in behalf of his "Declaration", and his arguments have overshadowed those of Dr. Graham in logical conclusions at every point. He has destroyed the entire foundation of this false structure—has not left even a prop to hold it up—and has hurled it into the slough of historical myths where it is to be hoped the truth-loving world will let it remain. Mr. Hoyt deserves the thanks of the real students of history—those who love truth because it is the truth.

But while Mr. Hoyt has conclusively shown that the alleged

"Declaration" is spurious; that it was constructed from John McKnitt Alexander's rough notes, although not adhering to the statements therein made in certain particulars and actually changing them in others; that the first version published was not adhered to in subsequent publications thereof emanating from the same source from which that first version emanated; that the testimony of eye-witnesses to the passage of the traditionary declaration contradicted many of the statements therein made and induced the General Assembly to declare as genuine a revised version of what Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander had given to the world as a copy of the original and subsequently reiterated to be such—all of which proves that neither the original nor an authentic copy of the original was ever in evidence—he does not offer a suggestion as to who was the manufacturer of that spurious paper. He accepts in good faith Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander's irreconcilable statements that the paper had been "left in my hands by John M'Knitt Alexander dec'd" and that it had been "found after the death of Jno. McKnitt Alexander in his old mansion house in the centre of a roll of old pamphlets". But we think that he has himself published enough evidence to at least create a suspicion against the honesty of Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander in connection with that paper, and when we add to that evidence certain information gathered by this reviewer and hereafter submitted, the evidence appears to be convincing that Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander was himself the author of that spurious "Declaration".

In the first paper which he gave to the world Dr. Alexander carefully avoided acknowledging that John McKnitt Alexander was his father; hid his identity under the signature "J. McKnitt"; mentioned "papers" left in his hands by "John M'Knitt Alexander dec'd", although he produced only one paper and did not say how many more there were or what their import was; and did not say that John McKnitt Alexander was the author of the paper or tell how the latter came into possession of it, or in what shape it was. He was evidently leaving loop-holes to escape in the event that he was "cornered". He stated that he had found it "on file that the original book was burned April, 1800. That a copy of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson in New York, then writing a History of North-Carolina, and that a copy was sent to Gen. W. R. Davie". When we compare certificates we are forced to the conclusion that he was then cognizant of the contents of the certificate his father had put to the Davie copy and knew that the paper he had was a concoction and not a genuine record. Hence this vague-

ness. In his article in the *Yadkin and Catawba Journal* he stated that there was "an authentic copy of these resolves and bye-laws mentioned in so many of the certificates, in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander, and certified by him as Clerk which had been by him deposited with Gen. Wm. R. Davie, for the use of some future historian". He knew that this was false, for the Davie "copy" contained the father's certificate that that paper was not taken from an original record but was prepared from memory and was only true to the best of his belief, and there was nothing thereon to show that he claimed to have been clerk of the body that passed the "Declaration" which he saw voted. He made it further appear that he had the "whole proceedings of the delegation" which, "though interesting", were "too long for this publication". He forgot that at the outset of the very same article he had said that it was difficult to prove a thing after fifty-five years "when no record of the transaction could be *officially* kept; when a long Revolutionary war supervened; the place of its occurrence, for a season, being in the occupation of the enemy; when all the delegates are in the silent grave". As a matter of fact, he never did have a single original record and all that he was ever able to produce was the rough summary prepared by his father, the paper of doubtful origin and the Davie "copy" made and certified by his father as a record from memory, and of that only the last two resolutions and the certificate were left. At the outset of his communication he gave the impression that no records of the convention had been kept, yet at a later point stated that he had in his possession a paper "written and signed by J. M. Alexander, and purports to be extracted from the old minutes". If no official records were kept, whence these minutes and when did his father take the notes from them? The Bancroft copy of these notes, which Mr. Hoyt has reproduced, shows that they bear on their face the evidence that they were written in 1800, and the Davie "copy", which was most likely a polished edition of those notes, was written some months after the burning of the house, and the certificate thereon stated that all had been lost therein. This proves that nothing came from original sources.

We might excuse Dr. Alexander's failure to see that the paper in the unknown hand contained statements contradictory of the rough notes in his father's hand and language stolen from Jefferson's immortal production, on the ground of lack of critical discernment, but for the fact that even after he got the Davie "copy" which should have set him straight he even more than before tried to keep up the deception. It will be seen in his certificate of Novem-

ber 25, 1830, to the rough notes and the anonymous paper, that Dr. Alexander still maintained that the latter paper and the Davie "copy" had both been copied from "the original record" despite the certificate by his father to the "Davie" copy. Again, the wording of this last certificate arouses suspicion: "As to the full sheet being in an unknown handwrite, it matters not who may have thus copied the original record." But an examination of the anonymous paper, as shown by the Bancroft copy reproduced by Mr. Hoyt, reveals the fact that that paper was not copied from any other paper but was roughly constructed from the rough notes of the elder Alexander. There are too many blunders thereon that no copyist could have committed, however indifferent. Several times when the constructor of that paper followed too closely the rough notes and ran into matter that did not harmonize with statements previously made he scratched out the words and changed the construction. Notably is that the case in the paragraph referring to the "Court of Inquiry". The elder Alexander wrote: "And the first Court held in Charlotte after Cornwallis retreated retrograded or run away from Charlotte, the Court adjourned or rather appointed a Special Court of Enquiry". The person constructing from the rough notes started to put in something about Cornwallis but seeing that it would not harmonize with what had already been said about the import of the "Declaration" struck it out, constructing that paragraph as we see it in the *Raleigh Register*. Dr. Alexander certainly was intelligent enough to have seen upon comparing the two papers that the anonymous paper was simply an altered and enlarged version of the rough notes and not a copy of a record or minutes made in 1775, which could not have contained a reference to an event that occurred in 1780. And the following extracts from the minutes of the county court of Mecklenburg not only bear out the elder Alexander's reference in the rough notes to the Court of Enquiry, but show that the court was organized after Cornwallis's visit to Charlotte; that it had no connection with any action taken prior to the adoption of the North Carolina constitution of 1776, under which a county court had been established in Mecklenburg; and, finally, furnish us a clue to the origin of the tradition that John McKnitt Alexander was secretary of the body that passed the "Declaration":

January Session 1782.

Present: Abraham Alexander, Hezekiah Alexander, Robert Irwin, Edward Giles, William Wilson, John Flannikin, William Scott, Thomas Harris, and Samuel Blythe, Esquires. . . .

The court, consisting of 11 members, unanimously agreed to meet at the dwelling house of Major James Harris on Thursday the 7th day of Febr'y next, then and there to sit as a Court of Enquiry etc. and that they in their respective districts (especially in said Enterim do exert themselves to summon all persons therein whom they suspect to have forfeited their rites as citizens by joining, aiding or assisting our common enemy—or any person whom they know or suspect to have secreted any confiscated property, and that they likewise summon all evidences who they judge may be able to prove said crimes, and that each Justice apply to the militia officer for information etc. etc.

Ordered that the Clerk do immediately send at the expenses of the county to the absent justices in that quarter notifying them of the last mentioned resolutions etc. Viz. Robert Harris, junr. Dd. Reese, Martin Phifer, Danl. Jarret and Adam Alexander, Esqrs. and to Mr, James Reese, Commissioner.

JNO. M'K. ALEXANDER
Clerk *pro tem*.

In the rough summary made by the elder Alexander in 1800 he made no reference to Cabarrus County as formerly a part of Mecklenburg. It is perfectly plain that either the author of the Sugar Creek valedictory made use of the narrative which was subsequently published in the *Raleigh Register* or the narrative was prepared after the valedictory was published and the valedictory was used by the author of the narrative. The similarity of expressions and the similarly injected extraneous matter about Cabarrus County seem to fix that beyond question. But, if the author of the valedictory had had access in 1809 to the document which appeared in the *Raleigh Register* in 1819, would he not have been more specific in his statements? Would he not have mentioned the personages referred to in that narrative? Would he not have quoted some of the very patriotic sentiments of the "Declaration"? Would he not have given the date 1775 instead of 1776? It is evident that the author of the narrative in the *Raleigh Register* drew on the Sugar Creek valedictory, and as a confirmation of that statement it will be observed that in his certificate to the manuscripts that he claimed to have found stitched together Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander refers to that Sugar Creek valedictory.

The only evidences to connect John McKnitt Alexander with the paper published in the *Raleigh Register* in 1819, are (a) Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander's statements in his unpublished certificate to the two papers he claimed to have found in his father's old mansion, that the paper in the unknown hand had two corrections in his father's handwriting (only one is so marked on the paper itself) and that it was "perfectly the same" as the Davie "copy",

and (b) the fragment of the Davie "copy", declared by Henderson to be in his handwriting.

If John McKnitt Alexander had had the paper in the unknown hand in his possession and had made two corrections thereon, it is strange that he failed to correct other statements thereon that were in conflict with the paper which he had himself written. Why did he not change "convention" to "committee" as he had it on his paper? Why did he not correct the statement that he was the secretary of the "convention"? Surely his memory was not so poor that he had forgotten that he had not held that position, which we are now able to prove that Brevard held? Is it likely that John McKnitt Alexander would have given his silent approval to a paper so totally at variance with the truth and with what he himself had written on another paper, and then have left the two papers to posterity without a word of comment as to the source of the paper which differed so much from that in his own handwriting? The certificate which he attached to the Davie "copy" discloses the fact that he was too careful and too honest a man to do any such thing. It is very doubtful if he ever saw that paper in the unknown hand, of which his son gave a copy to Davidson in 1819.

Henderson did not certify that the Davie "copy" was "perfectly the same" as the publication in the *Raleigh Register*, nor did anyone else who saw it before or after it fell into the hands of Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander so certify, and there is ample ground for the belief that Dr. Alexander tried to make the two resolutions that were left conform to the *Raleigh Register* publication after he got it. And notwithstanding his certificate that it was "perfectly the same" as the publication in the *Raleigh Register*, which he had been trying to impose upon the world as a genuine copy of the "Declaration", he nowhere mentioned or quoted the certificate which his father had placed upon it to show that it was not a genuine copy of the "Declaration" but an imperfect copy made from memory. Moreover, the Bancroft copy of the anonymous paper shows that it did differ from that in the *Raleigh Register*, though the Davie paper is asserted to be a twin copy of the original of the latter.

About 1853, ex-Governor D. L. Swain, who had been appointed historical agent of North Carolina, removed the Davie "copy" with other papers relating to the Mecklenburg "Declaration" from the state archives to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Whether he got the rough summary by John McKnitt Alexander and the paper in the unknown hand is not shown, but, fortunately for the truth of history, copies of these were made for Bancroft

while they were there. Mr. Hoyt has reproduced these. The Davie "copy" was examined at Chapel Hill by Professor Charles Phillips, of the university faculty, who contributed an admirable paper on the subject of the "Declaration" to the issue of the *North Carolina University Magazine* for May, 1853. In a subsequent letter to Lyman C. Draper, Professor Phillips stated that when he first saw the Davie "copy" it "contained the last two resolutions only, and the certificate" of John McKnitt Alexander, which was the conclusion of the document, thus confirming what Henderson had said about the condition in which it was when he got it. In another letter to Draper, Professor Phillips said: "There is no evidence that John McKnitt Alexander claimed for himself the Secretaryship in 1775." Draper adds: "That introductory portion, with the first three of the Resolves, had been torn off 'the Davie copy' before the document reached Gov. Swain and Prof. Phillips; so they had no opportunity of testing the handwriting."¹⁰ In another private letter Professor Phillips said: "The condition of the originals in our possession here, the diversity of handwriting, the frequent interlineations, erasures, etc., show that the younger Alexander tried to set forth a poem in Alexandrian measure."

It is very doubtful, therefore, if the original Davie "copy" was "perfectly the same" as the paper in the unknown hand. By the fragment of it which was left it was impossible to show that it had ever contained the introductory narrative which was published in the *Raleigh Register*, and which contains so many statements at variance with well-established facts, or that the first three resolutions thereof were in the same language as the corresponding resolutions of the publication in the *Raleigh Register*, which contain all of the expressions stolen from the national Declaration of Independence. And it has been pretty conclusively shown that the fourth and fifth resolutions, which were left, and which, even in the *Raleigh Register* publication, contain nothing inconsistent with what John McKnitt Alexander wrote in his rough notes, were altered, and, even then, Professor Phillips, who compared the two original papers, says that the two resolutions differ in the two documents in perhaps one important particular.

It is now perfectly clear that the document given to Davidson by Dr. Alexander and subsequently published in the *Raleigh Register* was a fabrication; that Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander gave it to the world as a genuine copy of an original, although, by his subse-

¹⁰ Lyman C. Draper's MS. history of the Mecklenburg "Declaration", vol. I., ch. IV. (Wisconsin State Historical Society.)

quent admission, he did not know its origin; and that when he himself discovered evidence to show that it was not a copy of an original he continued to deceive the public into believing that it was. In the absence of the anonymous paper, the rough notes by John McKnitt Alexander and the fragment of the Davie "copy", a charge of forgery against Dr. Alexander could not be directly proven, but we submit that the circumstantial evidence against him is very strong; strong enough to convict any man of fewer champions.

Mr. Hoyt's book shows that in addition to the original spurious "Declaration" there have been four or five fraudulent compilations or flagrant forgeries committed at various times since 1819 to sustain the validity thereof, the most notorious of them being the Millington Miller forgery of a *Cape-Fear Mercury* of June 3, 1775, containing the alleged "Declaration", noticed in this magazine in April, 1906.

A. S. SALLEY, JR.

THE RECORDS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION

WHEN the Federal Convention met in Philadelphia in 1787, for the purpose of rendering the Articles of Confederation "adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union", the members of that body were duly aware of the importance of the work they were about to undertake. Some of them were impressed with a sense of their own importance. Men were accustomed in those days to rely for their information more upon private correspondence than upon newspapers—that is, to do their own reporting—and so quite naturally, although there was an official secretary, many of the members of this important convention kept notes of the proceedings for their own use. In the years immediately preceding when the various states had adopted their constitutions, a few days, or a few weeks at most, had been sufficient for the framing of those instruments of government; but in a national assembly the conflicting interests of states and sections could not be reconciled in any short space of time. The very importance of the work protracted the sessions of the Federal Convention beyond expectation. Convening nominally on May 14, but owing to lack of a quorum unable to begin regular work until the 25th, the Convention remained in continuous session until September 17.¹ Other public duties or private interests called away many of the members, and most of those who remained became tired and even irritable: so that of all those who started out so carefully to keep notes of the proceedings, at the present time we know of no one but James Madison who persisted to the end.

INFORMATION UPON THE CONVENTION'S PROCEEDINGS, 1787-1818

The sessions of the Convention were secret; before the final adjournment the secretary was directed to deposit "the Journals and other papers of the Convention in the hands of the President", and in answer to an inquiry of Washington's, the Convention resolved "that he retain the Journal and other papers subject to the

¹ There was an adjournment of two days over the Fourth of July; and another of ten days between July 26 and August 6 to allow the Committee of Detail to prepare its report.

order of Congress, if ever formed under the Constitution".² It was understood that the members would regard the proceedings as confidential, and in general this understanding was lived up to.³ But when the question of the adoption of the Constitution was before the country, to refrain from all allusion as to what had taken place in the framing of that document, was too much to ask of human nature.

1. Franklin, moved by a pardonable vanity, copied with his own hand several of his speeches for distribution among his friends. Some of these, and particularly his plea at the close of the Convention for unanimous action, quickly found their way into print.⁴

2. Charles Pinckney lost no time in printing, both in pamphlet form⁵ and in a South Carolina newspaper,⁶ what is probably a speech he had prepared to deliver at the time when he submitted his plan of government, but which he was prevented from delivering by the lateness of the hour.⁷

3. In practically all of the state conventions upon the adoption of the Constitution, delegates who had been members of the Federal Convention referred to the proceedings of that body and sometimes, in the excitement of debate, made very definite statements as to its action upon particular questions. The proceedings of several of these conventions were printed, and at an early date.⁸

4. The Maryland delegates were required by their instructions to report the proceedings of the Federal Convention to the legislature of their state, and Luther Martin's report was published early in 1788 under the title, *The Genuine Information . . . relative to the Proceedings of the General Convention, lately held at Philadelphia. . . .* This document is more of an arraignment of the action of the majority than a report of the proceedings of the whole Con-

² *Documentary History of the Constitution*, III. 769-770.

³ Both Washington and Madison felt strongly that the proceedings of the Convention should not be made public during the life-times of the members, or at least not as long as the opinions any member might have expressed in debate could in any way be used to his prejudice. J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 175, and *Documentary History of the Constitution*, V. 310.

⁴ Carey's *American Museum* for December, 1787.

⁵ *Observations on the Plan of Government Submitted to the Federal Convention, in Philadelphia, on the 28th of May, 1787* (New York [1787]).

⁶ *State Gazette of South Carolina*, October 29-November 29, 1787. (J. F. Jameson, *Studies in the History of the Federal Convention*, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1902, p. 116, note.)

⁷ See Professor McLaughlin's explanation of the identity of this speech in *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX. 735-741.

⁸ For a list of printed debates of the state conventions, see Jameson, *Studies*, 164-167.

vention, but some interesting information may be extracted from it.⁹

5. For a year after the Convention was over the public press was filled with arguments for and against the Constitution.¹⁰ In this controversy, no small part was taken by members of the Convention, and not infrequently information was given upon what had taken place in Philadelphia. This was notably the case when Ellsworth indulged in some rather sharp personal criticisms of Gerry and Martin, and goaded those men to reply.¹¹

6. Similarly when constitutional questions arose in Congress after the new government was in operation, statements were made as to what had been said or done in the Federal Convention, in order to support the speaker's argument.¹²

Political capital was made of the fact that Hamilton was supposed to have proposed in the Convention a monarchical form of government, and in support of that contention his sketch of a plan of government, submitted in his speech of June 18, was printed at least as early as 1801, "with a view of destroying his popularity and influence".¹³

But all of these dealt with personalities or scattered incidents of the Convention, and presented no connected account of the whole. Something more of an attempt in the latter direction appeared a few years later, though again its purpose was purely political. Robert Yates of New York had kept notes of the proceedings of the Convention, as long as he remained in attendance upon its sessions, and a copy of these was made by his colleague, John Lansing. This copy seems to have come into the possession of E. C. Genet,¹⁴ former minister from France, who published anonymously in 1808 an abstract of it in *A Letter to the Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States*.¹⁵ This pamphlet was intended to

⁹ In the *Maryland Gazette or Baltimore Advertiser* of February 15, 1788, and in Carey's *American Museum*, III. 362-363, were printed the "Resolves proposed to the Convention by the Honorable Mr. Paterson, and mentioned in Mr. Martin's Information to the House of Assembly." Jameson, *Studies in the History of the Federal Convention*, p. 138.

¹⁰ See "Reference List" in P. L. Ford, *Bibliography of the Constitution*.

¹¹ November, 1787-April, 1788, reprinted in P. L. Ford, *Essays on the Constitution of the United States*.

The relevant portions of a letter of William Pierce to St. George Tucker, dated September 28, 1787, in which the former gave his general impressions of the work of the Convention were printed in the *Georgia Gazette* of March 20, 1788 (*AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, III. 311), and indicate a class of material that would be included here.

¹² See, for example, *Annals of Congress*, Fifth Congress, II. 1967, 1992, 2003.

¹³ See Jameson, *Studies*, p. 148.

¹⁴ See below, p. 50 and note 30.

¹⁵ A copy is in the Library of Congress.

be an attack upon Madison, who was then a candidate for the presidency, and the extracts from Yates's notes were used to show that in the Convention Madison had been in favor of a "consolidated government". Although almost all the extracts are direct quotations, the writer has cleverly pieced them together in such a way that Madison stands out conspicuously as the leader of the national party in the Convention. A few years later (1813) this abstract was reprinted in Hall's *American Law Journal*.

THE JOURNAL, 1819

After the War of 1812, the questions of protective tariffs and internal improvements raised constitutional issues of great importance, and quite probably because of this, Congress by a joint resolution in 1818 directed the publication of the "Journal . . . and all Acts and Proceedings" of the Federal Convention, which were in the possession of the government. Accordingly there was printed at Boston in 1819, *Journal, Acts and Proceedings, of the Convention, . . . which formed the Constitution of the United States*,¹⁶ an octavo volume of some 500 pages. Although it is nowhere stated in the work itself, it is well known that John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, was the editor, and from his *Memoirs* we learn of the difficulties under which he labored in preparing the material for the press.¹⁷

This printed *Journal* included merely a formal statement of the opening and adjournment of each day's session, the motions that were before the house—occasionally including the names of the mover and seconder—the determination of each question and, in most cases, the vote by states. Great disappointment was, and has been since expressed at the meagreness of the information thus afforded in matters so closely related to important issues, but the accuracy of the *Journal's* records as far as they go has hardly been questioned.¹⁸ Indeed, it has been accepted as the official record of the formal proceedings of the Convention.

Recently (1894) the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Depart-

¹⁶ The *Journal* was reprinted in 1830 as volume IV. of the first edition of Elliot's *Debates*. In the second edition, 1836, and in all subsequent editions, it appears as volume I.

¹⁷ John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 174-387, *passim*.

¹⁸ Madison was the only person really in a position to raise such questions, and he goes no farther than in several cases to note discrepancies between his own record and that of the *Journal*—in some cases, indeed, intimating and in others plainly stating his conviction that the *Journal* is wrong—and Madison's general acceptance of the *Journal's* records is clearly shown elsewhere in this article. See below, pp. 53-56.

ment of State has reprinted with scrupulous accuracy, in volume I. of the *Documentary History of the Constitution*,¹⁹ the papers of the Federal Convention that were left by the secretary²⁰ and later deposited by Washington with the department. We are now in a position to appreciate the task of editing that fell to the lot of John Quincy Adams, and to pass judgment upon the finality of the records embodied in the *Journal* as printed.

In the first place, it is altogether misleading to speak of the printed *Journal* as if it were an official record. It is much better to say that there was an official secretary who, either through incompetence or neglect, kept what according to Adams "were no better than the daily minutes from which the regular journal ought to have been, but never was, made out".²¹ These minutes consist of the formal journal of the Convention, including its sessions when in Committee of the Whole House, and a separate table giving the detail of ayes and noes on the various questions.²² In the second place, while the detail of ayes and noes contains upwards of six hundred votes, there are from sixty to seventy of these votes to which no questions are attached. And in the third place, a careful comparison of the journal with the detail of ayes and noes shows that there are many questions in the former for which no votes can be found in the latter, and many questions and votes in the latter which are not included in the former. The accompanying photo-

¹⁹ Volume I. of the *Documentary History of the Constitution* originally appeared in two instalments as appendices to *Bulletins* 1 and 3 of the Bureau of Rolls and Library. Only 750 copies were printed. The *Report of the Public Printer* for the year ending June 30, 1900, Cong. Docs., 4029:19, p. 161, shows 250 copies printed upon requisition of the Department of State. In 1901 Congress ordered to be printed 7,000 copies of vols. I.-III. of the *Documentary History*. In this Congressional edition there are some minor changes in type, spacing, etc., and Charles Pinckney's letter of December 30, 1818, to John Quincy Adams, is inserted, in volume I., pp. 309-311, changing the page numbering of the pages following.

²⁰ In a formal note to Washington on the last day of the Convention, Jackson states that he will burn "all the loose scraps of paper which belong to the Convention" before turning over the papers to the president. *Doc. Hist.*, IV. 281.

²¹ J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 385. If one may judge from the letters that have been preserved, Jackson owed his appointment as secretary rather to the importunity of his application than to any conviction of his fitness for the position. Cf. *Doc. Hist. of the Constitution*, IV. 121-122, 169; R. H. Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*, II. 319-320; Rowland, *Life of George Mason*, II. 102. As he himself seems to have taken notes of the debates in addition to his formal minutes, Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 174-175; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, sixth series, VIII. 237; Hazard's *Pennsylvania Register*, II. 386, it is possible that he somewhat neglected his official duties in order to make his private records more complete.

²² This detail of ayes and noes is written partly on loose sheets and partly in a bound blank-book.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<i>Dr. H.</i>	<i>Mapa.</i>	<i>G.</i>	<i>K. I.</i>	<i>N. I.</i>	<i>N. I.</i>	<i>P.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>May.</i>	<i>F.</i>	<i>N. G.</i>	<i>J. G.</i>	<i>Q.</i>
	aye	aye		no		no	aye		no	no	aye	.
	aye	no		divd		aye	aye		aye	aye	aye	
	aye	aye		aye		aye			aye	aye	aye	
	aye	aye		aye		no	aye		aye	aye	aye	
	aye	divd		aye	no	aye	divd		aye	aye	no	aye
0	9	no	no		no	no	divd		no	no	no	no
3	7	aye	no		no	no	no		aye	no	no	no
9	-	aye	divd		aye	aye	aye	aye	aye	aye	aye	aye
5	4	divd	no	<i>10th week 7/2 years 1/2 year</i>	aye	aye	aye	aye	aye	no	no	no
3	7	no	no		aye		aye	no	aye	no	no	no
2	7	no	no		divd		aye	no	aye	no	no	no
2	8	aye	aye		aye		no	aye	no	aye	aye	aye
3	7	no	aye		no		no	no	no	no	aye	aye
1	9	no	no		no		no	aye	no	no	no	no
2	7	aye	no	<i>10th week 1/2 year</i>	aye		divd	aye	aye	aye	aye	no
6	4	aye	aye		aye		no	no	no	no	aye	aye
7	3	aye	aye	<i>10th week 1/2 year</i>	no		aye	no	no	aye	aye	aye
6	4	aye	no		aye		aye	no	no	no	aye	aye
0-10	no	no	no	<i>10th week 1/2 year</i>	no		no	no	no	no	no	no
	no	no	no		no		no	no	no	no	no	no
2	8	aye	no	<i>10th week 1/2 year</i>	aye		aye	aye	no	aye	aye	aye
8	2	aye	no		aye		aye	aye	aye	aye	no	aye
8	2	aye	no	<i>10th week 1/2 year</i>	aye		aye	no	aye	aye	aye	aye
1	3	aye	aye		aye		no	aye	aye	no	aye	no
6	4	divd	aye		no	aye	no	no	aye	aye	no	aye
6	5	no	aye	<i>10th week 1/2 year</i>	aye	no	aye	aye	aye	no	no	no
5	4	divd	aye	<i>10th week 1/2 year</i>	divd	aye	no	no	no	no	aye	aye
7	3	aye	no		divd	no	aye	aye	aye	aye	no	aye



graph of the first page of this table will show better than any long description or criticism the looseness of the secretary's methods.²³

The task of editing was evidently not an easy one, and for a time Adams regarded it as almost hopeless. Even Jackson, the secretary of the Convention, was unable to help him out. Adams reports that he called and "looked over the papers, but he had no recollection of them which could remove the difficulties arising from their disorderly state, nor any papers to supply the deficiency of the missing papers".²⁴ With the expenditure of considerable time and labor, of which he complains bitterly,²⁵ and with the exercise of no little ingenuity, Adams was finally able to collate the whole to his satisfaction. General Bloomfield supplied him with several important documents from the papers of David Brearley; Charles Pinckney sent him a copy of the plan he "believed" to be the one he presented to the Convention;²⁶ Madison furnished the means of completing the records of the last four days;²⁷ and Adams felt that "with all these papers suitably arranged, a correct and tolerably clear view of the proceedings of the Convention may be presented".

It is evident that the ascription of the votes from the detail of ayes and noes, where no questions were attached, to their respective questions in the journal, and the insertion in the journal of questions and votes that were taken from the detail of ayes and noes to supply omissions in the text of the journal, were matters of more or less uncertainty.²⁸ Mistakes were inevitable. Some of these in ascribing votes to the wrong questions are important; others, such as the assignment of questions to a wrong place in the proceedings, are of less importance; some are insignificant.²⁹ But in view of these mistakes, and because of the suspicion that would rest upon notes so carelessly kept as were the minutes of the secretary, the

²³ It is only fair to say that the secretary seems to have profited by experience, and that the later pages of the detail of ayes and noes are not as bad as the first, although uncertainty and confusion are by no means eliminated.

²⁴ *Memoirs*, IV. 174-175.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 174-387, *passim*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 365. These papers are included among those reprinted in *Doc. Hist.*, I.

²⁷ Evidently from this fact arose the belief that Madison revised the *Journal* before it was sent to the press, but the correspondence, as well as internal evidence, proves conclusively that this was not the case.

²⁸ Take for instance the first page of votes as shown in the photograph. The ninth is the first for which a question is given, and is thus readily identified with the question in the journal of the Committee of the Whole of June 1. For the preceding eight votes, there was nothing for the editor to do but to trace back the questions in the journal and to ascribe the votes to them according as they were passed in the affirmative or the negative.

²⁹ See below, pp. 54-56.

printed *Journal* cannot be relied upon. The statement of questions in the great majority of cases is probably accurate, but the determination of those questions, and in particular the votes upon them, require confirmation or can be accepted only tentatively.

YATES, AND PIERCE, 1821-1828

When the seal of secrecy had been broken by the publication of the *Journal*, Yates's notes were printed (1821) in full. They bear the imprint of an Albany firm, but J. C. Hamilton stated that Genet was the one responsible for their publication.³⁰ They were entitled *Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled . . . for the Purpose of Forming the Constitution*, etc. Luther Martin's *Genuine Information* was included in this work.³¹ As Yates and his colleague Lansing left the Convention early—because they felt that their instructions did not warrant them in countenancing, even by their presence, the action which the Convention was taking—these notes cease with the fifth of July. For the earlier days of the Convention the notes of proceedings are quite brief; and while the reports are somewhat fuller after the presentation of the New Jersey plan on June 15, it was evident that they did not give at all a complete picture of the proceedings, though they threw a great deal of light upon what had taken place, and in particular upon the attitude of individuals in the debates.

Just as Genet earlier had made use of these notes in an attack upon Madison, so now prompt advantage of this material was taken by political partizans. Extracts were at once used in the newspapers to charge Madison with inconsistency between his position in the Convention and that which he had subsequently taken. Without waiting to see the work itself, and basing his judgment solely upon the newspaper extracts referred to, Madison pronounced the notes of Yates as "not only a very mutilated but a very erroneous edition of the matter to which it relates".³² This dictum of Madison's has been very generally accepted in later years, but Yates's notes excited considerable interest and were much valued at the time of their

³⁰ J. C. Hamilton, *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, II. 466, note.

³¹ The documents in the appendix, such as the Randolph Resolutions, etc., were copied from the printed *Journal*.

³² Letters to Joseph Gales of August 26, and to Thomas Ritchie, September 15, 1821. *Doc. Hist. of the Constitution*, V. 308-312.

In 1829, in writing to J. C. Cabell, *Doc. Hist. of the Const.*, V. 349-350, Madison described Yates's notes as "crude and broken". Personal feeling might account for some of this, for Madison went on to say: "When I looked over them some years ago, I was struck with a number of instances in which he had totally mistaken what was said by me."

publication. They were reprinted in Elliot's *Debates*,³³ and in separate editions in several cities in the South and West.³⁴

William Pierce, a member from Georgia, also printed some brief notes and character sketches in the *Savannah Georgian* for April, 1828, but they seem to have attracted but little contemporary notice.³⁵

The interest that was evidently aroused by these publications seems to have called forth a number of anecdotes, which were more or less traditional. The most interesting of these was one related by a certain William Steele upon the authority of Dayton. The point of the story lies in Hamilton's opposition to Franklin's motion for the reading of prayers when the Convention seemed likely to break up before the adoption of the "great compromise". Hamilton is reported to have delivered a "high strained eulogium on the assemblage of *wisdom, talent, and experience*", and to have reached a climax with the claim that the Convention was in no need of "calling in *foreign aid*". The anecdote is so inaccurate in every other particular, that no credence can be placed in it, nor would it be worthy of mention, had it not received somewhat wide circulation.³⁶

MADISON, 1840

James Madison died in 1836. His manuscripts were purchased by Congress, and shortly afterwards, in 1840, under the editorship of H. D. Gilpin, *The Papers of James Madison* were published in three volumes.³⁷ More than half of this work was given over to his notes of the debates in the Federal Convention,³⁸ and at once

³³ In volume IV. of the first edition, and in volume I. of all subsequent editions.

³⁴ Washington, Richmond, Cincinnati, and Louisville, 1836-1844.

³⁵ Reprinted in AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III. 310-334.

³⁶ The anecdote appeared in the *National Intelligencer* for August 26, 1826, where it is cited as from the *New York Gazette*. It was reprinted in the *New York Observer*, April 27, 1850, and in *Littell's Living Age* for May 25, 1850. An introductory note in *Littell's* states that it "was published in the *Daily Advertiser* in 1825".

Madison undoubtedly refers to this in a letter to Jared Sparks, April 8, 1831—"It was during that period of gloom that Dr Franklin made the proposition for a religious service in the Convention, an account of which was so erroneously given, with every semblance of authenticity, through the *National Intelligencer*, several years ago." Sparks, *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, I. 285.

³⁷ Washington: Langtree and O'Sullivan. Other issues of this edition with change of date were published in New York, Mobile, and Boston. P. L. Ford, *Bibliography of the Constitution*.

³⁸ The *Debates* entire and some of the other material from Gilpin were published in a revised form as volume V. of Elliot's *Debates* in 1845. Albert, Scott and Company (Chicago, 1893), reprinted, both in a two-volume and a one-volume edition, the Gilpin text of the *Debates*, but inexcusably entitled the work *The Journal of the Federal Convention*. Gaillard Hunt includes the *Debates* in volumes III. and IV. of his edition of *The Writings of James Madison* (New

all other records paled into insignificance. Many years before Jefferson had been given an opportunity to examine these notes, and in 1815 he wrote to John Adams:

Do you know that there exists in manuscript the ablest work of this kind ever yet executed, of the debates of the constitutional convention of Philadelphia in 1788? The whole of everything said and done there was taken down by Mr. Madison, with a labor and exactness beyond comprehension.³⁹

Charles Pinckney stated in 1818 that he would have made public some account of what had taken place in the Convention, "had I not always understood Mr. Madison intended it—he alone I believed possessed and retained more numerous and particular notes of their proceedings than myself".⁴⁰

Before his death Madison had written a preface to the Debates, in which he explained with what care the material was gathered and written up.⁴¹

I chose a seat in front of the presiding member, with the other members, on my right and left hand. In this favorable position for hearing all that passed, I noted in terms legible and in abbreviations and marks intelligible to myself what was read from the Chair or spoken by the members; and losing not a moment unnecessarily between the adjournment and reassembling of the Convention I was enabled to write out my daily notes during the session or within a few finishing days after its close.⁴²

Indeed Madison was evidently regarded by his fellow-members in the Convention as a semi-official reporter of their proceedings, for several of them took pains to see that he was supplied with copies of their speeches and motions.⁴³ And from the day of their

York, Putnams, 1900), again unfortunately entitling them the "*Journal*". Mr. Hunt states in the preface to volume III. that the "original manuscript has been followed with rigid accuracy", which is apparently true, but with one important limitation—the original manuscript was not copied, but the Gilpin text was corrected from the manuscript; accordingly a large number of errors (minor ones, in general) to be found in Gilpin will be found in the Hunt text also. Hunt's text is not quite as accurate as that of the *Documentary History* (referred to below), but it is more readily usable, because it is free from the confusing manuscript corrections embodied in the *Documentary History*.

³⁹ P. L. Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, IX. 528.

⁴⁰ To John Quincy Adams, December 30, 1818. Printed in the *Nation*, May 23, 1895, and in *Documentary History*, I. 309-311. See above, p. 48, note 19.

⁴¹ Gilpin, *Papers of Madison*, 716-717. *Doc. Hist.*, III. 7960. See below, note 44.

⁴² "Mr. Madison told Governor Edward Coles that the labor of writing out the debates, added to the confinement to which his attendance in Convention subjected him, almost killed him; but that having undertaken the task, he was determined to accomplish it." H. B. Grigsby, *Virginia Federal Convention of 1788*, I. 95, note.

⁴³ Notice for example Franklin's speeches, Charles Pinckney's effort on June 25, and see below, note 58, on G. Morris's corrections.

publication until the present, Madison's notes of the Debates have remained the standard authority for the proceedings of the Convention.

In 1900 the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State reprinted Madison's Debates with great care as volume III. of the *Documentary History of the Constitution*,⁴⁴ and in such a way as to show the corrections and changes Madison made in his manuscript.⁴⁵ As in the case of the *Journal*, we are now in a position to judge of the editing to which these notes were subjected before being printed, and also to learn many facts of importance with regard to the notes themselves.

In the first place, as was the practice of the time, the first editor, H. D. Gilpin, took considerable liberties with the text. In order to make a smooth readable account, he corrected freely both spelling and punctuation; he filled out abbreviations; and he even modified the wording in many cases, notably in the form of recording votes.⁴⁶

In the next place, it is evident at once that Madison went over his notes after the publication of the *Journal* in 1819, and not only in some cases noted differences between his own record and that of the *Journal*, but also in many cases corrected his own notes from the *Journal*. In the wording of motions, this is not to be wondered at, for Madison, during the sessions of the Convention, in his haste to note what the speaker was saying could do no more than take down the substance of motions and resolutions, while these would be copied into the journal in full.⁴⁷ Nor is it surprising, when we remember that Madison accepted the printed *Journal* as authoritative, to find him in not a few cases copying from it proceedings of which he had no record.⁴⁸ But the importance of this fact is evident

⁴⁴ Appeared originally as an appendix to *Bulletin* no. 9 of the Bureau of Rolls and Library. For subsequent editions, see above, note 19. The Congressional edition of 1901 inserts (pp. 796a-796o) Madison's introduction to his *Débates*, of which only a partial version had appeared on pp. 1-7 of the previous edition.

⁴⁵ The preparation of the material for this volume of the *Documentary History* was more difficult than for the *Journal*, and the work has not been done as accurately nor as satisfactorily. The present writer has noticed a considerable number of mistakes in the reading of the manuscript—some of which are important—and, as is shown below, note 61, the person who did the work was frequently misled in the endeavor to indicate corrections in the manuscript.

⁴⁶ See below, note 48.

⁴⁷ There are over one hundred such cases of the revision of motions, etc., and this does not include a very large number of minor changes in wording. Sometimes these modifications were so extensive that the margins of the manuscript were insufficient and necessitated the pasting in of slips of paper.

⁴⁸ Again there are over one hundred such items in the proceedings of the Convention which Madison copied from the *Journal*; and if the vote, or decision, upon it be considered as distinct from the motion, the number would be nearly

at once, for these items have been accepted upon the double record of the *Journal* and Madison, whereas they are in reality to be stated upon the authority of the *Journal* alone.

But Madison went even one step farther and actually changed his records of votes in the Convention in order to bring them into conformity with the *Journal*. This might involve the change of the vote of a single state, or of several states, or even reverse his record of the decision of the Convention. There are upwards of forty instances in which Madison noted differences between his own record and that of the *Journal* without changing his own record,⁴⁹ but the number of cases in which he has made his record conform to the *Journal* is still larger. On what basis or for what reasons Madison felt justified in changing his records of votes is not to be ascertained conclusively. Sometimes it seems to have been done because the records of the *Journal* and Yates were in accord in their disagreement with him; sometimes he probably saw that subsequent action in the Convention proved the record of the *Journal* to be correct, and his own to be wrong; sometimes it was done because the vote of a state as recorded in the *Journal* harmonized better with the sentiments of the delegates from that state as expressed in their speeches; and sometimes there is no apparent reason.

The matter might be merely of antiquarian interest, were it not for the fact already noticed that the printed *Journal* is itself unreliable, and that there are several cases where Madison has made

two hundred. Most of the detailed votes that were thus copied (considerably over fifty) are readily distinguishable. Madison invariably recorded votes by giving the states in geographical order, doubtless as they were called in the Convention, whereas the printed *Journal* grouped the ayes and noes together. Thus the last vote on June 19 was recorded as follows:

Madison—"Massts. ay. Cont. ay. N. Y. no. N. J. no. Pa. ay. Del. no Md. divd. Va. ay. S. C. ay. Geo. ay."

Printed *Journal*—"YEAS—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia 7

NAYS—New York, New Jersey, Delaware 3

DIVIDED—Maryland 1"

Accordingly, whenever we find in Madison's notes the ayes and noes grouped together, we may be fairly sure that it was not a record made by Madison at the time, but that it has been taken upon another's authority and probably upon that of the *Journal*. The other two votes of this same day happen to furnish an excellent illustration of this. This was not discoverable from the printed editions of Madison's Debates previous to the publication of the *Documentary History*, for the reason that Gilpin rearranged the votes in a form similar to that of the *Journal*, and all subsequent editions were simply modified reprints of Gilpin.

⁴⁹ This includes differences in wording of resolutions, etc., as well as differences in votes. The plain statement of some of these notes, and the implication of others, is that in these cases Madison believes in the correctness of his own records.

corrections from the *Journal* that are undoubtedly mistaken. An instance may be taken from the first days of the Convention to illustrate this. On May 31, the Convention, in Committee of the Whole, took up the third of the Randolph Resolutions, "that the National Legislature ought to consist of two branches". Madison originally recorded that this resolution "was agreed to without debate or dissent". The printed *Journal* (p. 85) gives the vote as seven states in the affirmative and one state, Pennsylvania, in the negative. By referring to the detail of ayes and noes of the secretary's records,⁵⁰ we find that this vote is one of those for which no question is given and there is no clue to its identity from the adjoining votes. John Quincy Adams's assignment of it to this particular question was then largely a matter of guess-work. The fact that there were ten states present and voting on May 31, and only eight states on May 30, creates a strong presumption against the accuracy of this assignment. Moreover, the correctness of Madison's record is confirmed by Yates, who states that "The 3d resolve . . . was taken into consideration, and without any debate agreed to."⁵¹ McHenry also confirms it in that he gives votes for the questions following, but reports this simply as "agreed to".⁵² Madison, however, assuming that the printed *Journal* was authoritative, modified his record so that it reads that this resolution "was agreed to without debate or dissent, *except that of Pennsylvania, given probably from complaisance to Doct Franklin who was understood to be partial to a single House of Legislation*".⁵³ Not only did he revise his record to make it conform to the *Journal*, but he gave a wholly unwarrantable explanation of the new record.

Other mistaken changes occur. There are several questions and votes that Madison copied into his manuscript from the printed *Journal* without at all observing that he had these same questions and votes recorded in another place, sometimes even on the same day. An examination of the original records shows again that in most of these cases the questions were not to be found in the body of the journal but were incorporated into the text by John Quincy Adams. They are only to be found in the detail of ayes and noes, and their relative position in the proceedings could only be inferred from the order in which the votes happened to be recorded.

It is not surprising, indeed, to find that Madison was thus misled

⁵⁰ See fourth vote in photograph.

⁵¹ Edition of 1821, p. 99.

⁵² AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI. 601.

⁵³ The italics are not in the manuscript, but are used here to indicate the part added.

by the mistakes in the printed *Journal*, for if his own records were correct, these would be the very points in which the discrepancies would occur. It is only necessary then to recognize Madison's evident acceptance of the *Journal* as authoritative, to expect him to incorporate these mistakes in his Debates.⁵⁴

Another extensive set of corrections is to be found in the speeches made in debate. These are generally in the form of additions to Madison's original record. It will be remembered that because of misquotations of his own remarks Madison condemned Yates's notes severely, as being "a very erroneous edition of the matter". It is more than surprising, then, to discover that these additions were taken from Yates. Such proves to have been the case, however, and in over fifty instances. There were a number of speeches or remarks, including several of his own, that Madison failed to note in any form, but later thought worthy of inclusion. And there were also new ideas or shades of thought which Yates had noticed but which Madison had failed to catch. Of slight importance, but interesting, is a case on June 23, where Madison in reporting Mason's allusion to himself, referred as usual to "Mr. Madison", but substituted from Yates the better form of "my colleague", and then returned the compliment in referring to Mason a few pages farther on. And still more interesting is the fact that Madison actually revised from Yates a portion of the very speech, for the misreporting of which he had condemned Yates so severely. The following citations in parallel columns will illustrate the character of this unacknowledged borrowing:⁵⁵

Yates.

June 2.

Madison.

"Mr. Randolph. . . . He preferred three divisions of the states, and an executive to be taken from each. . . . He was therefore for an executive of three."

"Mr. Randolph. . . . He was in favor of three members of the Executive to be drawn from different portions of the Country."

⁵⁴ It should be noted that Madison was at least seventy years old when these revisions of his manuscript were made, and it is not to be wondered at that he did not always show the accuracy and discrimination for which the work of his earlier years has given him a reputation. And if it be true, as suggested below, note 61, that Madison made these revisions at two different times, it would be quite natural for him to make more radical changes in the second revision, when he had accustomed himself to the idea of changes being necessary, or had forgotten the criteria of his earlier revision.

⁵⁵ The citations of Yates are from the first edition (1821), those of Madison from the *Documentary History*. Madison's manuscript shows that all of these passages are interpolations; see below, pp. 59-60.

June 11.

"Mr. Butler supported the motion, by observing that money is strength; and every state ought to have its weight in the national council in proportion to the quantity it possesses."

"Mr. Butler urged the same idea: adding that money was power; and that the States ought to have weight in the Govt—in proportion to their wealth."

"Mr. Gerry. The idea of property ought not to be the rule of representation. Blacks are property, and are used to the southward as horses and cattle to the northward; and why should their representation be increased to the southward on account of the number of slaves, than horses or oxen to the north?"

"Mr. Gerry thought property not the rule of representation. Why then shd. the blacks, who were property in the South, be in the rule of representation more than the cattle and horses of the North."

June 22.

"Mr. Madison. I oppose this motion. Members are too much interested in the question. Besides, it is indecent that the legislature should put their hands in the public purse to convey it into their own."

"Mr. Madison, thought the members of the Legisl. too much interested to ascertain their own compensation. It wd. be indecent to put their hands into the public purse for the sake of their own pockets."

"Judge Elsworth. If we are so exceedingly jealous of state legislatures, will they not have reason to be equally jealous of us? If I return to my state and tell them, we made such and such regulations for a general government, because we dared not trust you with any extensive powers, will they be satisfied? nay, will they adopt your government? and let it ever be remembered, that without their approbation your government is nothing more than a rope of sand."

"Mr. Elsworth. If we are jealous of the State Govts. they will be so of us. If on going home I tell them we gave the Gen: Govt. such powers because we cd. not trust you,—will they adopt it, and witht yr. approbation it is a nullity."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The present writer's attention was called to the indebtedness of Madison to Yates by this speech of Ellsworth's. Madison invariably reported the speeches in the third person, and this slip into direct discourse suggested a comparison with Yates, who generally reported the speakers in the first person. Some results of that comparison are here shown.

June 23.

"Genl. Pinckney. . . . It wd. seem from the ideas of some that we are erecting a Kingdom to be divided agst. itself, he disapproved such a fetter on the Legislature.

"Mr. Sherman. By the conduct of some gentlemen, we are erecting a kingdom to act against itself. The legislature ought to be free and unbiassed."

"Mr. Sherman. . . . It wd. seem that we are erecting a Kingdom at war with itself. The Legislature ought not to be fettered in such a case."⁵⁷

"Mr. Mason. We must retain this clause, otherwise evasions may be made. The legislature may admit of resignations and thus make members eligible—places may be promised at the close of their duration, and that a dependency may be made.

"Mr. Gerry. And this actually has been the case in congress—a member resigned to obtain an appointment, and had it failed he would have resumed it.

"Mr. Hamilton. The clause may be evaded many ways. Offices may be held by proxy—they may be procured by friends, etc.

"Mr. Rutledge. I admit, in some cases, it may be evaded; but this is no argument against shutting the door as close as possible."

"Col. Mason thought this essential to guard agst. evasions by resignations, and stipulations for office to be filled at the expiration of the legislative term. Mr. Gerry, had known such a case. Mr. Hamilton. Evasions cd. not be prevented—as by proxies—by friends holding for a year, and then opening the way etc. Mr. Rutledge admitted the possibility of evasions, but was for contracting them as possible."

June 25.

"Dr. Johnson. The state governments must be preserved: but this motion leaves them at the will and pleasure of the general government.

"Mr. Madison. I find great differences of opinion in this convention on the clause now under consideration. Let us postpone it in order to take up the 8th resolve, that we may previously determine the mode of representation."

"Doctr. Johnson urged the necessity of preserving the State Govts—which would be at the mercy of the Genl. Govt. on Mr. Wilson's plan.

"Mr. Madison thought it wd. obviate difficulty if the present resol: were postponed, and the 8th taken up, which is to fix the right of suffrage in the 2d. branch."

⁵⁷ Madison here made a slip in copying. He first added this passage to his own report of General Pinckney's speech; then, noticing his mistake, rewrote it and ascribed it to Sherman, and forgot to cross out the former record.

July 5.

"Mr. Wilson. The committee has exceeded their powers.

"Mr. Martin proposed to take the question on the whole of the report.

"Mr. Wilson. I do not chuse to take a leap in the dark. I have a right to call for a division of the question on each distinct proposition."

"Mr. Wilson thought the Committee had exceeded their powers.

"Mr. Martin was for taking the question on the whole report.

"Mr. Wilson was for a division of the question; otherwise it wd. be a leap in the dark."⁵⁸

The statements made in the preceding paragraphs as to when and how Madison revised his manuscript may seem to be somewhat dogmatic, or at least to be more positive than can be warranted by such insufficient evidence. It is true that the conclusions here expressed were reached by a method which involves some *a priori* reasoning. Their accuracy, however, is established by an additional fact. In a letter to Thomas Ritchie of September 15, 1821, after the publication of Yates's *Secret Proceedings*, Madison expressed his immediate intention of preparing his notes of the Convention's proceedings for future, and probably posthumous, publication.⁵⁹ An examination of the manuscript⁶⁰ proves that most of the changes that were thus made are easily recognizable. The ink which was used at the later

⁵⁸ There are also a number of corrections of lesser extent in other speeches, notably in those of Gouverneur Morris, from which one might infer that Madison had revised his manuscript from the notes of some one—probably Morris—which have never been published. But Morris, in a letter to Timothy Pickering of December 22, 1814 (Sparks, *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, III. 322) states positively that he kept no such notes. An examination of Madison's manuscript, however, shows that these changes were made at the time when the manuscript was written, and as they are not of such a character that Madison would have made them of his own accord, it is probable that Morris knew of the notes Madison was keeping, and suggested the changes at that time. In the letter cited, Morris evidently had Madison in mind when he wrote: "Some gentlemen, I was told, passed their evenings in transcribing speeches from shorthand minutes of the day."

⁵⁹ *Documentary History of the Constitution*, V. 310-312. Cf. Madison to J. G. Jackson, December 27, 1821. *Ibid.*, 312-315. The note at the end of the Debates, formally signed by Madison, "The few alterations and corrections made in these debates which are not in my hand writing, were dictated by me and made in my presence by John C. Payne" (*Doc. Hist.*, III. 771) undoubtedly refers to this revision. Hunt, *Writings of Madison*, IV. 456, states that a slight correction on September 14 is the only one in Payne's handwriting, but the present writer is unwilling to accept this, although as yet unable to make any other positive determination for himself. The editor of the *Documentary History* confesses his inability to distinguish between the two handwritings. *Doc. Hist.*, III. 771, marginal note.

⁶⁰ In the keeping of the Department of State, Bureau of Rolls and Library.

date has faded quite differently from that of the original notes, so that most of the later revisions stand out from the page almost as clearly as if they had been written in red ink.⁶¹ The accompanying photograph of a page of the manuscript, including the records at the close of July 26 and the beginning of August 6, shows this difference in ink and writing, but by no means so distinctly as in the original. This cumulative evidence, therefore, would seem to place the matter beyond the controversial stage, and all statements that have been made above are based upon this double authority.⁶²

KING

In view of the fact that the *Journal* is so imperfect and not altogether reliable, and that Madison made so many changes in his manuscript, all other records of the Convention take on a new importance. Formerly they have been regarded only in so far as they might supplement our information; now it is seen that they may be of service also in determining what the action really was in doubtful cases.

Without question, the next most important notes to those which have been considered are the notes of Rufus King. They were published as an appendix to volume I. of the *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*,⁶³ and have not received the attention they deserve,

⁶¹ This is not always the case, for the original manuscript has faded differently in different parts, perhaps because of different exposure or the use of more than one kind of ink. There also seem to have been at least two distinct sets of later corrections, probably made at different times. It is, therefore, sometimes difficult and sometimes impossible to determine whether or not the correction is a later one. A reference to the "printed Journal" must of course be of a later date than 1819, and the ink and writing of these words will frequently make clear all of the corrections of that date. It is also very helpful to know that it was Madison's almost invariable practice in his original notes to refer to himself as "M" or "Mr. M". In the revision of his manuscript he filled out his own name, so that the ink and writing of "adison" often furnish the necessary clue.

In the publishing of Madison's notes in volume III. of the *Documentary History of the Constitution*, the attempt was made to show all corrections of the manuscript by the use of small type, but this includes every correction whether made at the time of first writing or later. It is also misleading in that small type is used where Madison was forced to write in a cramped hand at the end of a line or the bottom of a page, and many places are overlooked where there happened to be sufficient space in the manuscript to enable Madison to make the correction in his natural handwriting. To one who cannot make use of the original manuscript this distinction of type in the *Documentary History* proves extremely helpful, but it must be remembered that it is neither exhaustive nor perfectly reliable.

⁶² It perhaps should be noted as a matter of record that Madison also had copies of Pierce's notes which appeared in the *Savannah Georgian* in 1828, *Calendar of the Correspondence of James Madison*, p. 113.

⁶³ New York, Putnams, 6 vols., 1894-1900.

of the Genl. Gov^t.

Mr. Langdon approved the idea also: but suggested the case of a State moving its seat of Gov^t to the nat^l seat after the erection of the public buildings.

Mr. Ghorum. The precaution may be avoided by the Nat^l Legisl^r by ^{turning} ~~pro~~ delay-
ing to erect the public buildings.

Mr. Gerry conceived it to be the gen^l sense of America that neither the seat of a State Gov^t nor any large commercial City should be the seat of the Genl. Gov^t.

Mr. Williamson liked the idea, but knowing how much the passions of men were agitated by this matter, was apprehensive of ^{turning} ~~exciting~~ them as ^{to} the system. He apprehended also that an evasion might be practiced in the way hinted by Mr. Ghorum.

Mr. Pinkney thought the seat of a State Gov^t ought to be avoided, but that a large town or its vicinity would be proper for the seat of the Genl. Gov^t.

Col. Mason did not mean to press the motion at this time, nor to excite any hostile feelings as ^{to} the system. He was content to withdraw the motion for the present.

Mr. Butler was for fixing ^{by the constitution} the place, & a central one, for the seat of the Nat^l Gov^t.
proceedings since Monday last were referred unanimously to the
~~The Resolution relating to the P. & T. & the Com^o of Detail.~~
and the Convention adjourned till Monday Augst 6. Nat^l Com^o of detail ^{might} have time
to prepare & report the Constitution: The whole proceedings as reported are as follows: ^{there copy them}
from the Journal p. 207.

With the above resolutions were referred the propositions offered by Mr. C. Pinkney on the 29th of
May, & by Mr. Patterson on the 15th of June.

Monday August 6. In Convention
Mr. John Francis Mercer from Maryland took his seat. ^{delivered in}
~~The House Adjourned~~ for Mr. Rutledge the Report of
the Committee of detail as follows: a printed copy being at the same time furnished ^{to each}
member.

" We the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts,
Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York,
New Jersey,

because the form in which they are presented is so confusing. For example, in the midst of the records of June 1 is inserted a speech of Dickinson which was really delivered on the following day; and under date of June 4 are notes of the proceedings of four different days. The editor, Doctor Charles R. King, grandson of Rufus King, states in a brief introductory paragraph that the notes thus printed are a copy made by Rufus King "somewhere about 1818-21 (for the paper bears the watermark of 1818) from rough notes taken at the time".

An examination of these original notes⁶⁴ shows that they are memoranda taken at the time in the Convention on odds and ends of paper. Each sheet or scrap of paper is dated and most of them are endorsed with date and substance of the contents, so that in only one or two cases can there be any doubt as to the place and order of the notes. It is altogether probable that Rufus King was induced by the printing of the *Journal* and Yates, *Secret Proceedings*, to prepare his notes for publication. At any rate, many years after the Convention was over, he attempted to put his notes into better form. In doing this work, although in most cases he did not venture to change the substance of his earlier records, he did drop out the dates in a number of instances; he sometimes omitted important items or notes, either unintentionally, or because he could not understand them; and in a few cases, at least one or two of which are important, he modified his original notes. It was this revised copy that was printed. The editor, C. R. King, attempted to insert some of the omitted items, but as he evidently was not familiar with the other records of the Convention his well-meant efforts only added to the confusion. There is not in King's original notes much material additional to that previously printed,⁶⁵ but it is important that they are in a form which permits them to be used readily; and they prove to be of considerable value.

McHENRY

Within the last few years there have been printed in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW notes and memoranda of proceedings in the Convention recently found among the papers of some of the members. Quite the best of these are the notes of James McHenry

⁶⁴ The King MSS. are deposited in the library of the New York Historical Society, and the privilege of using them freely was extended to the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Edward King of New York, and the kindness of the librarian, Mr. R. H. Kelby.

⁶⁵ Among the manuscripts is a paper in Gerry's own writing giving his well-known reasons for refusing to sign the Constitution.

of Maryland.⁶⁶ McHenry started out with the evident intention of taking somewhat extensive notes, and he adds not a little to our information of Randolph's speech in presenting the Virginia Resolutions on May 29. On account of his brother's illness, he left Philadelphia on June 1, and remained away during June and July, but in August he returned to the Convention and to his note-taking with all the enthusiasm of the beginner. The records became more and more brief as time passed, but they are valuable because they are, for the latter part of the Convention's work, the only materials we have beside the *Journal* and Madison's notes. In addition, McHenry has given us our first definite and reliable information of a caucus of the Maryland delegates, the existence of which was only suspected before.

PIERCE

The notes of Wm. Pierce of Georgia which were printed in the *Savannah Georgian* in 1828,⁶⁷ were made accessible by being reprinted in the *REVIEW*⁶⁸ and add somewhat to our information of the proceedings of the first few days of the sessions. The character sketches of his fellow-members in Convention, which accompany these notes, are not only interesting but are also helpful in portraying the delegates as they appeared to a contemporary.

PATERSON

The notes of William Paterson of New Jersey⁶⁹ were evidently taken solely for his own use. While they are of little help in studying the general proceedings of the Convention, they are of great assistance in following Paterson's own line of reasoning, and in particular in studying the development of the resolutions Paterson presented on June 15, commonly called the New Jersey Plan. This is here given in its various stages of construction.

HAMILTON

Alexander Hamilton's notes, also printed in the *REVIEW*,⁷⁰ were found among the Hamilton Papers in the Library of Congress. They are little more than brief memoranda and, like those of Paterson, are of importance not so much in determining what others

⁶⁶ AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, April, 1906, XI. 595-624.

⁶⁷ See p. 51, above.

⁶⁸ AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, January, 1898, III. 310-334.

⁶⁹ AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, January, 1904, IX. 310-340.

⁷⁰ Edited by Worthington C. Ford and first printed in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for June, 1904. Carefully revised for reprinting in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for October, 1904, X. 97-109.

thought or said as in tracing the development of the writer's own reasoning.

PINCKNEY

Not a little interest was aroused when in the same journal there was published an outline of the genuine Pinckney Plan⁷¹ and an extract from the same.⁷² These were found among the Wilson manuscripts in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. As Charles Pinckney had been pretty thoroughly discredited by the spurious plan he had sent to John Quincy Adams in 1818, it was somewhat of a surprise to discover that, although he was not to be credited with any of the larger features of the Constitution, his plan had not been smothered in committee as had commonly been supposed, but was evidently used by the Committee of Detail in preparing their draft of the Constitution submitted to the Convention on August 6. It is evident that he is to be given the credit for a considerable number of details in the Constitution as completed.

MASON

A few notes and memoranda relating to the Federal Convention were found among the papers of George Mason, and were printed in 1892 by Miss K. M. Rowland in her *Life, Correspondence and Speeches of George Mason*.⁷³ They are not of much importance, except in so far as they throw a little further light upon Mason's position in the Convention.

COMMITTEE OF DETAIL

Before the publication of Miss Rowland's *Life of Mason*, there had been found among the Mason papers a draft of a constitution in the handwriting of Edmund Randolph, with modifications and corrections in John Rutledge's hand. M. D. Conway, in *Scribner's Magazine* for September, 1887,⁷⁴ somewhat hastily described this document as a plan prepared by Randolph before the Convention assembled. W. M. Meigs, in his *Growth of the Constitution*, wherein he prints in facsimile a copy of this draft, shows conclusively that this could not have been original with Randolph, but must have been a draft of the Committee of Detail.⁷⁵ In fact it is probably the first draft of that committee's work.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, July, 1904, IX. 735-747.

⁷² *Ibid.*, April, 1903, VIII. 509-511. Jameson, *Studies*, pp. 130-131. The identification of the extract by Professor Jameson (see his *Studies*, pp. 128-132), without seeing the manuscripts themselves, is an interesting and suggestive piece of historical criticism.

⁷³ II. 112-115, 118, 178, 382-387.

⁷⁴ Also in *Omitted Chapters of History* (1888), ch. 9.

⁷⁵ (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 317-324.

Among the Wilson manuscripts are found two other drafts of this committee, one of which bears similar corrections in the handwriting of Rutledge, who was the chairman of the committee. The close relationship of these three drafts is shown by Professor Jameson,⁷⁶ and while the study of them is tedious, the labor is well repaid, for it is possible to trace clearly the process of construction of the Constitution at this all-important stage of its development. Not the least interesting result of such a study is the fact that of all the state instruments of government the constitution of New York exercised the greatest influence, several of its provisions being incorporated directly into the Federal document. It is also noteworthy that both the New Jersey and Pinckney Plans were of considerable service to the committee in its work.⁷⁷

PRINTED DRAFTS

Printed copies of the drafts of August 6 and September 12 were made for the members' use, and the delegates were allowed to make their own copies of the Virginia and New Jersey Plans. Copies of all of these, belonging to various members, are extant, and most of them have marginal notes and emendations in the nature of amendments or recording the action taken upon particular sections or clauses.⁷⁸ They are interesting, but add practically nothing to our knowledge of the proceedings in Convention, and are probably not worth reprinting.

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

Professor Jameson has prepared a list of the letters written by the members of the Federal Convention while that body was in session, and he has printed such of them as had not previously been made public.⁷⁹ Owing to the obligation of secrecy imposed upon them, the writers do not reveal much of importance as to what was taking place, and consequently they add but little to our knowledge of the Convention's work. Taken, however, in connection with the first class of material referred to in this article,⁸⁰ they suggest other sources of information, namely, the statements as to its proceedings made by members of the Convention after the sessions were over. Such statements have already been cited as giving us our first information of the internal working of the Convention, but on following

⁷⁶ *Studies*, pp. 125-132.

⁷⁷ Cf. Jameson, *Studies*, pp. 128-132.

⁷⁸ See P. L. Ford, *Bibliography of the Constitution*, no. 8.

⁷⁹ *Studies*, pp. 90-103.

⁸⁰ Pages 2-3 above.

out the line of investigation now suggested, this material proves to be surprisingly extensive. Part of it is to be found in the correspondence of the delegates, but the most fruitful line of inquiry lies in tracing the subsequent public careers of these men. Baldwin, Johnson, Gouverneur Morris, the Pinckneys, and many others of note under the new government, in their public utterances, especially upon constitutional questions, support their contentions by reference to the action or the intention of the Convention. Even Madison and Washington were led in this way to break their customary reserve. Of course, the farther away from the Convention one gets, the less reliable these reports become, owing to the deforming influence of memory. But taken as a whole this mass of supplementary material throws not a little light upon the work of the Convention and in particular upon the parts taken by individual members, and upon opinions and personalities. And whatever can help us to understand the most important convention in our nation's history is to be welcomed.

It is possible, indeed probable, that other records of the Convention will be brought to light. Charles Pinckney stated explicitly that he had taken careful notes of the proceedings;⁸¹ William Jackson, secretary of the Convention, kept minutes of the debates;⁸² in a communication to the Massachusetts convention, Elbridge Gerry "subjoined a state of facts, founded on documents";⁸³ Gouverneur Morris referred to "some gentlemen" writing up their notes between sessions;⁸⁴ and James Wilson in the Pennsylvania convention on December 4, 1787, stated that within a week he had "spoken with a gentleman, who has not only his memory, but full notes that he had taken in that body".⁸⁵ Whatever may be the accuracy or the value of these various statements, at least they indicate that there once existed material of which we have no present knowledge, but which may at any time be found. It is not probable, however, that any such new material would modify to any great extent our conceptions of the Convention's work, and it has, therefore, seemed worth while to embody in the present article the existing state of our information regarding the records of the Federal Convention.

MAX FARRAND.

⁸¹ See above, p. 52, note 40. Hunt, *Writings of Madison*, III. 25, note (with correction in IV., p. vii), states that none of the notes are extant. Cf. Jameson, *Studies*, p. 131, note a.

⁸² See above, p. 48, note 21.

⁸³ *Massachusetts Debates* (ed. of 1856), pp. 67-68.

⁸⁴ See above, note 58.

⁸⁵ Elliot, *Debates*, II. 453.

DOCUMENT

Directorium ad Faciendum Passagium Transmarinum,¹ II.

THE *Directorium* opens with a statement of authorship and date, and with a dedication—it is put forth, we are told, by a certain Friar Preacher who has written from his own experience rather than from hearsay; it was completed in the year 1330;² and it is addressed to Philip, king of the French, in other words to Philip VI. of Valois (1328–1350).

The author then proceeds to congratulate Philip on his reported intention to take up the Holy War once more: for his assistance, in lieu of military aid, which a poor friar could not furnish, he offers him this *Directory*, the fruit of more than twenty-four years of residence and of missionary labor in infidel lands. The work in question (according to the *two swords* whose sufficiency the Lord Himself attested, and according to the number of the Apostles) he has divided, he tells us, into two books and further subdivided into twelve parts. The first book, we may notice, occupies nearly four-fifths of the entire treatise and comprises eight of the twelve parts.

Part I. discusses the *motives* for “making the passage”, for undertaking this revival of Crusade. We begin with the personal incentive of the example of earlier French kings, Philip’s ancestors, so eminently associated with the suppression of heresy, the liberation of the Roman Church, the extermination of the Saracenic pest—as in Aquitaine, Provence, Spain, and Palestine. Next follows the desire of enlarging the bounds of Christendom, a desire which every Catholic prince must naturally feel. Under this the writer, much in

¹ The installment of this document presented in the July number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII. 813–857, was preceded by a preface dealing with textual questions. Historical comment was deferred to the present number, and is presented briefly in the following pages. Here I must acknowledge the great kindness of Mr. R. J. Whitwell, who has unsparingly given his time and skill to examining with me many of the difficult readings of M (the Magdalen College MS.), and to whose sound palaeography I am much indebted. The text of this document, and the critical notes on the same, have already made such inroads on the space of this REVIEW, that the present article must be compressed into the narrowest possible limits.

² Here the Magdalen Coll. MS. (M) reads 1332; see the July no. (1907) of this journal, p. 813.

the style of Marino Sanuto's *Secreta*,³ draws a vigorous picture of the shrinkage of Christian frontiers, since early times, through the growth of heresy, and the inroads of that foul swine, filthy dog, and minister of the devil, "Machomet". Only the Roman Church now remained faithful, and it was confined within a little fraction of the inhabited earth, driven by its foes, as it were, to the world's ends. Africa no longer contained any Christians; and although plenty of such might still be found in Asia, none were orthodox. Even in Europe, "our own part of the world", many pagans⁴ still remained, bordering on Germans and Poles; Saracens⁵ yet held out in one part of Spain; and in various regions were Christians not of the Roman faith. Such were the Russians,⁶ whose land, near to Bohemia and bordering on Poland, had an extent of more than forty days' journey; the Bulgarians, whose realm stretched for more than twenty days' march; and the numerous races of Sclavonia, inhabiting *Rassia*,⁷ Servia, Crovacia (the region of Cracow), and other kingdoms bordering on the Hungarians, Greeks, Dalmatians, Albanians, and Blaqui or Wallachians.

In other ways also it could be shown that Catholic Christendom was now reduced to a very small share of the world. For Asia was much greater than commonly supposed;⁸ men of the writer's day had found inhabited regions in the far north "beyond the latitude of the last Climate"; in other words, beyond the fiftieth parallel. In another direction the writer himself could support the same position. For when travelling as a missionary he not only reached the equatorial region, but once passed far beyond, into a southern latitude where he no longer saw the Arctic pole, but beheld the Antarctic at an elevation of 24°; ⁹ certain merchants even claimed to have

³ On Sanuto's *Secreta*, which furnishes many striking parallels to the *Directorium*, I beg to refer to my *Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. III., pp. 309-319, and especially, on the subject here touched, p. 317; AMER. HIST. REV., July, 1907, XII. 810.

⁴ As to these one need only refer to the heathen Prussians, the conquest of whose land by the crusading Order of Teutonic Knights occupied much of the thirteenth century, 1226-1283, and who still in 1330 comprised some pagan tribes; and the Lithuanians, whose official conversion dates only from the dynastic union of 1386 with Poland.

⁵ These, of course, are the Granada Moslems, not conquered till 1492.

⁶ *Ruteni* of M.

⁷ This *Rassia* (or *Racia*) is the Servian Empire of the fourteenth century, occupying nearly all the northwest of the Balkan peninsula.

⁸ Lit. "than appeared in the ordinary description of the Climates".

⁹ On Catholic knowledge of equatorial regions and glimpses of lands and seas still further south, in the later Middle Ages, especially in the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Modern Geography*, III. 28-29, 133-136, 145-150, 264-267, 300-301, 416-417, 439-440, 523-524.

penetrated to a point where they found an elevation of 54° for this Antarctic pole.

From all this it clearly followed that not only Asia, but the inhabited world in general, was greater than had been usually laid down; that the assumption of Antipodes was neither false nor frivolous; and that true or Catholic Christendom, squeezed into a tiny angle of the earth, did not include one-twentieth of the same. None the less this Catholic Christendom, small as was its area, if compared to other regions in strength; in the use of arms and warlike probity; in virtue, religion, manners, morals, and the proper use of wealth; or in justice and good government—was as gold among the metals.

The third *motive* for the “passage” or crusade was a due compassion for the ruin of so many Christian peoples. For besides the avowed schismatics of the East, dragged down to hell at the tail of the Greek sect, there were various Christian peoples to south, north, and east, who—though frequently as darkened in their heresy as the Greeks, and though often following the errors of other sects—yet declared themselves to be Orthodox, and deserved the attention of true Crusaders. Such were the Goths,¹⁰ of the same race as the famous devastators of the West; the Ziqui,¹¹ to the far Northeast, from whom sprang the Scythians; the Avogasi, source of the Vandals; the tribes from which the Huns descended; the Georgians or Iberians; and the Alans¹²—races whose territories had an extent of eighty days of march. In the Orient, moreover, were many Christians who lived under the dominion of the Emperor of Persia (the Mongol Ilkhan) such as those of the Empire of Trebizond “anciently Cappadocia”; the men of Greater Armenia, that “diffuse” country on whose mountains once rested the ark of Noah; and the Jacobite and Nestorian heretics.

Further south, again, was a fairly large island¹³ in the Indian Sea, which the writer himself had visited, whose people practised both baptism and circumcision, and of whose manners, customs, laws, and ridiculous method of government, much of interest might

¹⁰ On the Goths of the Crimea, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 324, 390; III. 170, 241, 564.

¹¹ On the Ziqui or Zicci, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 303.

¹² On the Alans in the same period (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 183–185, 291, 294–295, 307; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 84–90.

¹³ That it was probably Socotra has already been suggested; see *AMER. HIST. REV.*, July, 1907, p. 811; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 193, 207, 222, 400, 423, 463; II. 259; III. 17, 145–147, 211.

be said, if the matter were not foreign to the present argument. Nor was this all. Still further south were Ethiopian Christians, a great and powerful nation, one of whose kingdoms, called Nubia,¹⁴ bordering on Egypt, had sometimes defeated the Egyptian sultan, and who cherished a proud hope based on "prophecy", that one day they would destroy Egyptians and Arabians together, sack Mecca, and burn the body of "Machomet".

The fourth *motive*, the natural Christian desire of recovering the land hallowed by the life and death of Christ is discussed with great eloquence, but contains nothing of historical interest, and with this ends the first part.

Part II. is occupied with five *preambles* which must be observed before the passage is undertaken. And here, beginning with prayer and amendment of life, the author incidentally remarks with perfect accuracy upon the original conquest of Jerusalem in 639 by the Caliph Omar, the Saracen occupation of the Holy City till the crusading victory of 1099, the Christian possession of the same for the next eighty-eight years, and the final loss of Zion to the Moslems in 1187. Of this final loss, it is clear to the writer, Christian wickedness had been the all-important cause. In language like that of James de Vitry, or Burchard of Mount Sion,¹⁵ he depicts the avarice, pomp, vanity, and indolence of the Latin prelates of the East; the abounding iniquity of their clergy and people; the irreverence, indiscipline, and disobedience of monks and friars; the abandoned life of women; the injustice of rulers and judges. Again, the *Directory* does not forget to insist upon the essential *preamble* of military order and discipline, quoting examples, not only from Scripture, but also from Vegetius and Valerius Maximus in reference to ancient Roman military policy.

The third *preamble* is peace and concord among the Crusaders themselves—a topic especially suggested by the war then raging between the foremost of Christian maritime powers, Catalans and Genoese, who for probity, valor, energy, industry, experience, loyalty, steadfastness, and the power of furnishing and maintaining naval force, were without peers. An urgent appeal is addressed to the king of France to stop this suicidal struggle through his influence on the kings of Aragon and Sicily.

For the provisioning of the expedition with grain, wine, oil, meal, vegetables, cheese, and salt meats of all kinds, Apulia and Sicily are

¹⁴ On the Nubians of the Middle Ages, and their Christianity, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 242; II. 260, 263; III. 152, 174-175, 314-315, 317, 498.

¹⁵ See *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 213; III. 388.

specially recommended; yet here again a war had to be ended. King Robert and King Frederic must lay aside their enmities at the appeal of Philip; both of them, it might be hoped, would ultimately follow the French king on his crusade, and would devote to the service of God's army their admirable ports, especially those of Sicily, and their rich supply of ship timber. From his own personal experience the writer was assured of King Frederic's devotion to the cause and of his high merits as a crusading leader.

The fourth *preamble* (like the fifth) is concerned with the discussion of ways and means. Before the main army had actually started, everything should be made ready for the maritime transport of all those crusaders who could bear a sea voyage, as well as of victuals, arms, and engines of war such as *balistae* and instruments for bombarding or undermining the walls of camps, cities, and forts. To guard these transports, to clear the sea from pirates, and to co-operate with the land force a powerful navy was indispensable; and as the route of the land-army must lie through the empire of Romania (of Constantinople), and as Venice and Genoa held important possessions in that empire, it was obvious that Venetians and Genoese must furnish the war-ships necessary. How powerfully they could aid in the expedition was clear from the fact that Crete, Negropont, and nearly all the islands of the Aegaeon belonged to Venice; and that Genoa from her town of *Capha*¹⁶ in "Northern Tartary", could supply so many things needful for the passage, while in the fortress-city of Pera,¹⁷ immediately adjoining Constantinople, she held a position of unique importance. Nor was this all. Venetians and Genoese were well acquainted with the seas, ports, islands, rocks, roads, passes, and provinces of the Byzantine Empire; and many of them even knew many of the local languages, having been born and brought up in those parts.

Coming to more specific details, the writer considers that by the spring following a navy of twelve galleys should be ready to police the seas of the Levant, and especially to cut off all naval aid from the Sultan of Egypt, who was absolutely dependent upon incoming trade for his supply of arms and iron, as well as of timber for ship-building, fortifying or constructing military engines. Like Marino

¹⁶ On Capha, Caffa, or Kaffa, the classical and modern Theodosia ("Feodosia") on the southeast coast of the Crimea, the chief Black Sea base of Genoese trade and the greatest Catholic outpost and colony *in partibus infidelium* during the fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 453-454; III. 237, 239, 249, 250, 291-292, 330, 341, 347, 371-372, 467, 477-478, 486, 536.

¹⁷ On the Genoese in Pera and Galata, see Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, I. 432, 436-437, 445-446, 450, 454-461, 498, 502-508; II. 99; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 337, 475.

Sanuto's *Secreta*, the *Directory* would absolutely interdict all maritime trade between Latin Christendom and Moslem countries. Both works agree in considering that Egypt, from its lack of the necessities aforesaid, would fall an easy victim to this commercial interdict.

Thus ends the second part. The third begins with the consideration of the routes to be followed by the Crusaders.

And first of all that recommended by Raymond Lull¹⁸ along the north coast of Africa is discussed and rejected. For one thing, its length and weariness were insupportable. From Gibraltar Strait to Acre was a distance of 3,500 miles; even from Tunis to Acre it was 2,300 miles. Once more, it was a road full of danger, with difficult passes, a long stretch of absolute desert, and inaccessible or impregnable positions, forts or cities. Finally, at the conclusion of the march the Latin army, weakened by these terrible and endless labors, could only reach the Holy Land by the complete overthrow of the Soldan of Egypt himself, most formidable of Moslem powers. The only reason for St. Louis, on his last crusade, beginning his attack upon the infidel with the siege of Tunis was in all probability the nearness of Sicily, that invaluable base of operations.

The second route, by sea, starting from Aigues Mortes, Marseilles or Nice, and calling at Cyprus, is also condemned as unsuitable for all unaccustomed to maritime life. The miseries of life on shipboard, for men and horses alike, are vividly described in the style of the eighteenth-century sage ("in prison, with the additional chance of being drowned"); the dangers of contrary winds, of being becalmed far from land, of bad food and water, of storm and shipwreck, of violent change of climate, of an unhealthy or dangerous place of disembarkation, are dwelt upon with all the force of personal (and unhappy) experience.

Finally, the absence of any good harbor under Catholic control on the Syrian coast is insisted upon: if St. Louis suffered so much upon this passage while Acre was still in Christian hands, how much worse would be the plight of those who now adventured such an enterprise.

Thus having dismissed two of the chief possible lines of attack the *Directory* goes on to consider and approve various routes through Italy, Germany, and Hungary for the main body of the land forces. The Italian roads suggested are three. The first passed through Aquileia, rounding the head of the Adriatic, running down through Istria and Dalmatia, and so arriving at Thessalonica, a point at

¹⁸ See *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 412, 496, 512-513, and especially 310-311.

which all the crusading armies were to unite; the second led down to Brindisi, whence one must pass over 150 miles of sea to Durazzo, Albania, Blaquia or Wallachia, and so to Thessalonica; the third brought one to Otranto, Corfu, the Lordship of Arca, and thus through Blaquia to Thessalonica likewise.

All these ways traversed rich country. The first, in its passage of Istria and Dalmatia, lay within lands of true Catholic Christians, in great part governed from Venice. True, after Dalmatia one must pass through regions not obedient to Rome; but as their inhabitants were but women in strength and courage it would be as easy as it was just to cut a path through these with fire and sword. The Durazzo and Otranto passages, again, were made easier by the dominion of the Prince of Taranto in *Duracium* and in Corfu, as well as by the Catholicism of the Albanians.

But (and here we pass into Part iv.) it is the German and Hungarian road which is ultimately selected as the best for the French king himself, and perhaps for most of his followers. By this Charles the Great had gone to liberate the Holy Land from the infidel;¹⁹ on this, until it quitted Hungary, the crusading host would be among friends, "as at home"; after Hungary, part of the army, with the French king in person, should march through Bulgaria; the rest of his own force must proceed through Sclavonia;²⁰ both divisions uniting, with all the other wings of the army, before Thessalonica.

At the same time, while choosing this line for his sovereign and apparently for the main "battle", our Dominican allows, and even urges, the use of other tracks above indicated, by sections of the expedition. None, indeed, should go by Africa, unless the entire venture were devoted to African conquest, which might be achieved by so great a force, but could not be attempted by less. The maritime peoples could make their passage by sea. By Italy might advance the Lombards, the people of the Marches and of Apulia, and others bordering upon this route. The ways by Brindisi and Otranto are specially recommended, not only for Tuscans, Romans, and Italians of the South, but also for Provençals. All, whatever their line of progression, were to unite at Thessalonica; and those who had to cross the Adriatic straits must be sure that their transport was ready, adequate, and swift.

In his next part (v.) the author discusses whether any treaty

¹⁹ Behind this myth lies the truth of Charlemagne's pilgrim-hospice in Jerusalem, and diplomatic intercourse with the Eastern Caliphate, for the protection of Christian travellers to Syria; see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 172.

²⁰ *I. e.*, through the Serb empire of *Rassia* or *Racia*.

could be made with, or any trust reposed in, the Emperor of the Greeks, or the Slavonian King of *Rassia*; and whether the crusaders might justly invade and conquer the dominions of these princes. Here again he is perfectly definite. The Greeks were full of malignant hatred for true Roman Christianity; when they took wives from Catholic races they compelled them to renounce their Latin creed; Greek churches which had been used for Latin worship were purified as if under pollution; Greek confessors treated theft or robbery from Latins as a matter free from blame. Out of the evil treasure of the Greek heart, again, came the deadly poison of all the heresies which had afflicted the Church; at its tail Greek error dragged down the Christian nations of the East into a pit of blindness and perdition.

With such heretics the French kings, ancient pillars of Roman orthodoxy, could not make pact or truce; a treaty of this kind would befool all the Catholic missionaries and diplomatists who had labored in the Levant; would condone the usurpations of the Palaeologi, usurpations which had especially affected the rights of the royal house of France; and would ignore the treachery of a people, which in old days had mixed live coals with the bread of their Latin guests, and scuttled their ships in the very harbor of Constantinople.

In the course of this philippic, the *Directory* gives us not only a list of heresies (Arian, Nestorian, etc.) due to the perversity of Greek intellect, but also glances bitterly at the life and "treasons" of Michael Palaeologus, at the expulsion of Latin dominion from Constantinople, at the massacre of Latins in the Imperial City on this occasion (still attested by the mound of bones in a crypt near *Bucca Leonis*), at Michael's pretence of submission to the Roman See, at his intrigues against Charles of Sicily, and at his successor's blasphemous reversion to the schism of the Greeks. As to the rulers of *Rassia*, their character is sufficiently proved by a chronicle of their recent actions—their conspiracies, usurpations, blindings, murders, the deeds of wretches so monstrous that in this family a father might be found to kill his guiltless son with his own hands.

Could there be any doubt that the army of God might justly invade and conquer both the Byzantine Empire and *Rassia*, and thus repeat the glorious deeds (here dealt with at some length) of those who, on the Fourth Crusade, had once already planted a Latin Empire in Constantinople?

In his Sixth Part our Dominican attempts to show how easily this conquest of the Greek Empire and of *Rassia* might be effected. For one thing, the cowardice of the Greeks equalled their deceit,

trickery, and delight in successful fraud. The author had himself witnessed a disgraceful overthrow of the late emperor outside Constantinople by a handful of Turks; he tells us also of a yet more ignominious defeat inflicted on the same sovereign near Adrianople by the Catalan *Society*,²¹ now established in the Duchy of Athens.

Thus the pusillanimous Greek, whose only resource was flight, was encircled and oppressed by a ring of foes, the Tartar, the Turk, the Slav, the Bulgar, and many another; thus the empire of the Palaeologi had fallen into a desolation, depopulation, and enslavement, truly lamentable. The author himself, when in Persia, saw multitudes of Greek slaves, of either sex, and of every age and rank, sold like cattle in the public markets; families and lovers ruthlessly parted; all alike compelled to embrace the faith of their purchaser, be he Moslem, idolater, or Jew. Within the Persian Empire (the Mongol Ilkhanate) there were now, it was said, more than 400,000 of these wretched captives of the Eastern Church. Who could number the Greek slaves that had been sold in other empires of the Tartars or in Egypt; who could reckon the multitudes of Greeks destroyed by hunger, fire, and sword? Never had the writer visited a foreign land where he had not seen Greek slaves.

The conquest of the Greek Empire was rendered still more easy by the effeminacy, licentiousness, folly, ignorance, and timidity of its head, a vain fool, useless in war, faithless even for a Greek, the obedient tributary of Tartars, Turks, and Catalans; who yet, worthless as he was, appointed, removed, and punished the priests of his Church, even the highest, as he would. Our friar had seen four deposed patriarchs living at one time in ignominy and seclusion; such was the "Universal Bishop" of the Greeks, their vaunted "successor of Peter", their "Vicar of Christ".

In the Seventh Part, continuing his discussion of the same subject (how the Greek empire might be conquered) the *Directorium* plans out in full detail a scheme of siege operations against Constantinople. And first the city is carefully and well described. Its shape was triangular; each side of the triangle six miles long; one side only facing the land, the others bordering the sea. It was entirely encircled with walls, not very high or formidable, but quite uninjured, and in one part double. The population was small for so great a compass of walled town; scarce one-third of the city-space was inhabited; the rest was all gardens, vineyards, fields, or waste. The people were utterly unwarlike, mostly consisting of merchants,

²¹ On this Catalan Grand Company, see Finlay, *History of Greece*, edition of 1877, III. 388-408; IV. 129, 147-156, 244, 300; VI. 160.

mariners, artificers, fisher folk, and husbandmen; the nobles, few in number, were weak as women, timid as Jews. The attack upon the city should be both by sea and land; the latter should be mainly directed upon the neighborhood of the Golden Gate. Here the assailants, being near the sea, could easily be aided by their naval forces; the walls and trenches were not formidable; and with rams, ladders, fire, and cages for hoisting the storming parties upon the walls, success was almost certain at this point. For the naval onslaught (rendered so much more practicable by the deep sea, without rocks or shoals, which came right up to the walls) great vessels should be prepared, with lofty castles, fitted with a complete apparatus of military engines. Especially to be recommended for this work was a kind of "edifice" by which 500 men (or more) could be discharged upon the walls at one time, and which the writer had seen when he accompanied Martino Zaccaria²² of Genoa in his wars against the Turks. This naval hero, now by treachery become a prisoner of the Greek emperor, had done more than any living man in fighting Turks at sea: several of his victories had been won in the author's presence.

The *Directory* concludes these counsels in the art of war with the suggestion of covered vessels called *barbotæ*, and of siege-machines called *uxeria*. In the former, crew and warriors, invisible under their penthouse lids, could securely run up under the face of the enemy, rake the foe with their missiles, and undermine the defences at their foundation. In the latter, iron-shod beams with sharp points could be swung on ropes for smashing gates and ramparts; fireballs and sacks filled with stones could be shot into the air to fall with burning or crushing effect upon the defenders and their houses.

With such preparations, plans, and instruments, the besieging host might hope to storm Constantinople in one day; the Imperial City once taken, the two remaining strongholds of the Greeks, Thessalonica and Adrianople, were as good as won. The author concludes this part of his work with a well thought-out summary of the obvious advantages which the possession of the Byzantine realm would confer upon the crusaders. Needless to say, he takes no account of the racial antipathy which would so heavily subtract from the strategic side of the account.

Part VIII., concluding the First Book, outlines the policy to be

²² On this famous partizan leader (the nephew, as the *Directory* adds, of Lord Benedict Zacharia "whose fame in naval deeds still lives"), see Finlay, *Greece* (1877), III. 429; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 222, 233.

pursued in the conquered lands of the Greek Empire, and deals, in a sort of appendix, with the ways and means of subjugating *Rassia*, and with the ease and advantages of such a conquest.

First of all, when Catholic rule had been restored in Byzantine lands, all Latins who had deserted their creed and race, unless they recanted, were to be punished with death or banishment.

Banishment was likewise to be the fate of the Greek monks, called *Calogeri*; whose influence, grounded on hypocrisy²³ and intrigue, must be crushed if the Latin dominion was ever to be made secure. In every family where two or more sons could be found, one was to be educated in "Latin letters". Heretical Greek books were to be diligently sought out and burnt, the Western Inquisition being set going against all kinds of heresy, living and dead. After the conquest, the clergy and people of Constantinople were to be gathered in St. Sophia to make a public profession of the Roman faith, and a public submission to Latin domination; the Frank Emperor meantime remitting certain taxes. Monks were no longer to have the monopoly of the episcopate and the confessional; and the Byzantine conventicles, private chapels, and oratories, nests of conspiracy and sedition,²⁴ were to be rigorously suppressed.

As to the conquest of *Rassia*, it was not a matter of any difficulty. The country possessed scarcely any strongholds, and no walled fortresses; on the other hand it contained settlements of men of Latin civilization bitterly hostile to Servian rule. A list of these settlements, comprising Antivari, Dulcigno, Scutari, and three others, is here appended; and it is pointed out that besides the Latin settlers of the shore-land the Albanians equally professed the Catholic religion, equally detested the unbearable slavery of the Slav dominion, and equally longed to wash their hands in the blood of these abominable masters. A Frank army of a thousand knights and five or six thousand foot-soldiers would easily subdue the whole of *Rassia*, thereby performing a deed more truly acceptable to God than the subjugation of an even greater Saracen territory. For the land was indeed delightful. It abounded in corn, wine, oil, flocks, and herds; it was diversified with pleasant springs and rivers, groves and meadows, hills and valleys, rich plains and great woodlands; finally its gold and silver mines were not to be forgotten—five of such were already worked.

²³ By eating certain seeds, our author declares, they "appeared unto men to fast", thereby gaining the necessary emaciation, etc.

²⁴ The *Directory's* account of these shows intimate knowledge and is among the most curious passages in the work.

Thus ends the First Book; the First Part of the Second Book (which is also the Ninth Part of the treatise as a whole) discusses various Eastern races with whom the crusaders and their royal leader must needs have much to do, but of whose trickeries they must beware. First came the Armenians, the worst and most faithless heretics of the Oriental world—save only for those of Little Armenia or Cilicia,²⁵ who had made a kind of union with the Roman Church. In this union the author had been a prime agent, being one of the two Dominicans whom Pope John XXII.²⁶ had specially designated for this work. It was, therefore, from intimate knowledge that our friar declares this union to be one of fear and necessity rather than love, and accuses the Armenian Uniats of defrauding the Latins in well-nigh every particular. Next in order were the *Gasinuli*,²⁷ the mixed offspring of Greek and Latin parents; the Syrian Christians; the *Murtati*, descendants of Greek alliances with Turks, the worse offspring of two bad bloods; and the *baptized Neophytes*, converts from Moslem races—among whom there was scarcely even a choice of evils. Deceit, cowardice, greed, turbulence, cruelty, drunkenness, gluttony, treachery—such were the qualities of these wretches, and especially of the mongrel races and sham proselytes here noticed.

The French king, however, must be ready (while ever on his guard against such ruffians) to win them to the service of the Holy War by all the bounty, kindness, and indulgence that might be needed. For as spies and scouts they were priceless; and in journeying through difficult country, in avoiding hostile snares, in securing and storing booty, and in winning the inmost secrets of the enemy, the wise leader would make use of them to the full.

On the other hand, in regard to the execrable people called *Assassins*²⁸ (of whom the writer had heard somewhat, though he had never seen any) there was no advice to be given save that of strict unvarying caution in admitting no one to the royal presence without full knowledge of his errand and antecedents.

²⁵ See Stubbs, "Mediaeval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia", in *Seventeen Lectures*, pp. 179-237; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 238, 456-457; III. 52, 313, 325, 330, 473, 483.

²⁶ 1316-1334, the most vigorous patron and organizer of Asiatic and African missions among the later medieval popes; this closer union of Lesser Armenia with Rome was in 1318; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 181, 206-207, 211-213, 221, 239-240, 311-312, 497-498.

²⁷ These are the *Guasmul* of Marco Polo (in a slightly different sense); see the 1903 edition of Yule and Cordier, I. 289-292, and especially 292: the term (*Gasmul*, *Basmul*, etc.) occurs frequently in Byzantine historians, *e. g.*, George Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Nicetas Choniates.

²⁸ On the Assassins, see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 239-240, 255, 589-590; III. 63, 256, 287; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 133-136.

Part x. (Book II., Part II.) is devoted to a further exposition of the military and other advantages resulting from the choice of this line of advance—by Constantinople and the Bosphorus²⁹—and from the policy of attacking the Turks of Asia Minor, in the first place, rather than the Egyptian sultan. In particular, the suggestion of beginning the campaign against Islam by way of Little Armenia is examined and refuted: this country, the *Directorium* strangely declares, had no harbor except the poor and confined Portus Palorum;³⁰ its provisions were inadequate for a great army; its frontier passes were held by the Sultan of Egypt. The last-named potentate could not come to the aid of the Turks, for he would lay himself open to the onslaught of his mortal foe, the Tartar Emperor of Persia. In this connection the writer recalls Ghazan Khan's invasion of Syria³¹ in the hope of being supported by Catholic armies from the West.

Part XI. (Book II., Part III.) describes the chief supply-centres of the East from which the crusading army must re-victual and refit. In Thrace, on the west or back of Asia Minor,³² there was the grain emporium of Rodosto, the wine market of Gannos, and others. In Macedonia, likewise to the west of the *Asia* that was now *Turkey*, Thessalonica and three other places furnished abundant corn, barley, and vegetables. To the right or south of *Turquia* Negropont, the Duchy of Athens, and other regions yielded wine, oil, and cheese; while to the left or north, along the shore-lands of the Euxine or Pontic Sea and the Sea of Tana (Azov) were so many excellent and celebrated bases for provisioning in cereals, flesh, fish, honey, wax, and other necessities that it was needless to enumerate them. No less bountiful were the resources of Asia Minor itself, a land so rich in all the goods of earth that one might fairly call it another Egypt or another Paradise.

Finally, in Part XII. (Book II., Part IV.) the author sets forth the reasons why there was every hope of a speedy and complete victory over the Turks. Their cup of wickedness was full; they were hopelessly divided among themselves; their strength had suffered

²⁹ Which the *Directorium* calls, indifferently, *Bosphorus*, *Hellespont*, and *Arm of St. George*; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 395.

³⁰ Yet the much greater and more celebrated haven of Lajazzo was still flourishing; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 456-457; III. 24, 45-49, 52, 192, 313, 325, 330, 468, 473, 483.

³¹ A. D. 1299. The *Directory* wrongly makes *Casan* take Damascus.

³² This land, remarks the *Directory*, though now called *Turquia*, was the ancient and Scriptural *Asia*, where the Seven Churches lay, called by the Greeks "Anatolia". It was tongue-shaped, having the sea on three sides, the Ægean to the right or south, the Pontic (Euxine) sea to the left or north, the Hellespont towards the back or west.

wonderful diminution; they now depended on slaves and hirelings (largely Christians in origin, ready to desert at the first opportunity) to fight their battles; their equipment for, and knowledge of, war seemed only fit for children's sport. True, they had many horses, but small and weak, and neither steeds nor riders carried defensive armor. Even the offensive weapons of the Turks were absurdly inadequate. Conscious of their weakness, they fought only by simulated flight, by ambushes, and such-like devices. Finally they lived in terror of the fulfilment of a prophecy that in the last days their seat would be destroyed by a lord of the Franks. The Moslem dread of a new crusade was widespread; when the author was in Persia, and the news came abroad that Pope Clement³³ had proclaimed the Holy War afresh, the panic of the populace was such that the Frankish sword might have been already at their throats. Our friar, who "had seen almost every nation of the East go out to war", knew for a certainty that the single power of France, without allies, could overwhelm Turks, Egyptians, Arabs, Persians, Tartars, and Indians.³⁴

Thus ends a work in every way remarkable, whether we regard it as an outcome of the Catholic mission-movement which so largely contributed to the Asiatic expansion of Latin Christendom in the Mongol Age (1245-1370); or as an example of the militant spirit, which, after the failure of the Syrian Crusades, strove to revive crusading ardor; or as a scheme of policy whose ruthless and reckless intolerance contrast forcibly with the comparative caution and liberality of most of the leaders and writers of the great age of medieval overland intercourse.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

[M. 14 r; P. 45] *Explicit quinta pars. ¹Sexta pars per quatuor facilitates ostendit ad imperium capiendum.*¹

Si igitur, Domine mi Rex, propter praedicta vestrae circumspectionis ²providentiae videatur² de vestro itinere sancto spetti³ hostes tollendi tam antiquum malum delendum, tam inveterati proditores in

³³ I. e., Clement V. (1305-1314); this reference is probably to 1308.

³⁴ The Indian missionary, Jordanus the Dominican, bishop of Kulam in Travancore, writing at this very time, expresses the same confidence; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 234-235. There are many interesting points of contact between the *Directorium* and the *Mirabilia* and *Letters* of Jordanus.

¹ *Sextam ostendit per quatuor facilitates*, M., which omits *ad imperium capiendum*.

² *Prudencie videat*, M.

³ *Spreti*, M.; P. has a mark of correction here, but nothing in the margin to answer to it.

se et in suis genitoribus penitus submouendi sicut est quilibet prae-dictorum, ut in praemissis aliquid est expressum, ad sextam partem hujus directorii me extendo; et erit quatuor causas ostendere per⁴ quas videbitur facilitas tam praefati regni quam imperii capiendi.

Prima causa est quia gens Graecorum⁵ perfidiam imitatur⁵ postquam fidem et obedientiam Romanae Ecclesiae dereliquit, quatuor bona perdidit⁶ quae fidem ab ipso mundi exordio comitantur. Primo enim perdidit Deum, qui per fidem dignatur in cordibus fidelium habitare. Secundo prudentiam, quam consueuerunt⁷ quondam toti uniuersali Ecclesiae mutuare. Nam totaliter prudentia et scientia periit inter eos.

Tertio⁸ vitae sanctitas⁹ quam ostendunt miracula,¹⁰ penitus non existunt, quae puritatem¹¹ vitae ac fidei protestantur. Quarto armorum probitatem, per quam consueuerunt sua dominia conseruare, hostes subdere, inimicos contere et fugare, et longe¹² lateque nomen suum et gloriam dilatare.¹³ Hodie namque ab omnibus suis vitantur¹⁴ turpiter et subduntur. Haec quae narro cum in Constantinopolim siue Pera, quod idem est, degerem contigerunt. Turchorum vix duo milia Imperatorem Michaellem patrem istius qui modo illic imperat cum decem milibus et amplius militibus existentem in campo quem¹⁵ vallabat peditum maxima¹⁵ multitudo viliter deuicerunt¹⁶ et turpiter fugauerunt. et in praedam ejus tentoria et thronum imperialem atque coronam et multa alia spolia habuerunt. Cathalani¹⁷ etiam, qui modo vocantur societas quae nunc est in ducatu et dominio Athenarum qui non habebant duo milia quingentos equites, ex quibus non erant ducenti homines de sanguine militari, eundem Michaellem cum quatuordecim milibus¹⁸ existentem et cum peditum¹⁹ multitudine copiosa aggressi fuerunt¹⁹ cum audacia desperata, et ipsius²⁰ ordinatas acies destruxerunt, fugauerunt, et de ipsius exercitu multitudinem maximam peremerunt, et ipsum Michaellem de equo turpiter deiecerunt. Sed adjunctus a suis et in equum alium subleuatus fugit e [P. 46] praelio²¹ grauiter vulneratus,²¹ quem

⁴ Propter, M.

⁵ Et illi qui Graecorum perfidiam imitantur, M.; P. corrects, in margin, imitatur to imitata.

⁶ Parat perdit, M.

⁷ Consueuit, M., which of course has prudentia, sciencia, below.

⁸ Here M. has 3°, another early case of Arabic numbering.

⁹ Sanctitatem, M.

¹⁰ Here M. adds inter eos namque miracula.

¹¹ Veritatem, M.

¹² M. omits longe.

¹³ Dilicare, M.

¹⁴ Vincuntur, M. P. corrects, in margin, omnibus suis vitantur to hostibus suis vincuntur.

¹⁵ Vallebat maxima peditum, M.

¹⁶ Deuixerunt, M., which reads tronum, below.

¹⁷ Cathalarum, M.

¹⁸ Here M. adds equitum.

¹⁹ Multitudinem aggressi fuerint, M., omitting copiosa.

²⁰ Ipsi, M.

²¹ Attritus et vulneratus, M., omitting grauiter.

etiam fugientem insequentes²² in ciuitatem Andrinopolim²³ includi fecerunt et ibi obsessum diebus plurimis tenuerunt. Postmodum totam²⁴ illi ²⁵ciuitati adjacentem²⁵ patriam cursitantes ferro et incendiis lustrauerunt,²⁶ castra multa ceperunt, et ab illo loco usque ad terram, ubi nunc sedes detinent alienas, fere omnia destruentes, nullum praelium inuenerunt. Sic Graeci miseri sunt facti pusillanimes et excordes, ipsos²⁷ diuina gratia deserente et ultione debita persequente quod Tartarus eos circumcingit²⁸ et conculcat. Turchus subigit et captiuat.²⁹ Sclauus, Bulgarus, et hostis quilibet ipsos inuadit, exterminat, et annullat, nec spem habent nisi in consueto vocabulo *fyge fyge*,³⁰ quod in nostro Latino est dicere *fuge fuge*.

³¹Secundo facit³¹ ad dictum imperium acquirendum ipsius lacrymabilis depopulatio et lamentabilis solitudo, castra diruta, ciuitates desertae, villae solitariae, agri succensi, populus captiuatus, nobiles facti praeda, sexus uterque in seruitatem ductus ante faciem subsequen-
tis, nec est nisi expertus qui posset credere populi hujus afflictionem et multitudinem servitutis. Ego cum in partibus Persidis commorarer, vidi saepius Graecorum multitudinem captiuorum utriusque sexus, aetatis, et gradus, qui cum gemitibus et suspiriis ducebantur et quasi iumenta in foro pure³² vendebantur.

Separabantur ab inuicem mater a filio, filius a patre, amicus ab amico, et carus a caro, dum unus istum comparat, alter illum. Dispergebantur sic tristes et miserabiles in diuersa, se mutuo amplius non visuri. Et quod pejus omnibus erat, illam quam suus emptor sectam seu perfidiam obtinebat, siue Sarracenus esset aut idolatra vel Iudaeus, illam oportebat emptitium ³³profiteri, [M. 14 v] abnegato³³ cultu, fide, ac nomine Christiano. Et sic transductis,³⁴ venditis, ac seductis plusquam CCC. M.³⁵ esse in solo imperio Persidis asseruntur. Quis ergo poterit³⁶ numerare quot de ipsis in alia imperia Tartarorum³⁷ et in Aegyptum et³⁸ alia mundi climata sunt venditi et dispersi, praeter innumerabiles³⁹ qui fame, igne, et gladio sunt consumpti. Nunquam fui⁴⁰

²² M. omits *insequentes*.

²³ *Andriopolim*, M.

²⁴ Here M. adds *diebus plurimis tenuerunt postmodum totam*.

²⁵ *Cuius adiacentem*, M.

²⁶ *Vastauerunt*, M.

²⁷ Here M. omits *ipsos*.

²⁸ *Conterit*, M.

²⁹ *Captiuus*, M.

³⁰ *Fige, fge*, M., which inserts *dicere* above line, as correction.

³¹ *Secundam facilitatem facit*, M.

³² *Puplice*, M., which reads *optinebat*, *Saracenus*, *ydolatra*, below.

³³ *Profitari, profiteri, tum abnegato*, M.

³⁴ *Traditis*, M.

³⁵ *CCCCM*, M.

³⁶ M. omits *poterit*.

³⁷ *Tartorum*, M.

³⁸ Here M. adds *ad*.

³⁹ *Innuerabiles*, M.

⁴⁰ *Sui*, M.

ad quasdam et quantumcunque extraneas⁴¹ nationes ubi Graecos non viderim captiuatos. Sicque in ipsis maledictio completa esse videtur per Moysen durius⁴² imprecata populo Israelis Dominum deserenti. *Tradet te Dominus corruentem*, ait, *ante hostes tuos. Per* [P. 47] *unam viam egredieris*⁴³ *contra eos, et*⁴⁴ *per septem fugias et dispergaris in omnia regna mundi.*

Tertia facilitas ad capiendum imperium satis patet, si attendatur quod in Graecorum capite temporali non est consilium, non est fortitudo, non est prudentia, non est virtus. Si enim caput eorum esset sanum, validum, atque forte, profecto corpus subditum bene regeret ac seruaret, et ad membra cetera ipsa se diffunderet⁴⁵ valitudo, cum bonum regimen corporis a bona dispositione capitis proueniat⁴⁶ et descendat. Nunc vero iste qui nunc est caput et rector eorum sic est effeminatus⁴⁷ et omni carnalitati deditus et subjectus, sic est ab omni strenuitate armorum et experientia segregatus, sic est ab omni militari prudentia alienus quod nec tantae destructioni imperii nec tam euidenti direptioni sui populi occurrere vult⁴⁸ seu valet. Quinimo⁴⁸ populus ille, qui dudum dominari consuevit omnibus nationibus orientis, qui fortes ac validos populos et ferreas nationes solitus fuit atterere ac subdere sub tributo, nunc sub isto et in isto Imperatore ab omnibus suis vicinis hostibus imperatur et tributis seruiens est effectus ad imperialis nominis dedecus, opprobrium⁴⁹ et jacturam. Ipse namque factus est Catalanis de ducatu Athenarum, qui vocantur societas, et Turchis ac Tartaris plusquam seruus⁵⁰ dum contra eos non audet bella mouere nec etiam cogitare. Imo per tributum quod offert annuatim⁵¹ singulis praedictorum cum sollicitudine et timore suam vexationem redimit, quin potius vilitatem, cum gentes praedictae aut sint ita pauci quod de ipsis non esset penitus mentio facienda, aut certe sint tales quod ad fugam apti sunt potius quam ad bellum, si iste Imperator haberet in se aliquam probitatem aut prudentiam vel prouidentiam imperium disponendi aut virtutem et audaciam resistendi. Ad se ipsum ergo ordinatus non est, nec ad subditos, nec ad Deum, bibulus, ebriosus, lubricus,⁵² infidus, plusquam Graecus, ⁵³ambitiosus, superbus,⁵³ elatus, vanus,⁵⁴ vacuus omni bono,

⁴¹ *Exermas*, M.

⁴² *Diucius*, M.

⁴³ *Egrediaris*, M.

⁴⁴ M. here omits *et*.

⁴⁵ *Defundent*, M.

⁴⁶ M. omits *pro*.

⁴⁷ *Estimatus*, M.

⁴⁸ *Aut . . . Quinimmo*, M.

⁴⁹ *Opprobrium*, M., which reads *Turcis*, *immo*, below

⁵⁰ *Siuis*, M.

⁵¹ *Annuant*, M.

⁵² *Libricus*, M.

⁵³ *Superbus*, *ambiciosus*, M.

⁵⁴ Here M. adds *et*.

videri Imperator et bonus⁵⁵ dici appetit plus quam esse. In promissis ipse fallax, in iuramentis⁵⁶ mendax, non videtur in malitiis erubescere, sed in iniquitatibus⁵⁷ potius gloriari.

Quarta facilitas est, quia etiam populus ille Graecus non solum, ut praedicitur, in suo temporali capite titubat tremulus et infirmus, verum et⁵⁸ sub spirituali [P. 48] rectore jacet morbidus⁵⁹ et infectus. Ut enim quidam ait eximius prophetarum abstulit ab eis Deus validum et fortem iudicem et prophetam ariolum et magnum honorabilem vultu consiliarium et sapientem et prudentem eloquii mystici. Non enim est in viris ecclesiasticis debita sacerdotalis dignitas aut judicialis auctoritas, non vitae ac morum nisi ficta et simulata sanctitas vel honestas, non scientiae vel doctrinae veritas, quibus populus corrigitur a malis, defendatur in aduersis, prouocetur et augmentetur⁶⁰ in bonis, instruat in veris, abducatur a⁶¹ dubiis et a falsis. Sed re vera caecus coeco praestat regimen⁶² ducatum, et sic ambo in foueam proruunt et⁶³ ruinam. Ad tantum lapsus et ad tantum casum est illa quondam inclita nunc abjecta Graecorum Ecclesia deuoluta quod Imperator, licet sit in se monstrausus,⁶⁴ ut praedicitur, et deformis, Episcopos et⁶⁵ Abbates indifferenter et pro suae libito voluntatis constituit, transfert,⁶⁶ destituit, restituit, capit, proscribit, incarcerat, atque punit. Ipsi Patriarcham suum reputant, licet falso, uniuersalem et unicum ac solum esse in terris Petri Apostoli [M. 15 r] successorem et super omnes mundi Ecclesias vicarium Jesu Christi. Et licet apud⁶⁷ eos idem Patriarcha tantae auctoritatis⁶⁷ et excellentiae habeatur, tamen ego vidi quatuor simul viuos per Imperatorem depositos et abjectes et quintum, qui viuentibus et videntibus quatuor supradictis patriarchale nomen et gradum ac praeeminentiam⁶⁷ obtinebat non sine timore depositionis pariter et tremore. De omnibus eorum ineptiis quas circa istam materiam obtinent et obseruant dicere per singula extra nostrum propositum fieri videretur. Hoc tamen dico, quod Ecclesiarum ipsarum⁶⁸ ordinatio non videtur apud homines oculos nisi quidam⁶⁹ typus

⁵⁵ Boni, M.

⁵⁶ Juramento, M.

⁵⁷ Iniquis, M., without contraction-sign.

⁵⁸ Etiam, M.

⁵⁹ Moribundus, M., which reads *mistici*, below.

⁶⁰ Augmententur, M.

⁶¹ Here M. omits *a*.

⁶² Here M. adds *et*.

⁶³ Ei, M.

⁶⁴ Menstruosus, M.

⁶⁵ Et, M. omits here.

⁶⁶ Transferri, M.

⁶⁷ Preminenciam, M., which reads *autoritatis* above and treats *apud* as if a proper name, with capital.

⁶⁸ Ipsorum, M.

⁶⁹ Quidem, M., omitting *nisi*.

phantasticus⁷⁰ ludentium puerorum; qui postquam dignitatem illam trufaticam tenuerunt, domum reuersi, sunt pueri fatui sicut ante. Patria ergo sine capite debito, sine duce, cuius gens absque consilio et sine prudentia, et populus insipiens atque stultus, cuius ciuitates desertae, portae destructae, sacerdotes gementes, et ipsa oppressa⁷¹ amaritudine et repleta, patet quod sit faciliter capienda.

Explicit sexta pars. Incipit septima pars, quae sub se continet duas partes.

Septima pars hujus directorii duas sub se particulas continebit. Et prima dabit modum quomodo imperium faciliter capiatur. Secunda autem ostendet [P. 49] facilitates⁷² quas ex captione hujusmodi passagium consequetur.⁷³

Primo ergo dandus est modus per quem imperium faciliter capiatur. Circa quod sciendum est⁷⁴ quod pars illa imperii quam nunc occupat hic tyrannus tres principaliores continet ciuitates. Prima et major ac caput imperii⁷⁵ est Constantinopolis, secunda⁷⁶ Thessalonica quae ambae situm⁷⁷ suum obtinent super mare. Tertia est Andrinopolis distans per quinque paruas dietas a Constantinopoli infra terram. Ciuitas Constantinopolis est satis in plano territorio situata, et est in modum trianguli figurata;⁷⁸ cuius quidem latus quodlibet demonstratur sex miliaria continere. Unum vero latus extenditur super terram, duo autem alia super mare. Muros habet undique, et in aliqua sui parte duplices, licet non altos, tamen integros et illaesos. Licet vero tanti sit ambitus, paruus⁷⁹ populus tamen⁷⁹ ibi commoratur respectu ipsius continentiae ciuitatis. Nam vix de ipsa ciuitate pars tertia habitatur. Reliquae vero sunt⁸⁰ horti vel⁸⁰ campi aut vineae⁸¹ aut desertum.

Populus ejus sunt piscatores, aut⁸² mercatores, seu marinarii, vel artifices, seu⁸³ fossores, nobiles autem pauci, inermes ut mulieres, timidi et pauidi ut Iudaei, sicut illi qui non nouerunt unquam ad bella procedere nec in acie militare nec contra hostem aliquem arma ferre. ⁸⁴Ciuitatis ergo praeparetur⁸⁴ obsidio in hunc modum, per terram⁸⁵

⁷⁰ *Fantasticus*, M.

⁷¹ *Aspersa*, M.

⁷² *Utilitates*, M.

⁷³ *Consequatur*, M.

⁷⁴ Here M. omits *est*.

⁷⁵ *Imperii*, M.

⁷⁶ M. omits *secunda*.

⁷⁷ *Scitum*, M.

⁷⁸ *Situ rata*, M.

⁷⁹ *Tamen populus*, M.

⁸⁰ *Orti aut*, M.

⁸¹ *Vnice*, M.

⁸² M. omits *aut here*.

⁸³ *Aut*, M.

⁸⁴ *Ciuitati . . . praepararetur*, M.

⁸⁵ Here M. adds *quidem*.

videlicet et per mare, ⁸⁶per terram quidem⁸⁶ ad portam quae dicitur aurea et circa in⁸⁷ quatuor vel quinque locis seu pluribus secundum quod visum ⁸⁸fuerit expedire.⁸⁸ Ideo autem dico ad portam illam, quia est iuxta mare, unde haberi poterit subsidium liberius et succursus. Est etiam ibi murus non multum altus, fossata non profunda, quae etiam faciliter poterunt adimpleri. Nulla ibi alicujus alterius⁸⁹ aedificii muro propinqua interius altitudo major. Insuper est ibi interius et exterius solitudo. Atque cum porta illa capta fuerit atque⁹⁰ aperta, ingressus facilius cunctis erit, et tam equitum quam peditum contra partem illam ciuitatis⁹¹ quae habitatur erit cursus liberior et aggressus. Ducum⁹² autem exercitus erit de arietibus ad muros ubi possibile ⁹³videbitur diruendos, de citoniis⁹³ ad ponendum homines armatos absque omni periculo⁹⁴ super muros, de scalis muris etiam applicandis, de [P. 50] igne ad portas ubi ingressus esse debuerit succendendas, et de aliis ad hoc opportunis⁹⁵ et necessariis cum dispositione congrua providere. De machinis autem pro ista ciuitate non est necessarium cogitare. Non enim sunt, ut praemittitur, alti muri nec fossata ita⁹⁶ profunda quin possint applanari.⁹⁷ Et tunc cursim⁹⁸ equites et pedites cum scuto et lancea in omnibus illis sex miliaribus quibus ⁹⁹ciuitas adjacet⁹⁹ super terram ipsam poterunt [M. 15 v] impugnare. Nec etiam ad partem illam sunt turres altae, nec castella, nec palatia supra muros aut etiam iuxta ipsos. Ad partem autem ciuitatis quae situm obtinet supra mare, quae respicit versus Peram, de qua quidem Pera feci superius mentionem, sciendum quod mare est muris¹ propinquum in aliquibus locis ad duas, in aliquibus autem² ad mediam lanceam militarem, in aliquibus etiam ipsos muros percussit³ ciuitatis, ita quod inter ciuitatem et mare paruum et artum spatium remanet⁴ strictae viae. Mare tamen ⁵ita modo debito⁵ est profundum, sine scopulis, sine petris, quod navis quantumcunque⁶ magna ad quatuor vel sex palmos⁷ iuxta terram vel

⁸⁶ M. omits these three words.

⁸⁷ M. omits *in*.

⁸⁸ M. omits these two words.

⁸⁹ *Alti*, M.

⁹⁰ *Et*, M., which reads *cuncta*, above.

⁹¹ *Ciuitas*, M.

⁹² *Dudum*, M., which reads *exercitus*, below.

⁹³ *Videbatur . . . et ciconiis*, M.

⁹⁴ Here M. adds *et formidine*.

⁹⁵ *Hec oportunis*, M.

⁹⁶ *Et*, M.

⁹⁷ *Possint faciliter complanari*, M.

⁹⁸ *Cursum*, M.

⁹⁹ *Adjacet ciuitas*, M.

¹ *Nimis*, M.

² Here M. adds *Ad unam [vn-], in aliquibus*.

³ *Percutit*, M.

⁴ *Remanet*, M.

⁵ *Modo debito ita*, M.

⁶ *Quantum* only, M.

⁷ *Palmas*, M.

ad plus ad unam cannam potest assumere vel deponere onus suum. Igitur ad impugnandum ciuitatem modo debito per hanc partem naues magnae et vacuae praeparantur⁸ cum altis propugnaculis et castellis, cum aperta⁹ in grauellorum et varii generis balistarum et super quamlibet¹⁰ nauium aedificium valde utile ac facile erigetur, per quod et de quo super muros et turres quadringenti¹¹ simul et semel vel amplius homines deponentur operti et muniti cum omnibus suis armis qui de muris et turribus aduersarios abigendo, ascensuris aliis locum dabunt per scalas ad hoc industrie praeparatas. Hoc aedificium vidi prius quando bellum contra Turchos, cui ego¹² interfui, gerebatur per Dominum Martinum Zachariae ciuem Januae, industrium utique probatum ac strenuum hominem et fidelem, qui de Turchis me praesente¹³ plures victorias obtinuit et triumphos, qui fuit nepos Domini Benedicti Zachariae quondam, cujus in factis maris adhuc celebris fama viuit. Praefatum ergo Dominum [P. 51] Martinum tenet Imperator nunc¹⁴ dictus Graecorum prodicionaliter captum et indebite ac injuste¹⁵ in carcere vinculatum: quem si¹⁶ haberetis, quem et, si¹⁶ velletis, Domine mi Rex, faciliter haberetis, haberetis utique hominem qui plus egit quam aliquis quem credam viuere super terram maris varios actus belli arduos, strenuos, ac honestos, utpote qui nunquam contra fidelem Christianum aliquando¹⁷ arma sumpsit, sed semper contra Turchos nostrae fidei inimicos experiri voluit¹⁸ vires suas, quibus intulit saepius plagas magnas, quem procul dubio possetis exponere ad omnia quae fidelitatem ex peterent et¹⁹ omnem requirerent probitatem.¹⁹ Praeparabuntur etiam²⁰ barchae multae in modum tecti²⁰ bipendentis²¹ coopertae desuper,²¹ quas barbotas vocant, in quibus remiges²² et armati homines non videntur,²³ ipsi vident omnia circumquaque, de quibus balistarii hostes cogunt secedere in muris²⁴ ac propugnaculis existentes. Istis igitur balistariis cum barbotis circumeuntibus²⁵ iuxta litus et sua spicula certius jacientibus contra hostes, nullus²⁶ audebit in muris eminus apparere. Et

⁸ *Preparantur*, M.

⁹ *Apparatu*, M.

¹⁰ *Qualibet*, M.

¹¹ *Quadringente*, M.

¹² *Ergo*, M.

¹³ *Presentes*, M.

¹⁴ Here M. adds *ducc*.

¹⁵ *Iuste*, M.

¹⁶ *Hereticis quem si*, etc., M.

¹⁷ *Aliquem*, M.

¹⁸ Here M. adds *et exercuit*.

¹⁹ *Onum* [contraction mark for *omnium* not given] *probitatem . . . acquirerent*, M.

²⁰ *Brache . . . recti*, M.

²¹ *Desuper coopertae*, M.

²² *Remige*, M.

²³ Here M. adds *et*.

²⁴ Here M. adds *et turribus*.

²⁵ *Circueuntibus*, M.

²⁶ *Nullos*, M.

tunc alii ad hoc studiosius ordinati cum arietibus atque palis poterunt liberius murorum diruere fundamenta. Praeparabuntur etiam uerieria quorum multiplex erit usus.²⁷ In aliquibus enim trabes ferratae disponuntur rostrum habentes ferreum et acutum, per funes inter duos malos in longum et infra ²⁸corpus breui²⁸ appendentes et per portam puppis exterius²⁹ ad leuem impulsu portae ciuitatis percussae celerius confringentur et muri fortius quatientur. In aliis autem uerieris erunt machinae quae³⁰ quadraginta vel quinquaginta lapides trium vel quatuor librarum simul proiciunt in sacco aliquo implicatos. Quando vero saccus erit in altum cum lapidibus eleuatus, cum inceperint descendere saccus frangetur, et³¹ dispergentur, et tecta domorum, quae sunt de valde fragili et vili materia, destruentur. Post haec in aliis uerieris aliae machinae disponuntur, quae in vasis ad hoc idonee praeparatis ignitos globos proicient et flammatos, et in domos cadent quas inuenient sine tectis. Et tunc³² domus, quae omnes de ipsa ciuitate, exceptis paucis palatiis, sunt de lignis, incendio conflagrabit. Oportebit [P. 52] ergo quod tunc hostes muros deserant [M. 16 r] cum viderint se bello et igne undique circumseptos et quod subueniant incendio ciuitatis, aut certe quod obedientiae subiciant colla sua. Nec dubium quin istis per terram et per mare ita dispositis, et bellis ut praemittitur et aggressibus ordinatis et undique pariter inchoatis, infra unius diei spatium ³³capietur.³³ Ista autem non descripsi ut credam ³⁴omnia fore necessaria ad praedictam victoriam obtinendam, cum non credam³⁴ imo sciam ipsos non esse sufficientes ad resistentiam faciendam. Sed ideo haec praemisi ne forte tunc essent aliqui de occidentalibus populis qui suae obliui fidei atque legis, inducti promissis, et pecunia³⁵ seducti, ad obuiandum³⁶ huic negotio tam utili, tam³⁷ salubri ad ampliacionem fidei orthodoxae, et qui praesumerent ad defendendum istos haereticos manum dare; licet etiam de hoc nihil penitus sit curandum aut in aliquo formidandum. Jam enim per paruū satis exercitum Balduini hanc ciuitatem bis legimus esse captam, quando scilicet erat magis plena populo et referta, et quando imperium in suo flore vigeat et in suo robore perdurabat, nec erat tunc ab hostibus sic inuasum et a diuersis gentibus dissipatum.

Ciuitas Thessalonica ab illo exercitu capietur qui per ³⁸Hydruntum et per Brundisium³⁸ transfretabit et per Dalmatiam et Rassiam trans-

²⁷ *Versus*, M.

²⁸ *Corus vrerii*, M.

²⁹ Here M. adds *exeuntes cum quibus*.

³⁰ Here M. adds *ad*.

³¹ Here M. adds *lapides*.

³² *Cum*, M.

³³ *Ciuitas capiatur*, M.

³⁴ M. omits these ten words, *omnia . . . credam*, reading *innino* for *imo* just after.

³⁵ Here M. adds *et*.

³⁶ *Obiciendum*, M.

³⁷ *Causa*, M., which of course reads *exercitum*, below.

³⁸ *Ydrontum . . . Brundisium*, M.

migrabit. Nam ad hunc³⁹ finem direxi in Thessalonicam supradictos. Et licet ipsius ciuitatis magnus ambitus sit murorum, qui etiam in parte aliqua sunt destructi, tamen intus populum paruum habet vilem, timidum, et inermem. Hoc etiam bonum est pro nostris quod muri in tanta circumferentia extendantur. Nam, quanto plures partes habebit de se facere populus iste vilis, tanto minor erit in eis virtus et possibilitas resistendi. Haec ciuitas per Marchionem Montisferrati cum satis paruo exercitu fuit capta, cui conquirenda per Balduinum in conquesta imperii quam supra tetigi fuit data. Huic ciuitati, cum sit in plano et super mare posita, bellum undique potest dari, licet non iudicem fore necessarium quod per mare fiat aliquis apparatus. Ipsam enim terrestris exercitus cum dispositione congrua faciliter⁴⁰ obtinebit.

De Andrinopoli et aliis ciuitatibus imperii atque castris non me dif-fundo [P. 53] quomodo valeant obtineri. Capta enim Constantinopoli ciuitate, quae caput est omnium illarum partium ciuitatum et totius imperii firmamentum, ceterae omnes continuo colla subdent.

Consequenter secundo dicendum de utilitatibus quae ex captione huius imperii subsequuntur. Inter alias autem utilitates, quas plurimas esse constat, septem breuiter explanabo. Prima utilitas est quod ouis errabunda et dragma perdita ad suum dominum et ouile debitum re-ducetur, Ecclesia videlicet Graeca in viris quondam illustribus vita, virtutibus, et miraculis gloriosis, verbo, doctrina, et scientia luminosis, foetosa in suis egressibus et abundans. Sicut autem dragma perdita⁴¹ nisi post eursionem domus in qua mulier ipsam perdiderat nunquam potuit inueniri, sic nec istam unquam recuperare poterit sine metu per-dendi pia mulier Romana Ecclesia Christianorum omnium mater una, nisi Graecorum domus, id est, ipsorum dominium penitus subuertatur et ab eis regnum per materiale gladium auferatur et detur genti quae faciat fructus ejus. Alias autem Romana Ecclesia quod dragmam per-ditam illam inuenerit⁴² non poterit veraciter gratulari. Jam enim dudum veri pastoris gregis dominici Romani Pontifices spirituale gladium sunt⁴³ experti, dum ouem illam per deserta errorum et scismatum ober-rantem ac relicto grege fidelium per inobedientiae calles singulariter deuiantem conati sunt reducere monitionibus, reprehensionibus, puni-tionibus,⁴⁴ Nuntiis et Legatis, ac modis variis et diuersis, parati ipsam per offensarum et transgressionum dissimulationem atque remissionem super [M. 16 v] humeros paternae patientiae supportare ac in sinum maternae dilectionis et⁴⁵ misericordiae refouere. Quae licet aliquando crediderit et ad ouile debitum pastorem verum atque sollicitum sit secuta,

³⁹ *Hanc*, M.

⁴⁰ *Facili*, M.

⁴¹ Here M. adds *cum*.

⁴² *Inuenerat*, M.

⁴³ *Sicut*, M.

⁴⁴ *Petitionibus*, M.

⁴⁵ Here M. omits *et*.

tamen vagari⁴⁶ solita, superba, semper inobediens et rebellis, cito nimis unitatis septa disruptit,⁴⁷ et tanquam indomita et feralis mansuetudinis atque subjectionis confregit vincula et abjecit. Nec debet quis paruum aliquid reputare, quando sola haec utilitas et non alia ex passagio sequeretur, si Graecorum spirituale et temporale dominium ad unitatem fidei et obedientiam Ecclesiae⁴⁸ reduceretur seu reuocaretur,⁴⁸ ut sunt Rutheni, Sclauī, Gothi,⁴⁸ Georgiani, Blaqui, Alani, et quidam alii populi, qui omnes Graecos in suis ritibus et erroribus imitantur. Secunda utilitas est quod [P. 54] de⁴⁹ ipso imperio habebitur pro toto exercitu bladi, vini, et carniū abundantia copiose; nisi forte deficerent⁵⁰ segetes et vineae.⁵⁰ Quod raro contingit ut si deficiat una regio, alia non abundet. Et tunc, ut inferius designabo, prouideri poterit de remedio opportuno. Tertia utilitas est, quia illo imperio conquisito non oportebit exercitum Domini dubitare de hoste quem post se reliquerit qui possit ei moliri⁵¹ insidias, suscitare inimicitias, ordinare fraudulentias atque dolos, quae⁵² consueuerunt iugiter emanare a Graecorum falsitatibus et proditiōibus consuetis, sed tantum ad interiora⁵³ contendet se extendere,⁵³ coram se publicos fidei hostes habens, quos sicut puluis ante faciem venti diuino fretus auxilio tribulabit. Quarta utilitas est quod nauile cujuscunque generis habebit portus optimos et securos varios et diuersos ac plurimum opportunos, in quibus⁵⁴ poterunt noua nauilia⁵⁴ fieri, antiqua vel fracta reparari, integra conseruari, et non jam sicut in aliena sed⁵⁵ sicut in domo propria hyemare vel cum expedierit aestiuare. Cum enim peccatis nostris exigentibus ab Alexandria Ægypti usque Constantinopolim non sit portus aliquis habitatus, in quo sufficienter atque secure possit cum suo nauili exercitus declinare, qui non ab hostibus fidei teneatur, ut inferius declarabo, patet quod accomodum⁵⁶ et utile nimis erit ut per modum praedictum portus proprii habeantur. Quinta utilitas est, quia tunc illi qui vos, Domine mi Rex, in hoc tam sancto negotio subsequen-
tur, ibi poterunt tutius applicare, equos et sua corpora recreare, ac sibi de necessariis prouidere, siue per mare illuc peruenerint, seu per terram, cum vos praeparaueritis eis viam et ante ipsos processeritis pandens iter. Sexta utilitas est, quia illud quod de terra sancta et de aliis dictis⁵⁷ terris infidelium capietur, per istud acquisitum imperium

⁴⁶ *Vaparii*, M.

⁴⁷ *Dirrupit*, M.

⁴⁸ *Reuocentur multe namque gentes et magne ad unitatem fidei reducentur ut sunt Rutheni . . . Goti . . .*, M.

⁴⁹ Here M. omits *de*.

⁵⁰ *Segites aut vinee*, M.

⁵¹ *Molliri*, M., which of course reads also *habundancia, habundet, oportuno, oportunum, puplicos, tucius, suplebant*.

⁵² *Qui*, M.

⁵³ *Se contendet extendere*, M.

⁵⁴ *Potuerunt noualia*, M.

⁵⁵ *Set*, M.

⁵⁶ *Comodum*, M.

⁵⁷ M. omits *dictis*.

poterit conseruari ad quod super omnia iudico insistendum. Nihil enim valet optata conquirere nisi homo studeat acquisita⁵⁸ solerti vigilantia conseruare. Ad hoc enim antiqui Romani saepius et attentius diminutam vel perditam militiam per nouos exercitus reparabant, legiones supplebant, consules renouabant, ut rebelles contereret, perdita conquireret, conquisita protegeret victoriae auida recens virtus. Quod autem ⁵⁹Graecorum imperium⁵⁹ ad conseruandam⁶⁰ conquestam terrae sanctae sit plurimum opportunum, [P. 55] hoc ostendi poterit ex duobus, videlicet ex antiquarum historiarum narratione, et ex loci aptitudine et dispositione. Ex antiquis namque historiis manifeste collegitur et habetur quod florente in fide imperio et in⁶¹ suis viribus perdurante, sceptrum orientalis domini⁶² monarchice ac imperterrite⁶² obtinebat, et⁶³ hostilis barbaries cum sua perfidia marcescebat. Quando vero et quantum imperium hoc coepit a recto calle deficere et a viis prioribus declinare, tunc et⁶⁴ tantum hostium truculenta ⁶⁵saeuitia [M. 17 r] inceptit⁶⁵ cornua suae dominationis erigere ac suae immanitatis viribus praeualere. Hoc in Heraclio ñ ciũ⁶⁶ legitur habuisse: qui cum de Cosdroë famosum illum triumphum et victoriam reportasset, et crucem sanctam et ciuitatem Hierusalem mirabiliter liberasset, tandem per errorem Monothelitarum,⁶⁷ qui unam tantum naturam in Christo fuisse suis assertionibus mentiuntur, quam tunc Cyrus Alexandrinus⁶⁸ Episcopus et Sergius Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus ausu sacrilego praedicabant, fuisse asseritur deprauatus, et tunc protinus per Humarum discipulum perfidi Machometi terra sancta inuaditur, capitur, et excepto modico interuallo, quo ipsam recuperando tenuimus, per infideles usque ad haec tempora possidetur. Hoc malum continuationem habuit in illis qui postmodum Heraclio successerunt. Nam ex tunc vix inuenitur quod in parte vel in toto infidelis non fuerit Graecorum Imperator, vel populus, vel uterque. Et sic ipsorum perfidia succrescente, et militia torpesciente, aduersarii audacia jungitur, victoriae succedunt, triumphi proueniunt, vires crescunt in tantum quod fere usque ad muros ciuitatis Constantinopolis sua dominia produxerunt. In tota Asia et minori in qua late et diffuse Graeci dominium obtinebant, nihil modo relinquendum possident, aut perdendum, nisi quaedam loca minoris Asiae, quae hostibus undique circumsepta trepidant in perditionis formidine ac

⁵⁸ Conquisita, M.

⁵⁹ Imperium Grecorum, M.

⁶⁰ Conseruandam, M.

⁶¹ Here M. omits in.

⁶² Monarchie ac inperterite, M.

⁶³ Here M. omits et.

⁶⁴ Here M. omits et.

⁶⁵ Se cepit, orig. M.; uicia added later, below line.

⁶⁶ Inicium, M.; P. corrects in margin, reading initium.

⁶⁷ Monelitarum, M., which reads *Eraclio, Ierusalem*, above; *Cirus, Macometi*, *subrescente, nichil, Asye*, below.

⁶⁸ Alexandrinus, M.

timore. Nec dubium igitur, si imperium de manu infidelium tolleretur, et ibi fides catholica sub obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae celebraretur,⁶⁹ et ab erroribus et haereticis purgaretur, atque in statum antiquum et pristinum poneretur, quin statim hostes ut prius ⁷⁰dominia benigniter⁷⁰ contereret ac fugaret. Idem enim est Deus justus et pius, qui sicut per infidelitates et praua [P. 56] opera ad iracundiam prouocatur, ita per fidem et opera ad misericordiam reuocatur. Utilitas etiam haec patet ex loci dispositione. Post acquisitionem enim terrae sanctae non posset ⁷¹illuc suboriri⁷¹ aliquid nouitatis quin posset per imperium faciliter subueniri. Et hoc satis patet diligentius intuenti, si respiciatur ipsius ad terram sanctam propinquitas, viarum maris et terrae facilitas, locorum habilitas, et portuum diuersorum commoditas, et multa alia quae ⁷²superius sunt⁷² praetacta et inferius dissementur. Septima utilitas est, quia sicut emargunt⁷³ casus varii et diuersi, si contingeret exercitum aggrauari, seu de nobilibus vel de⁷⁴ aliis quibuscunque quempiam infirmari aut certe impediri, vel redire ⁷⁵exercitus, principem⁷⁵ siue mori, ad loca imperii possent reduci et ibi moram contrahere et foueri sicut in domibus propriis siue terris atque sine impedimento, detrimento et formidine expectare donec per salubre remedium quod deest ⁷⁶contingeret, suppleretur.⁷⁶

Explicit septima pars. Octaua pars continet ordinationes quas acquisito imperio fieri oportebit ut imperium in Francorum dominio conseruetur.

Post utilitates ostensas quae ex capto imperio subsequuntur, consequenter sex ordinationes ponendae sunt, per quas quidem ad veritatem fidei et unitatem Ecclesiae atque ad fidelitatem Domini ipsum poterit imperium conseruari. Quilibet⁷⁷ in suo sensu⁷⁸ abundat. Ego autem has fore necessarias iudico et affirmo sicut me scientia et experientia docuerunt. Circa quas quia hactenus non fuit adhibita diligentia⁷⁹ et cautela, Francorum ibi dominium quasi flos faeni, quod hodie est et cras tollitur, fuit semper. Ergo in ista octaua parte ordinationes istae breuiter subnectantur.

Prima ordinatio est, quod omnes Latini qui fidem et Ecclesiam catholicam verbo vel opere aut utroque pariter negauerunt et Graecam perfidiam usque ad haec tempora sunt secuti, nisi resipuerint,⁸⁰ tanquam

⁶⁹ Coleretur, M.

⁷⁰ Diuina benignitas, M.

⁷¹ Illuc suboriri, M.

⁷² Sunt superius, M., which reads comoditas above.

⁷³ Emergunt, M.

⁷⁴ Here M. omits de.

⁷⁵ Principem exercitus, M.

⁷⁶ Continget supleretur, M., which reads adquisito, habundat, below.

⁷⁷ Here M. adds autem.

⁷⁸ Usu, M.

⁷⁹ Here M. adds debita.

⁸⁰ Respuerint, M.

haeretici tradantur curiae seculari poena debita puniendi. Si autem redierint, in perpetuum [M. 17 v] cruces ferant, et extra totum imperium in exilium relegentur, et perpetua sint infames, ut sic lux catholicorum ab haeticorum tenebris diuidatur.⁸¹ Hujusmodi enim contra fidem et Ecclesiam Romanam ejusque⁸² filios et cultores sunt,⁸³ fuerunt, et erunt indubie⁸⁴ nequiores quam illi qui a matris ubere Graecorum erroribus et proditiionibus sunt imbuti, tanquam illi quos nequam spiritus et immundus cum septena [P. 57] nequiorum spirituum comitiua sibi in domicilium et requiem legitur elegisse. Secunda, quod omnes monachi, quos Calogeros id est bonos senes appellant, de toto imperio expellantur et per diuersas partes occiduas dispergantur, nisi vellent a suis erroribus resilire⁸⁵ et eos publice abjurare et⁸⁶ fidem catholicam Romanae Ecclesiae profiteri. Et tunc Inquisitores nihilo minus ordinentur, qui contra relapsos⁸⁷ inquirent diligentius et procedant. Ipsi enim Calogeri humilem habitum deferentes multae fore abstinentiae se fingentes per comestionem quorundam⁸⁸ seminum, qua faciem suam⁸⁹ extenuant, vultum pallidum,⁸⁹ ut jejunantes appareant, hominibus ostendentes, ac per quaedam suspiria et verba humilia, procelli⁹⁰ ac vultus retorsionem et oculorum conuersionem⁹¹ quandam sanctitatis imaginem praetendentes, lupi vero rapaces in ouium vestimentis, et hypocritae plusquam ficti, sepulcris similes dealbatis, ita Imperatorem et nobiles, clerum et populum uniuersum obtinent de mentatos quod quicquid dixerint credunt, quicquid iusserint exequuntur.⁹² Ipsi eos in odio Romanae Ecclesiae, in obstinata⁹³ suae perfidiae, in duritia scismatis, in coecitate erroris erudiunt, nutriunt, et confirmant. Ipsi fel, ipsi fermentum, qui Graecorum antiquam dulcedinem sanctitatis⁹⁴ in amaritudinem conuerterunt, et totam illius massam Ecclesiae⁹⁵ corruerunt. Quandiu⁹⁶ illi cum libertate consueta durabunt, illa semper nutabit⁹⁷ Ecclesia, semper in fide illi nobiles, ille clerus et populus titubabunt, semper ibi Francorum dominium instabile permanebit. Tamdiu cum se catholicos simulabunt, tamdiu cum suis

⁸¹ *Diuidantur*, M.; the next word in M. could be either *huius* or *huiusmodi*.

⁸² *Eius quod*, M.

⁸³ Here M. adds *et*.

⁸⁴ *Indubio*, M.

⁸⁵ *Resilire*, M., which reads *puplice, nichilominus, commestionem, ymaginem*, below.

⁸⁶ *Ac*, M.

⁸⁷ *Lapsos*, M.

⁸⁸ *Tam*, M.

⁸⁹ *Exteriant, vultu quorum palidum*, M.

⁹⁰ *Per colli*, M., as P. corrects in margin.

⁹¹ *Conuersionem*, M.

⁹² *Exequuntur*, M.

⁹³ *Obstinacia*, M.

⁹⁴ *Sanctitatem*, M.

⁹⁵ M. omits *Ecclesie*.

⁹⁶ *Quamdiu igitur*, M.

⁹⁷ *Mutabit*, M., which reads *ypocrisi* below.

fictionibus, hypocrisi, ac simulatibus⁹⁸ suum cooperient cor iniquum, donec suis falsitatibus et proditiionibus consuetis Francorum dominium, quod sibi jugum reputabit⁹⁹ onerosum tanquam animal indomitum atque ferox, a se reicient ac¹ repellent. Ad hoc, nisi praecaueatur, satis sibi consentaneas orientales inuenient nationes; quae nouitates, quomodocunque² finiri debeant,³ incipere non formidant. De his ea quae dixi an ita sint satis inueniet firmitates qui antiquas historias perscrutatur.

Tertia ordinatio est, quod quicumque plus quam unum filium habuerit, alterum ad scholas⁴ ponere teneatur Latinis literis imbuendum.⁵ Et nisi quod litera Graeca una de principalibus tribus extat⁶ quibus tripliciter crucifixi Domini nostri titulus est inscriptus, consulerem salubriter, prout aestimo, et prudenter [P. 58] ut omnis⁷ illa litera deleteretur. Ad hoc autem bene posset modus possibilis inueniri. Non enim puto nec putant illi qui inter Graecos fuerunt aliquo tempore conuersati quod ipsi totiens ad vomitum reduxissent,⁸ si deletis propriis, Latinas literas habuissent. Et ideo⁹ dico Graecorum pueros nostris literis imbuendos, ut saltem cum adoleuerint scientia et aetate, in nostris libris illa videant et intelligant per se ipsos quibus ipsorum errores rationibus veridicis ac Scripturarum testimoniis confutantur et sana fides pariter et doctrina Ecclesiae roborantur, et sic alios confirmabunt, et ipsimet in fidelitate dominii¹⁰ verius atque¹¹ liberius absque mutatione aliqua perdurabunt. Quarta ordinatio est, quod quia Graeci habent libros quos ipsorum antiqui aut etiam moderni¹² haeretici conscripserunt,¹³ in quibus errores plurimi¹⁴ contra Romanam Ecclesiam ejusque filios multae blasphemiae continentur, per certos viros ad hoc specialiter deputatos cum [M. 18 r] diligentia perquirantur, contra ipsos detinentes adhibitis¹⁵ minis, terroribus, atque poenis.¹⁵ Cumque praedicti libri inuenti fuerint, protinus comburantur. Quinta ordinatio est, quod in templo¹⁶ sanctae Sophiae adunetur totus clerus et populus ciuitatis, ita quod unus ad minus de principalibus ciuibus¹⁷ domus teneatur ibi praesentialiter¹⁸

⁹⁸ So M.; P. corrects in margin to *simulationibus*.

⁹⁹ *Reputant*, M.

¹ *A*, M.

² *Quoque*, M.

³ *Debent*, M.

⁴ *Scolam*, M.

⁵ *Imbuendus*, M.

⁶ *Exstat*, M.

⁷ *Omnino*, M.

⁸ *Rediissent*, M.

⁹ *Ido*, M.

¹⁰ *Domini*, M.

¹¹ *Ac*, M.

¹² *Noui*, M.

¹³ *Conscripserint*, M.

¹⁴ Here M. adds *contra fidem et*.

¹⁵ *Iniciis et erroribus atque penis*, M.

¹⁶ *Templum*, M.

¹⁷ *Ciuiilibus*, M.

¹⁸ *Principaliter*, M.

conuenire. Et facto sermone ad populum, ad confessionem vocalem¹⁹ nostrae fidei tunc per eos expressius faciendam atque ad unionem et obedientiam Romanae Ecclesiae ac summi Pontificis adducantur. Deinde approbando Francorum dominium, eidem spontanee se submittant, et obedientiam atque fidelitatem una voce ²⁰pronuntient et promittant.²⁰ Consequenter ibidem imperiales laudes incipiant unanimiter decantare sicut per eos alias suis Imperatoribus est fieri consuetum. Tunc Imperator aliquid de angariis seu tributis toti populo benigne relaxet quibus Imperatores Graeci consueuerunt populum aggrauare, ut sic Imperatoris noui solium in misericordia praeparetur. Sexta ordinatio est, quod ²¹Ecclesiae modo debito disponantur.²¹ Sunt enim in Graecorum Ecclesiis quaedam hactenus obseruata quae in magnam subuersionem domini possent esse si sic in posterum perdurarent, sicut ²²etiam alias²² noscitur [P. 59] contigisse dum²³ totaliter Francorum dominium destruxerunt et de suis finibus usque ad haec tempora expulerunt. Primam obseruantiam habent quod semper Calogerus in omnibus Ecclesiis Episcopus ordinatur, et nunquam aliquis, quantaecunque²⁴ excellentiae clericus secularis. Et cum hoc fere in omni castro seu villa aliquis de ipsis Calogers in Episcopum ordinatur. Et sic prout volunt errores et scismata concitando, populorum corda sollicitant, et propter sanctitatis falsam imaginem quam praetendunt, et propter ²⁵quam praeminent dignitate,²⁵ magni et simplices eis credunt et quod ²⁶jusserint obedientius exequuntur.²⁶ Secundam obseruantiam habent quod in toto imperio non est religio nisi una, istorum²⁷ scilicet perfidorum. Sunt autem ibi abbatiae²⁸ plurimae diuites et potentes. Et quia non est ibi, ut praemittitur, religio nisi ista, oportet quod isti ipsas obtineant abbatias. Et sic ad malum jungitur fortitudo.

Tertiam obseruantiam habent ut nullus clericus secularis, cujuscunque famae aut²⁹ opinionis existat, in aliquo loco imperii confessiones audiat quorumcunque, sed soli Calogeri ad istud officium deputantur. Et sic, dum Calogerus confessor eligitur, dum Calogerus Abbas praeficitur, dum Calogerus Episcopus ordinatur, sequelam maximam post se trahit, et ad exequendam suam iniquam et subdolum volantatem obtinent³⁰ imperii totam summam.

Quartam obseruantiam habent quod ad suas Ecclesias, siue sint Calogeorum, siue secularium clericorum, conueniunt extraordinarie

¹⁹ *Notalem*, M.

²⁰ *Pronunciant et promittent*, M.

²¹ *Ecclesia . . . disponatur*, M.

²² *Et animal*, M.

²³ *Quando*, M.

²⁴ *Quanteque*, M.

²⁵ *Illam quam praeminent dignitatem*, M.

²⁶ *Iusserunt . . . exequuntur*, M.

²⁷ *Istarum*, M.

²⁸ *Abathie*, M., which reads *abbathias* below.

²⁹ M. omits *fame aut*.

³⁰ *Optinet*, M.

saepius et frequenter,³¹ et ibi conuenticula faciunt, ubi et conspirationes inueniunt, et eas cum opportunum viderint exequuntur.

Quintam obseruantiam habent quod quilibet qui potest tantum de suis possessionibus relinquere quod de ipsarum fructibus possit viuere unus homo, talis, si vult,³² Ecclesiam unam facit in proprio campo, vinea, siue domo, et sacerdotem quem vult instituit in eadem et sui in posterum successores; in quibus, quia frequenter ad eas conueniunt, conspirationes possunt, ut consueuerunt in malum dominii pertractare; ubi tanto liberius quanto secretius, et tanto licentius [P. 60] quanto occultius ordinantur. Er ita sub deuotionis specie iniquitas tegitur, et occultatur proditio sub pallio pietatis.³³ Quantum vero ad quinque³⁴ praedicta in melius corrigenda poterit per quinque remedia prouideri.

[M. 18 v]. Primum remedium est quod boni ac probati viri et Deum timentes de his partibus oriundi illic³⁵ in Episcopos praeferantur.³⁶ Et quia episcopatus ibi multi sunt, et non habent³⁷ unde viuant nisi viliter³⁷ et abjecte, episcopatus duo vel tres in unum uniri poterunt sicut videbitur faciendum.

Secundum est quod de his partibus ducantur religiosi diuersorum³⁸ ordinum prouidi et honesti, qui possessiones et redditus habere possint secundum sui³⁸ ordinis instituta; de quibus praeficiantur Abbates in monasteriis ut³⁹ pro firmitate dominii videbitur expedire.

Tertium est quod illuc conuentus religiosorum mendicantium deducantur, qui cum linguam sciant,⁴⁰ confessiones audiant et injungant poenitentias salutare. Qui et populum ut in fide permaneat⁴¹ poterunt commonere, et ut in dominii⁴² fidelitate perseuerent,⁴² se habeant confirmare.

Quartum est quod de Ecclesiis ciuitatis aliquae praefatis religiosis mendicantium assignentur, et in eisdem eorum conuentus etiam statu-
antur,⁴³ aliquae vero sacerdotibus secularibus⁴⁴ partium concedantur.

Quintum est quod omnes illae ecclesiunculae, quae magis speluncae maleficiorum atque latibula possunt dici, penitus diruantur, ne videamur conuenticula eorum de sanguinibus congregare.

Praedictis⁴⁵ igitur sex ordinationibus sic dispositis et firmatis, sicut

³¹ *Frequencius*, M., which reads *oportunum* below.

³² *Prout male*, M.

³³ *Putatis*, M.

³⁴ *Quenque*, M.

³⁵ *Illuc*, M., which reads *hiis* above, *sicut* below.

³⁶ *Proferuntur*, M.

³⁷ *Unde nisi valde viliter*, M.

³⁸ *Ordinum pro sui*, M., omitting all the rest of these twelve words.

³⁹ *De quibus*, M.

⁴⁰ *Didicerunt*, M.

⁴¹ *Permaneant*, M., which reads *comonere*, below.

⁴² *Fidelitatem perseueranter*, M.

⁴³ *Statuentur*, M.

⁴⁴ Here M. adds *istarum*.

⁴⁵ *Predicans*, M.

in sex diebus legitur Deus omnia condidisse et in septimo quieuisse, sic nouus etiam Imperator in firmitate solida omni dubietate remota imperium possidebit atque in pacis sabbato perpetuo requiescet. De castis et ciuitatibus custodiendis, et de iis quae necessaria fuerint ⁴⁶in *nuedis*⁴⁶ atque hominibus fidelibus committendis in praesenti opusculo non describo. Sufficit in eo illa utcunque⁴⁷ depingere et ad memoriam reuocare quae⁴⁸ non sunt omnibus manifesta.

De regno Rassiae, quomodo faciliter possit capi.

Ad regnum Rassiae redeo capiendum, cuius tanta erit facilitas obtinendi quanta [P. 61] voluntas fuerit inuadendi. Et ut hoc melius videatur, quaedam incitantia ad ipsum inuadendum et quasdam conditiones⁴⁹ faciles ad capiendum breuiter hic⁵⁰ describo. Regnum illud pauca et quasi nulla⁵¹ loca habet fortia vel munita, sed totum est vile et casalia siue fossata, et penitus sine muris.

Aedificia et palatia tam Regis quam aliorum nobilium sunt de paleis et de lignis. Nunquam vidi ibi aliquod palatium siue domum de lapide nec de terra nisi in ciuitatibus maritimis⁵² Latinorum. Illud ⁵³regnum est in blado, vino, oleo, et⁵³ carnibus opulentum.⁵⁴ Aquis praeterfluentibus fontium et fluminum est amoenum. Nemoribus, pratis, montibus, planis, et⁵⁵ vallibus est jocundum. Diuersarum ferarum nationibus est repletum. Et breuiter quicquid ibi nascitur est electum, et specialiter in parte illa quae situm obtinet supra mare. In regno illo sunt actu nunc quinque minae auri pariter cum argento in quibus magistri continue operantur. Sunt nihilominus argenteriae cum auro mixtae veraciter nunc repertae in⁵⁶ aliis locis pluribus et diuersis. Et cum hoc sunt ibi magna nemora et condensa.⁵⁷ Quicunque ergo habebit⁵⁸ regnum illud, habebit veraciter unum jocale appetibile⁵⁹ et optandum in toto seculo.⁶⁰

Hoc inter cetera facit ad dictum regnum facilius capiendum quod sunt ibi duae nationes, una videlicet Albanensium⁶¹ et⁶² Latinorum, qui

⁴⁶ *Innuendis* or *imminendis*, M.

⁴⁷ *Utrumque*, M., which reads *comittendis*, above.

⁴⁸ *Quam*, M.

⁴⁹ *Codiciones*, M.

⁵⁰ *Hoc*, M.

⁵¹ *Ulla*, M.

⁵² *Maritinis*, M.

⁵³ *Regnum in blado, vino est et oleo et*, M.

⁵⁴ *Opulatum*, M.

⁵⁵ *Ac*, M.

⁵⁶ M. omits *in* here; reading *nichilominus* above.

⁵⁷ *Condempsa*, M.

⁵⁸ *Habuerit*, M.

⁵⁹ *Apprehensibile*, M.

⁶⁰ Here M. adds *preciosum*.

⁶¹ *Albamensium*, M.

⁶² Here M. adds *alia*.

omnes sub fide⁶³ et obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae perseuerant, et secundum hoc habent Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, et Abbates, ac inferiores status et gradus religiosos et clericos⁶⁴ seculares. Latini habent sex ciuitates cum suis Episcopis, primam⁶⁵ Antibarum archiepiscopalem, deinde Catharensen, Dulcedinensem,⁶⁶ Suaciensem,⁶⁷ Scutarensen, et Driucensem; quas quidem solum⁶⁸ Latini inhabitant. Populus vero earum siue Albanenses in tota ipsarum diocesi⁶⁹ extra muros. Sunt etiam Albanensium [M. 19 r] quatuor ciuitates, videlicet ⁷⁰Polati, Minoris, Salutensis, et Albanensis.⁷⁰ Quae omnes cum praedictis ciuitatibus Latinorum Antibarensi Archiepiscopo et Ecclesiae ⁷¹jure metropolitico⁷¹ sunt subjectae. Et licet Albanenses aliam omnino linguam a Latina habeant et diuersam, tamen literam Latinam habent in usu et in omnibus suis libris. Latinorum igitur potentia infra ciuitatum suarum ambitum continetur. Extra enim suas ciuitates, licet possessiones vinearum obtineant et camporum, tamen nullum quod Latinum populum habeat castrum possident neque villam. Albanenses autem, quia major natio est, [P. 62] ponerent⁷² in campo plus quam quindecim milia equitum ad omnem actum belli secundum morem et modum illius patriae expeditos et strenuos bellatores. Et praedicti tam Latini quam Albanenses sub iugo importabili et durissima seruitute illius odiosi et abominandi Sclauorum dominii sunt oppressi, populus scilicet angariatus, clerus dejectus et minoratus, Episcopi et Abbates saepius vinculati, nobiles exheredati et in personis propriis captauati, Ecclesiae tam episcopales quam aliae dissipatae et in suis iuribus⁷³ annullatae, monasteria disperdita et destructa. Ipsi omnes et eorum singuli in praedictorum Sclauorum sanguine manus suas crederent consecrare quando viderent aliquem principem de Francorum eis partibus apparere, quem contra dictos⁷⁴ nepharios nostrae veritatis et fidei inimicos facerent ducem bellis. Cum praedictis autem Albanensibus ⁷⁵mille milites⁷⁵ Franci et quinque vel sex milia peditum procul dubio totum tale et tantum regnum cum facilitate nimia obtinerent. Ad hoc autem, Domine mi Rex, me exhibeo⁷⁶ redditurum coram justo iudice, rationem quod magis esset gratum et acceptum sacrificium coram eo si praedictum⁷⁷ imperium

⁶³ Here M. adds *ritu*.

⁶⁴ M. omits *clericos*.

⁶⁵ *Prima*, M.

⁶⁶ *Dulcediensem*, M.

⁶⁷ *Suacinensem*, M.

⁶⁸ *Soli*, M.

⁶⁹ *Diocesis*, M.

⁷⁰ *Polati minoris maioris Polati minoris Sabatensis et Albanensis*, M.

⁷¹ M. omits *iure*, and reads *metropolitano*.

⁷² *Poneret*, M., which reads *litteram*, above; *abominandi*, below.

⁷³ *Viribus*, M.

⁷⁴ Here M. adds *Sclauos*.

⁷⁵ *Et Latinis nulli milites et*, M.

⁷⁶ *Exibeo et expono*, M.

⁷⁷ *Predicta*, M., which below reads *tantundem*.

atque regnum suae veritati et fidei redderetis quam si tantundem et plus de Sarracenorum dominio subderetis.

*Primus libellus cum octo suis*⁷⁸ *est expletus. Secundus libellus*⁷⁹ *incipit, qui cum* ⁸⁰*suis quatuor partibus*⁸⁰ *finietur.*

Postquam auxiliante Deo primum libellum expediuimus,⁸¹ quo docente per terras ⁸²*fideliū* et⁸² *infideliū* Christianorum exercitus Domini salubriter est deductus, ad secundum libellum expediendum breuiter me transduco: qui, sicut dixi superius et promisi, in quatuor residuis partibus concludetur, per quas docebitur quomodo exercitus Domini de terris Christianorum ad terras infidelium, qui nobiscum in nomine Christiano participare refugiunt et crucem odiunt, transferatur. Et quia si caput est sanum,⁸³ membra reliqua bene valent, ideo primo⁸⁴ est circa Regis custodiam insistendum. Dominus enim Rex in tanto negotio habebit cum multarum nationum gentibus conuersari, et se eis ⁸⁵*affabilem exhibere*,⁸⁵ consilia petere, sicut diuersi casus veniunt et occurrunt. Et idcirco est cum summa diligentia declarandum⁸⁶ quibus possit se et sua secreta committere, et a [P. 63] quibus gentibus sibi debeat praecauere. Praeter igitur Graecos, a quibus esse cauendum *supra* rationes tetigi euidenter, praeter etiam hoc quod generaliter in orientalibus nationibus vix in his quae homo videt ad oculum est credendum specialiter tamen sex conditiones⁸⁷ hominum annotabo⁸⁸ a quibus quantum ad quatuor summopere est praecauendum,⁸⁹ videlicet in reuelatione secreti, in conuictu concubinii,⁹⁰ in familiaritate⁹¹ obsequii, et⁹² in commissione cuiuscunque⁹³ negotii in quo posset occasio imminere periculi.⁹⁴

Primo ergo loco pono Armenos, eo quod nec ad fidem catholicam nec ad Romanam Ecclesiam nec etiam ad se ipsos veritatem unquam et fidelitatem integre seruauerunt. Ipsi⁹⁵ inter omnes orientales sunt haeretici pessimi, et tam clerus quam populus multis erroribus inuoluti; de quibus quidem erroribus per singula disserere, quia non est praesentis

⁷⁸ Here M. adds *partibus*.

⁷⁹ Here M. omits *libellus*.

⁸⁰ *Iiij suis partibus*, M.

⁸¹ *Expedimus*, M.

⁸² M. omits *fideliū ac*, reading *exercitus, sicud*, as usual, below.

⁸³ Here M. adds *multorum*.

⁸⁴ *Prima*, M.

⁸⁵ *Effabilem exhibere*, M.

⁸⁶ *Declinandum*, M., which reads *comittere*, *hiis*, below.

⁸⁷ *Coridiciones*, M.

⁸⁸ *Annotatio*, M.

⁸⁹ *Cauendum*, M.

⁹⁰ *Contubernii*, M.

⁹¹ *Famuliaritate*, M.

⁹² Here M. omits *et*.

⁹³ *Cocuscunque*, M.

⁹⁴ *Pericula*, M.

⁹⁵ Here M. adds *omnes*.

operis, praetermitto; licet veraciter dici possit quod non est error in orientali aliqua natione quin ipsi in parte [M. 19 v] non communicent vel in toto. Et quamuis Armeni de minori Armenia tantum, quae quondam Ciliciae dicebatur, quandam unionem fecerint cum Romana Ecclesia et confessionem⁹⁶ fidei verbo expresserint et in scriptis, quarum quidem unionis et confessionis ego motor, operator, atque receptor unus extiti de duobus fratribus Praedicatoribus quos Dominus Johannes Papa XXII⁹⁷ ad hoc specialiter inter cetera destinavit cum⁹⁸ adhuc ille populus destinet⁹⁹ in excelsis. Non enim potest mutare Indus¹ varietatem² nec Aethiops³ pellem suam. Lupus etiam, quantumcunque videatur domesticus et appareat mansuetus, et ouina⁴ pelle⁵ sit desuper⁵ connectus, semper tamen existit interius lupus rapax: qui si in siluis non inuenerit⁶ quo voracitatem faciat consuetam, ita⁷ et non aliter domum reuertitur victus fame. Hoc sic⁸ Armeni retinent et obseruant dum potentia Turchorum oppressi vel Sarracenorum, tributis et mansionibus fatigati, ad Romanam Ecclesiam crebro veniunt et recurrunt; quos certe non tantum vinculum amoris et reuerentiae ad hoc attrahit et inducit quantum cogit⁹ et impellit. Ad hoc autem clarius ostendendum quandam¹⁰ exempli causam¹¹ breuiter hic subnectam. Armeni siquidem isti minoris Armeniae, de quibus textitur sermo praesens,¹² coronam et nomen regium a Romanis Pontificibus [P. 64] et Imperatoribus habuerunt. Et tunc in signum subjectionis de pacto et de conuentione quaedam optima castra et forcia¹³ Romanae Ecclesiae donauerunt, ¹⁴duas pro Latinis¹⁴ archiepiscopales Ecclesias erexerunt, et eas redditibus et possessionibus dotauerunt, monachorum nostrorum monasteria construxerunt, pueros suos Latinis imbuendos literis tradere promiserunt. Postquam vero adepti sunt regni nomen et gloriam affectatam, manum quam ad aratrum extenderant¹⁵ retraxerunt. Castra enim per ipsos prius data Ecclesiae sunt ablata, monasteria aedificiis et habitatoribus

⁹⁶ *Confessione*, M.

⁹⁷ *XII*, M.

⁹⁸ *Tamen*, M.

⁹⁹ *Destinat*, M.

¹ *Pardus*, M.

² Here M. adds *suam*.

³ *Thiops*, M.

⁴ *Ouina*, M.

⁵ *Desuper sit*, M.

⁶ *Inuenitur*, M.

⁷ *Tunc*, M.

⁸ *Vere*, M.

⁹ Here M. adds *necessitas*.

¹⁰ *Quoddam*, M.

¹¹ *Causa*, M.

¹² *Patris*, M.

¹³ *Fortia*, M.

¹⁴ *Dominas per Latinas*, M.

¹⁵ *Extendant*, M.

desolata, bona Tartensis¹⁶ Ecclesiae, quae de praefatis sola et vinea¹⁷ tantum restat, pro ¹⁸maxima parte¹⁸ occupata. Ego cum apud eos essem pro causa superius memorata, in quadam Ecclesia cujusdam monasterii quod fuerat Latinorum, a quo monachi expulsi fuerant et fugati, vidi per eos fieri stabulum jumentorum. Tunc etiam socius meus et ego duo pacta ab eis recepimus et firmata, videlicet quod conuentus Praedicatorum et Minorum ordinum construerent et ibi fratribus moraturis de necessariis prouiderent. Item quod pueros suos instrui facerent Latinis literis ac moribus edoceri.¹⁹ Quae omnia usque hodie perficere neglexerunt. Praedicta qui bene considerat,²⁰ non sunt signa verae ac fundatae reuerentiae et ²¹honoris ac²¹ amoris, sed potius odii et rancoris. Transeunt et²² faciunt cum suis duplicitatibus sua facta. Ipsi etiam tales sunt et tale inter se infidelitatis et discordiae semen habent quod sanguis et gladius usque ad hunc diem ab eorum domibus non recedunt. Ad quod ostendendum unum quod nostris temporibus contigit²³ inducam. Regis Armeniae nouem²⁴ filii, septem scilicet mares, et duae filiae²⁵ . . . extiterunt: quorum unus et ultimus, qui nunc ipsum regnum obtinet, pater fuit. Quos omnes, tam mares quam feminas, mors abstulit violenta, excepta una sola femina, quae nunc restat; quae tamen qualem finem faciet ignoratur. Unus enim ex praedictis fratribus alium gladio interemit, alius alium veneno extinxit, alius²⁶ alium in carcere strangulauit. Et sic omnes usque ad ultimum, qui etiam veneni perniciem non euasit, fuerunt in proprio sanguine fratricidae. Haec²⁷ autem non descripsi ut²⁸ propterea omnis eis fauoris beneficium [P. 65] et protectionis auxilium et gratiarum subsidium denegetur. Gaudent enim nomine Christiano quod quidem nomen inter paganos Christi²⁹ pauci retinent et conseruant. Apud etiam omnes orientales fideles filii Romanae Ecclesiae aestimantur. Sed dico pro tanto ut ab eis circa custodiam et³⁰ cautelam personae [M. 20 r] regiae teneatur³¹ qui tales esse per facta euidentia veraciter denotantur.

Septimo³² loco pono Gasinulos. Et vocantur Gasinuli qui ex patre

¹⁶ *Carcensis*, M., apparently.

¹⁷ *Vnica*, M., as P. corrects in margin.

¹⁸ *Parte maxima*, M.

¹⁹ *Ac doceri*, M.

²⁰ *Considerant*, M.

²¹ M. omits *honoris ac*.

²² M. omits *et* here.

²³ Here M. adds *hic*.

²⁴ *Nomen*, M.

²⁵ Here M. adds *femine*, reading of course *optinet* below.

²⁶ Here M. omits *alius*.

²⁷ *Hoc*, M.

²⁸ *Quod*, M.

²⁹ *Ipsi*, M.

³⁰ *Bonam*, M.

³¹ *Caueatur*, M.

³² *Secundo*, M.

Graeco et matre Latina vel ex patre Latino et matre Graeca fuerunt³³ generati. Hi in fide instabiles,³⁴ in promisso fallaces, in verbo mendaces, astuti in malo, ignorantes in bono, proterui ad superiores, proni ad seditiones,³⁵ habituati ad praedationes, ad crudelitates prompti, ad pietates duri, ad caedes³⁶ et mortes³⁶ auidi, in omnibus inquieti, bibuli et³⁷ ebriosi, sine fraeno incontinentes, gulae ac ventri cum intemperantia seruientes, nisi se ipsos³⁸ aut propter se ipsos penitus nil amantes,³⁹ Graecos se ostendunt cum Graecis, et Latinos se exhibent cum Latinis, omnibus omnia facti, non cum Apostolo ut lucri faciant, sed ut perdant. Tertio loco nomino Surianos. Et dicuntur Suriani qui de Suria hoc est de terra sancta et circa originem habuerunt. Isti quia nec pro libertate⁴⁰ pugnare nec patriam defendere potuerunt, de patria sua pulsi in diuersa, instabiles et proprias sedes⁴¹ non habentes, vagi et profugi peruagantur: qui quanto magis sunt inopes et penitus nil habentes, tanto facilius promissis et⁴² muneribus a fidelitate abducuntur⁴³ et ad varia pertrahuntur secundum quod occurrunt aliquando casus multiplices et fortunae. Quanto enim diutius⁴⁴ fuerunt cum diuersis nationibus orientalibus conuersati, tanto expressius atque tenacius malitias atque versutias plurium didicerunt.⁴⁵ Sed et si qui ex eis sunt diuites et⁴⁶ potentes, adhuc corde insatiabiles et affectu, diuitias sibi augeri et accumulari⁴⁷ cupiunt et honores. Quibus si non prouenerit⁴⁸ hoc quod optant, foederis omnis immemores festinant fidem atque fidelitatem frangere et a⁴⁹ iuramentis atque promissionibus resilire. Ad hoc⁵⁰ usque tamen rancorem⁵⁰ occultant, dolum et dolorem dissimulando celant et per falsos applausus conceptum⁵¹ malignandi donec, quod⁵² exoptant, occurrat aduersarius ex objecto ad quem valeant transuolare, et in adiutorium manum dare, vires augere, et contra veros suos⁵³ aut amicos conceptam iniquitatem proditoriam parturire. Quilibet ergo caueat et attendat ne

³³ *Fuerint*, M.

³⁴ *Stabiles*, M.

³⁵ *Seductiones*, M.

³⁶ *Parati ad mortem*, M.

³⁷ M. omits *et here*.

³⁸ *Ipsis*, M.

³⁹ *Amant*, M., which reads *exibent*, below.

⁴⁰ *Libertate*, M.

⁴¹ *Sedes proprias*, M.

⁴² Here M. adds *ex*.

⁴³ *Abducuntur*, M.

⁴⁴ M. omits *diutius*.

⁴⁵ *Didicerunt*, M.

⁴⁶ *Aut*, M.

⁴⁷ *Accumulari*, M.

⁴⁸ *Prouenit*, M., which reads *inmemores aplausus*, below.

⁴⁹ M. omits *a here*.

⁵⁰ *Tamen usque rancorem*, M.

⁵¹ Here M. adds *operiunt*.

⁵² *Quam*, M.

⁵³ Here M. adds *dominos*.

istorum versuta nequitia,⁵⁴ subdola, et falsa,⁵⁵ exquisita sub [P. 66] bonitatis specie, sub mellis dulcedine virus eiciat, fel effundat, quibus⁵⁶ incautum decipiat⁵⁶ et obruant improisum.

Quarto loco de Murtatis⁵⁷ est conditio describenda. Et dicuntur Murtati⁵⁷ qui de Turchorum ex uno parentum, ex altero vero de Graecorum progenie descenderunt. Hi tanto peiores esse ab initio suorum natalium comprobantur quanto⁵⁸ nequius ex copula duorum malorum sanguinum, Graecorum videlicet ac Turchorum, originem habuerunt; ut ex uno Sathan, ⁵⁹ex altero vero⁵⁹ diaboli dici possint.⁶⁰ Hi licet Christiani dicantur et sint, tamen a cultu et opere Christiano sunt plurimum alieni, dum armorum exercitio dediti qualicunque, nam nullam ut plurimum aliam artem⁶¹ habent, intendunt assidue vitiis et peccatis quibus consuevit illud genus hominum implicari, ad nullum armorum exercitium⁶² sunt idonei reputandi quod requirat bellatorem fidelem strenuum, et constantem, nisi ad furta, praedas, incendia, et rapinas. Quod quia semper faciunt et exercent, semper istis inuigilant et intendunt. Idcirco sciunt ea⁶³ cautius texere et subtilius ordinare quam quicunque alius cogitare. Continuum⁶⁴ enim eorum in istis studium et conamen in summo culmine magisterii eos ponit.

Quinto loco baptizati neophyti describuntur. Baptizati⁶⁵ autem [M. 20 v] nominantur illi qui de Turchis vel Sarracenis Christianam fidem suscipiunt et baptismum. Hi quanto magis sunt a Christianorum sanguine separati, quanto⁶⁶ magis sunt⁶⁷ Turchorum seu Sarracenorum nephandis moribus educati, quibus ⁶⁸ad Christianorum caedem,⁶⁸ ad innocentium necem, ad Ecclesiarum incendia, ad sacrorum spolia, ad nominis Christi detestationem, ad crucis execrationem, ad odium fidei, ad reprobationem baptismi, ad deletionem⁶⁹ gentis et generis Christiani a suis prauis instructoribus, sceleratis parentibus eorum viperina soboles, serpentina progenies erudita extitit et imbuta, tanto⁷⁰ est in eis de promissis credendum, de fidelitate sperandum atque de constantia bonitate⁷¹ aliqua praesumendum. Tales sunt quod vix aut nunquam inueni

⁵⁴ Here M. adds *innata malicia Amicicia*.

⁵⁵ *Fallacia*, M.

⁵⁶ *Tantum decipiant et deiciant*, M.

⁵⁷ *Murcatis . . . Murcati*, M., apparently.

⁵⁸ *Quando*, M.

⁵⁹ *Et ex altero*, M.

⁶⁰ *Possunt*, M., which reads *hii, exercicio*, below.

⁶¹ M. omits *artem*.

⁶² *Exercitium*, M.

⁶³ *Eas*, M.

⁶⁴ *Concium*, M.

⁶⁵ *Raptici*, M.

⁶⁶ *Tanto*, M.

⁶⁷ Here M. adds *a*.

⁶⁸ *A Christianorum cede in*, M.

⁶⁹ *Delectationem*, M.

⁷⁰ Here M. adds *minus*.

⁷¹ Here M. adds *virtute aut bonitate*.

qui de ipsis baptismum susceperit ut aliquid optimum in eo omne⁷² crediderit, aut fidem Christi reputauerit meliorem, seu legem nostram aestimauerit puriorem. Sed ideo suscepi⁷³ quia vilem⁷⁴ suam conditionem⁷⁴ intendunt meliorem aut directam⁷⁵ fortunam mutare, vel onerosam refugere paupertatem, aut serui prius atque captiui desiderant libertatem, vel certe quia propter sua importabilia vitia aut perpetrata flagitia habitare nequeunt⁷⁶ inter suos. Tales sunt quod vix [P. 67] est qui baptismum seruauerit aut in fide perstiterit nisi⁷⁷ quandiu opportunitas⁷⁷ illi defuit a⁷⁸ Christianitate vel⁷⁸ ad vomitum redeundi. Per quod quidem apostasiae⁷⁹ genus et sacrilegii modum apud suos cujuscunque delictionis,⁸⁰ transgressionis, offensionis, atque⁸¹ flagitii remissio obtinetur, et insuper eis acquiritur laus et honor quod legi⁸² inter tale negationis opprobrium⁸² intulerunt. Tales igitur⁸³ sunt quod lectis et auditis falsitatibus per eos varie ordinatis et⁸⁴ dominorum suorum proditiis mortibus perpetratis, eorum peruersitatem et morum ac operum tortuositatem nec penna scribere nec lingua sufficit enarrare.

Quantum autem ad illa quatuor quae supra posui, in quibus a prae-fatis quinque generibus hominum attendendum esse moneo et cauendum, non⁸⁵ intelligo quod quantum ad alia exteriora et⁸⁶ communia iudicem eis regiae pietatis gremium restringendum et munificae largitatis beneficium denegandum. Exercitui namque quantum ad multa alia perutiles esse possunt. Sciunt enim multi ex ipsis patriam, itinera recta et praua, passus dubios et securos, aquas publicas, et occultas insidias contra hostes subtiliter ordinare, et ipsorum contra nostros⁸⁷ detegere, mansiones hostium explorare, praedas astute⁸⁸ inquirere, capere, et caute⁸⁹ deducere, exploratores aduersariorum cognoscere, circumuenire, apprehendere, et ab eis intentiones, dispositiones, et consilia hostium extorquere. Saepius in hostium habitum se transmutant, et inter eos incogniti conuersantur. Et sic quae didicerunt et viderunt eorum abscondita referunt et secreta. Aliquando ad loca eminentia et pro-

⁷² *Esse*, M.; P. corrects in margin to *homine*.

⁷³ *Suscepit*, M.; P. corrects in margin to *suscipiunt*.

⁷⁴ *Condicionem suam*, M.

⁷⁵ *Deiectam*, M.

⁷⁶ *Nequieuerunt*, M.

⁷⁷ *Quamdiu oportunitas*, M.

⁷⁸ *Christianitatis itinere recedendi et*, M.

⁷⁹ *Impostasie*, M.

⁸⁰ *Delectacionis*, M.

⁸¹ *At*, M.

⁸² *Nostre tale negociacionis obprobrium*, M.

⁸³ *Iterum*, M.

⁸⁴ Here M. omits *et*.

⁸⁵ Here M. adds *ita*.

⁸⁶ *Atque*, M.

⁸⁷ *Ipsos*, M.

⁸⁸ *Astricte*, M.

⁸⁹ *Ante*, M.

pinqua hostium castris se ingerunt;⁹⁰ ubi habent⁹¹ coelum pro tecto, pro delicatis cibariis panem durum, pro vinis variis aquam claram, atque pro lectis mollibus duras petras; ubi et nocte rigescunt frigore, die vero caloribus exuruntur. Sic perseuerant in iis et perdurant donec in castris hostium viderint quid disponant, quid agant, quid ordinent, quid intendant. De quibus omnibus, quia res est periculi, cum maturitate et cautela debita est credendum.

Sexto loco execrandos et fugiendos nomine⁹² Assasinos; qui se ipsos venales faciunt, sanguinem⁹³ hominis sitiunt,⁹³ pretio innocentem perimunt, salutem et vitam hominis paruipendunt. Qui, sicut diabolus se in lucis angelum transfigurans,⁹⁴ dum gestus, habitus,⁹⁵ [M. 21 r] mores, et actus diuersarum nationum et gentium, personarum etiam particularium imitantur, et sic sub ouina pelle celati ante mortem ingerunt quam noscantur.

[P. 68] Quia vero istos non vidi, sed de ipsis haec fama vel scriptura veridica⁹⁶ teste noui, aperire non valeo ampliora nec dare notitiam pleniorum. Si enim per mores vel per signa quaecunque eos denuntiem cognoscendos, in iis mihi⁹⁷ et aliis sunt ignoti. Si per nomen ipsorum notitiam posse iudicem apprehendi, tam execrabilis est eorum professio et tam abominabilis uniuersis quod ipsum nomen pro posse gestiui⁹⁸ occultare. Hoc unum solum remedium esse scio, quod Regis custodia et tutela, quod in domo tota regia pro quocunque seruitio, quocunque⁹⁹ modico aut momentaneo siue vili nullus penitus admittatur nisi cujus patria, locus, genus, conditio, et persona certa plene et liquide sint¹ nota.

Explicit prima et nona pars. Secunda et decima pars ostendit² transitum maris² breuem, quinque continens rationes.

Descriptis³ conditionibus hominum malignorum, a quorum oportet Regem⁴ fallacis praecauere, nunc in secunda et decima parte describendus est ille transitus maris brevis, quo expleto exercitus Domini transire usque in Israel⁵ mare aliud non habebit, sicut non habent⁶ a Francia usque ibi. Capta siquidem Constantinopoli, transitus hic patet

⁹⁰ *Iunxerunt*, M.

⁹¹ *Habuit*, M., which reads *cibariis delicatis, claram aquam*, below.

⁹² *Nomino*, M.

⁹³ *Hominum sciunt*, M.

⁹⁴ *Transfigurans*, M.

⁹⁵ Here M. adds *linguas*.

⁹⁶ *Mendica*, M.

⁹⁷ *Tamen*, M.

⁹⁸ *Gestiunt*, M., which reads *abominabilis*, above.

⁹⁹ *Quantumcunque*, M.

¹ *Sunt et*, M.

² *Maris transicio*, M.

³ *Distinctis*, M.

⁴ Here M. adds *pari*.

⁵ *Ierusalem*, M.

⁶ *Habuit*, M.

ante ⁷oculos ex aduerso,⁷ brevis, facilis, et⁸ utilis, et securus. Qui quidem transitus est unum brachium maris strictum a⁹ mari Pontico ad mare mediterraneum diriuatum¹⁰ et diuersis nominibus nuncupatum.

In aliquibus enim libris dicitur¹¹ Hellespontus, in aliis vero Bosporus,¹² in aliis autem brachium sancti Georgii nominatur. Ad ostendendum autem quod in hoc loco sit magis congruum et expediens atque necessarium Sarracenos inuadere crucis hostes quam in quacunque¹³ alia parte mundi quinque explico rationes.

Prima ratio est propter ipsius transitus breuitatem; per quod quidem soluetur¹⁴ quod supra promissum est, talia scilicet itinera demonstrare et per talem viam exercitum deducere procedentem ubi parum vel nihil de maris transitu remaneret; ubi propter conseruationem equorum, propter quietem personarum, propter etiam utilitates et commoditates¹⁵ assequendas, maris molestias, grauamina, atque dispendia varia, et incommoda multa . . .¹⁶ non habet exercitus sustinere. Iste est ille transitus sic facilis et sic brevis quod ex litore uno ad aliud potest vox unius hominis percipi et audiri. In hoc statu¹⁷ posset taliter ordinari quod ab una parte ad aliam transiret¹⁸ totus exercitus super pontem, licet istud [P. 69] necessitas non exposcat. Sine hoc enim erit transitus facilis atque brevis liber.

Secunda ratio est, quia ibi inuadi¹⁹ possunt Sarraceni cum minori nostrorum periculo et cum maiori facilitate et commodo quam in aliqua parte in qua hostes fidei dominantur. Quod quidem ²⁰breuiter ostenditur²⁰ triplici ratione. Prima est, quia ibi statim ut ad terram aduersariorum descenditur occurrit aspectu²¹ campus latus, ubi non sunt fortalicia,²² non nemora, non valles, non latibula, non fossata, in quibus possint hostium insidiae occultari.

Secunda ratio,²³ quia cum exercitus ad terras inimicorum transierit, si bellum ingruerit ex aduerso, statim sani refocillati, validi atque fortes nostri exponi poterunt bellatores cum equis potentibus atque velocibus et ab omnibus laboribus recreatis. Tertia ratio est, quia exercitus

⁷ *Oculo ex auerso*, M.

⁸ Here M. omits *et*.

⁹ *Ex*, M.

¹⁰ *Deriuatum*, M.

¹¹ M. omits *dicitur*.

¹² *Bosforus*, M.

¹³ *Quaque*, M.

¹⁴ *Saluetur*, M.

¹⁵ Here M. adds *plurimas*.

¹⁶ Here M. supplies *minis*.

¹⁷ *Strictu*, M.

¹⁸ *Transirret*, M.

¹⁹ *Iuandi* or *inandi*, M., which reads *comodo* below.

²⁰ *Ostenditur breuiter*, M.

²¹ *Aspectui*, M.

²² *Fontilia*, M.

²³ Here M. adds *est*.

habebit Constantinopolim de propinquo cum tota sua maritima²⁴ regione. Unde subsequenter de facilitibus²⁵ recens et breuiter omnia quae fuerint opportuna. Ista tria commoda in aliqua parte quantum ²⁶mundus gerat²⁶ quem Sarraceni detinent occupatum simul concurrere posse non iudicabit nisi qui fuerit inexpertus, [M. 21 v] cui minime in sua sententia est credendum. Quae quidem commoda²⁷ sunt exercitui plurimum appetenda, ubi et quando fuerit cum hoste valido confligendum. Nam contraria iis ²⁸plurimos exercitus²⁸ in magnam ruinam et perniciem deduxerunt. Nec praesumendum quin hostes totam armatis in fortitudine²⁹ operiant regionem ubi sciuerint³⁰ Dei exercitum declinare, ut in ipso principio resistant totis viribus et conatu. Ubi per consequens accedendum est et cum sollicitudine prouidendum ne aliquid ³¹contra haec et contra³¹ alia possit occurrere improuisum. Cum prouidentia namque nil occursus nocere poterit malignantium. Tertia ratio est, quia si bene consideretur et diligentius attendatur, a strictu ³²Jubaltariae, quando³² per maris litora Africae et Aegypti et ultra procedendo per Suriam et Asiam³³ usque Constantinopolim veniendo, non est locus aliquis terrae hostium contiguus vel propinquus in quo post maris labores possit exercitus recreari antequam ad praelium exponatur, nec est portus aliquis ad quem possit tute noster exercitus cum nauili recipi nec etiam declinare qui non per Sarracenos hostes fidei teneatur.³⁴ Sed si quis opponeret contra illa quae [P. 70] ponuntur in praefata secunda et tertia ratione, quod scilicet Armenia³⁵ minor videatur esse sufficiens ad praedicta, ad hoc per quemcunque expertum faciliter respondetur. Ista enim Armenia pro tanto exercitu victualibus non abundat, imo frequenter non sufficit pro se ipsa. Item portum penitus nullum habet nisi portum qui Palorum dicitur in quodam deserto loco et ab omni habitatione penitus elongato, qui etiam propter sui paruitatem et strictam capacitatem portus non est pro tanto exercitu appellandus. Item quando illud³⁶ exercitus declinasset, quo ulterius versus terram Soldano subjectam procedere³⁷ non haberet, sed oporteret eum retrocedere versus Turquiam, per quam moneo procedendum, ut circumgirando per medios hostes Turchos per locum alium versus terram sanctam inueniret ³⁸et faceret sibi viam.

²⁴ *Maritana*, M.

²⁵ *Facili tribus*, M., which below reads *oportuna*, *comoda*.

²⁶ *Gerat mundus*, M.

²⁷ *Commota*, M.

²⁸ *Excercitus plurimos*, M.

²⁹ Here M. adds *sua*.

³⁰ *Sciunt*, M.

³¹ *Circa . . . circa*, M.

³² *In baltarie girando*, M., which reads *Affrice*, below.

³³ Here M. adds *et*.

³⁴ *Teneantur*, M.

³⁵ Here M. adds *pro tanto exercitu*, reading *habundat*, below.

³⁶ *Illuc*, M.

³⁷ *Procedent*, M.

Passus enim montanae³⁸ nigrae, quos de Armenia in terra hostium haberet necessario permeare, sunt difficiles et³⁹ stricti, qui et⁴⁰ a Sarracenis Soldani hodie possidentur. Item nunquam legi nec audiui per aliquem expertum fieri mentionem quod ad partes praedictae Armeniae passagium in suo principio debeat applicare.

Quarta ratio est, quia caput hostis est primitus conterendum. Quis enim de dracone reputat se victorem nisi prius ⁴¹praeciderit caput⁴¹ ejus? Ponere namque se in mediis hostibus importat magnum periculum et discrimen. Quod quidem contingeret, si alibi et alicui primo vellet quis Sarracenicum ⁴²inuadere hostem⁴² quam ut dico. Cujus exempli causam induco qui enim in subsidium terrae sanctae sua itinera dirigebant, quando⁴³ et Tripolis et tota illa maritima⁴⁴ regio a Christi fidelibus tenebatur,⁴⁵ se in medium hostium committebant⁴⁶ habentes contra Soldanum gerere bellum unum et aliud contra Turchos. Et haec veraciter causa erat quare Reges Franciae et Angliae et alii fortes principes et potentes qui ad loca illa hostes aggredi attentabant frustrati a spe et opere remanebant.⁴⁷ Qui vero obiceret quod per haec quae dicunt,⁴⁸ (Nam⁴⁹ contra Soldani potentiam confringendam esset prius, et fortius insistendum, qui magis quam Turchi Sarracenorum caput esse creditur et probatur) ad hoc respondeo per quintam quae sequitur rationem.

Quinta⁵⁰ ratio ostendit quod melius, facilius, et utilius est Turchos [M. 22 r] prius [P. 71] conterere quam⁵¹ Soldanum. Et hoc⁵² per tria media sic ostendo. Primum medium est, quia Turchi possunt Soldano adjutorium exhibere, Soldanus vero Turchis nullum subsidium dare potest. Si enim Soldanus vellet gentes in Turchorum adjutorium destinare, ⁵³oporteret eas⁵³ fines Imperatoris Persidis pertransire. Cum autem ⁵⁴iste Imperator⁵⁴ Soldani hostis et aemulus perseueret, non permetteret sibi suspectum exercitum ingredi fines suos, nec etiam Soldanus committeret in potestate sui aemuli gentem suam. Turchos vero Imperator idem, cum non sint sui aemuli neque hostes, imo sibi seruiunt sub tributo, ⁵⁵illi scilicet qui sunt magis propinqui Soldano, et qui pos-

³⁸ M. omits these seven words after *inueniret* and before *nigre*.

³⁹ *Atque*, M.

⁴⁰ M. omits *et* here.

⁴¹ *Prescinderet capud*, M.

⁴² *Hostem inuadere*, M.

⁴³ Here M. adds *Accon*.

⁴⁴ *Maritina*, M.

⁴⁵ *Tenebantur*, M.

⁴⁶ *Comittebant*, M., which reads *fortes*, below.

⁴⁷ Here M. adds *et si quid de terris illis ceperant non poterat perdurare quia capita hostilia integra permanebant*.

⁴⁸ *Dicuntur*, M.

⁴⁹ M. omits *nam* here, and reads *fortius* below.

⁵⁰ *Vinta*, M., which leaves blank space for (illuminated) Q.

⁵¹ M. omits *quam* here.

⁵² *Hec*, M.

⁵³ *Oportet*, M., omitting *eas*.

⁵⁴ *Imperator iste*, M.

sunt ei subsidium exhibere, pro quocunque arma sumerent, nullatenus impediret, nisi forte sui jura imperii molestarent. Et si quis forte opponeret quod ex quo Turchi Imperatori Tartarorum Persidis seruiunt sub tributo,⁵⁵ videretur quod Tartari deberent ipsos Turchos tanquam suos contra nostros defendere et tueri, et sic noster exercitus grauaretur, si contra⁵⁶ tantam multitudinem bellum gerere ⁵⁷*oporteret*,⁵⁷ non esse sine⁵⁸ periculo et difficultate atque impedimento hujus itineris videretur, taliter respondetur ad hoc. Sicut ex ⁵⁹*praemissis* habetur⁵⁹ inter Imperatorem Persidis et Soldanum ⁶⁰*sunt semper*⁶⁰ odia et inimicitiae capitales. ⁶¹*Itaque* unus⁶¹ alterum nititur destruere et confundere toto posse. Causa hujus est haec. Quando Tartari terras Chaldaee atque Persidis inuaserunt, tunc in Baldaco⁶² erat Calipha cui omnes Sarraceni de mundo suo modo talem reuerentiam exhibebant sicut per Christianos fideles summo Pontifici exhibetur. Et hic erat Soldanus pariter⁶³ et Calipha; quem Tartari, capta tota Chaldaea et Baldaco⁶² ejus metropoli, occiderunt, ita quod ex tunc Calipha alius non surrexit.⁶⁴ Non enim potest esse Calipha qui non in Baldaco⁶⁵ faciat residentiam personalem.⁶⁶ Quicquid mali potest⁶⁷ Tartarus ⁶⁸*contra* Soldanum et Soldanus contra Tartarum machinatur. Si igitur Tartarus⁶⁸ sciret quod nostri⁶⁹ contra Soldanum procederent hostem suum, non dico quod ⁷⁰*impediret* in aliquo,⁷⁰ sed assero quod potius adjuuaret.⁷¹ Jam enim dudum Casan Imperator Persidis audiens quod nostri passagium ordinarent, in nostrum seruitium et fauorem Soldanum in bello deuicit, et de suis plus quam quadraginta milia interfecit, ipsum fugere compulit, terras ejus bene per decem dietas inuasit, Damascum ciuitatem validam et [P. 72] totam illam prouinciam occupauit et multis diuitiis spoliauit, et ita diminuit vires⁷² ejus quod si nostri ex parte nostra occurrissent, procul dubio terram sanctam et Ægyptum de facili occupassent. Iterum quando sanctus Ludouicus transiuit⁷³ ultra mare, statim in Cypro occurrerunt ei nuntii Tartarorum, non quae impedimenti sed quae amoris erant

⁵⁵ All this, from *illi scilicet* to *seruiunt sub tributo*, is omitted by M.

⁵⁶ M. omits *contra*.

⁵⁷ *Oportet quod*, M.

⁵⁸ M. repeats *sine*.

⁵⁹ *Praemissis*, M., omitting *habetur*.

⁶⁰ *Semper sunt*, M.

⁶¹ *Ita quod unus ad*, M., reading *Chaldeē*, below.

⁶² *Baldato*, apparently, M.

⁶³ M. omits *pariter*.

⁶⁴ *Insurrexit*, M.

⁶⁵ *Baldano*, M.

⁶⁶ Here M. adds *quod quiddem Tartari non permittunt et idcirco*.

⁶⁷ Here M. adds *igitur*.

⁶⁸ M. omits these ten words, from *contra* to *Tartarus*.

⁶⁹ *Nil*, M.

⁷⁰ *In aliquo impediret*, M.

⁷¹ *Adiuuarent*, M.

⁷² *Viras*, M., which reads *Egiptum, Cipro*, below.

⁷³ *Transiit*, M.

potius offerentes, licet tunc temporis major eos quam nunc feritas occuparet. Nec dubium apud aliquem qui conditiones illorum nouit⁷⁴ Tartarorum quin statim⁷⁵ nostrum exercitum in Constantinopolim sciuerint aduenisse pacis et amicitiae atque confoederationis solemnes nuntios suos mittant. Esto etiam quod ipsi se disponent ad obstandum, adhuc propter eos non est propositum nostri itineris dimittendum. Nam cum infidelibus de guerra sperandum et cogitandum est potius quam de pace, cum in hoc negotio nullus patriam propriam propter pacem deserat acquirendam. Deus enim ita⁷⁶ illos conteret, sic⁷⁷ istos et istos ita destruet sicut illos. Nec est de ipsis aliquid virtutis aut fortitudinis aestimandum. Non enim sunt illi Tartari qui fuerunt Sarraceni namque sunt, et ad mollitiem,⁷⁸ lubricitatem, et ad alia Sarracenorum vitia sunt dediti et intenti; et sic effeminati effecti usum et probitatem armorum solitam perdiderunt. Secundum medium est, quia posito quod Soldanus Turchis auxilium dare posset, ita est ejus exercitus virtute et [M. 22 v] viribus vacuatus propter otium et luxus carnis ac delectationes viles assiduas quibus vacant⁷⁹ contra rationis ordinem et naturae, quod Turchis et quibusque⁸⁰ aliis magis afferrent⁸¹ impedimentum et taedium quam iuuamen. Tertium est exemplum quod in facto simili legimus et habemus. Quia enim Petrus Heremita cum suo passagio quem ducebat per locum transiens⁸² quem designo, et viam illam faciens quam moneo faciendam, ut⁸³ jam superius est expressum, vires Turchorum primitus conquassauit, ideo progressum habuit tam prosperum, tam felicem quod in breuissimo tempore fere totum orientem⁸⁴ acquisiuit, ita quod nunquam fuit passagium in acquisitione tam utile et in⁸⁵ victoriis atque triumphis tam solemne.⁸⁵

Explicit secunda et decima pars. Tertia et undecima⁸⁶ pars ostendit loca et regiones unde ab omni parte exercitus⁸⁷ victualia habebuntur.

[P. 73] Ad praedicta accedit haec tertia et undecima pars, quae erit loca describere nominatim de quibus victualia haberi poterunt copiose, ita quod si unus⁸⁸ deficeret, alius abundabit. Circa quod sciendum quod

⁷⁴ *Nouerit*, M.

⁷⁵ Here M. adds *cum*.

⁷⁶ *Recta*, M.

⁷⁷ *Sicut*, M.

⁷⁸ *Mollicie*, M.

⁷⁹ *Vacat*, M.

⁸⁰ *Quibuscunque*, M.

⁸¹ *Afferent*, M.

⁸² *Tracie*, M.

⁸³ *Et*, M.

⁸⁴ *Oriens*, M.

⁸⁵ *Triumphis atque victoriis tam solempne*, M.

⁸⁶ *IX*, M.

⁸⁷ *Pro exercitu*, M.

⁸⁸ *Locus*, M. adds here, reading *dampno, Asya, Grecis, Ierusalem*, as usual, below.

regio illa ad quam primo jam moneo transeundum, licet modo Turchia vulgariter nuncupetur eo quod per Turchos hostiliter nunc tenetur cum damno et dedecore nominis Christiani, tamen in sacra pagina Asia nuncupatur,⁸⁹ ubi septem Ecclesiae denotantur a⁹⁰ quibus Apocalypsim⁹¹ Johannes Euangelista et Apostolus destinauit. Ista regio a Graecis Anatolia⁹² id est oriens appellatur, eo quod homo in Hierusalem a Constantinopoli procedendo semper ante se respiciat et habeat orientem. Ista regio est quasi ⁹³lingua⁹³ terrae mari a tribus partibus circumsepta. A dextris namque, id est, a meridie, habet mare Ægaeum; a sinistris vero, id est, ab aquilone, tenet mare Ponticum; a tergo autem, id est, ab occidente, scilicet versus Constantinopolim, mare deserit Hellespontum. Quae quidem regio quanto magis habet circa se loca et regiones maritimas⁹⁴ atque portus, tanto minus in necessariis posse deficere comprobatur. Omnis enim ciuitas siue locus qui supra mare cum portu congruo obtinet situm suum non potest communiter in necessariis habere penuriam nec defectum. Quomodo ergo ipsa Turchia siue Asia contra se ad praedictas tres partes, scilicet occidentem, meridiem, et aquilonem, regiones et loca⁹⁵ et portus accomodos⁹⁶ in quibus possunt⁹⁷ recipi vasa quaecunque ipsa victualia deportantes lucide et breuiter declaratur. Ab occidente igitur ex prouincia quae Thracia⁹⁸ nominatur veniet frumentum pro hominibus et ⁹⁹hordeum pro equis de Rodostro⁹⁹ castro, ad quod fere totum bludum¹ de Thracia⁹⁸ congregatur² incredibili quantitate, vinum autem de Gano et de ³Polistre in abundantia³ competenti. Ex prouincia etiam ⁴Macedonia versus similiter occidentem⁴ veniet frumentum et hordeum et legumina copiose, de Thessalonica, de Mamistro, et de Quisso, et de tota illius magnae circumadjacentia⁵ regionis. De Marronia vero et de Aspriosa⁶ similiter Macedoniae regionis vinum copiose, portabunt⁷ optimum et electum. A dextris autem,⁸ id est, a meridie, habemus por-

⁸⁹ *Nominatur, M.*

⁹⁰ *M. omits a.*

⁹¹ *Apocolipsim, M.*

⁹² *Anatholi, M.*

⁹³ *Quedam lingua, M.*

⁹⁴ *Marinas, M.*

⁹⁵ Here *M.* adds *contineat optima ex quibus per mare valeant exercitui victualia prouenire quomodo etiam in se habeat.*

⁹⁶ *Comotos, M.*

⁹⁷ *Posunt, M.*

⁹⁸ *Tracia, M.*

⁹⁹ *Pro equis ordeum de Rodosto, M.*

¹ *Baldum, M.*

² Here *M.* adds *in.*

³ *Pelistre in habundantia in habundantia, M.*

⁴ *Macedonie versimiliter similiter occidente, M.,* which of course reads *ordeum, habundanter, below.*

⁵ *Circumiacentia, M.*

⁶ *Aspiroza, M.*

⁷ *Portabitur, M.*

⁸ *Veniunt, M.*

tum et castrum Bondouiciae, per quem⁹ blada omnis generis ex regione Blaquiae habebimus¹⁰ abundanter. Habemus ad eandem partem ducatum Athenarum. Habemus etiam¹¹ Nigropontem. Quae quidem loca vinum, legumina, oleum, et caseos [P. 74] ministrabunt. A sinistris insuper, id est, ab aquilone, per totum mare Ponticum in regionibus Bulgariae, Gazariae, Richiae,¹² Anogasiae, et in mari de Caua¹³ tot sunt loca et portus unde portantur¹⁴ frumentum, carnes salsae, mel, cera,¹⁵ pisces salsi, legumina, hordeum, et auena, non in mediocri sed excessiua etiam quantitate quod, ne verba protrahere videar et taedium inferam audienti, nominare per singula praetermitto. Si autem quis sollicitus sit de portubus ad quos naues haec victualia deferentes valeant applicare, breuiter satisfacio inquit[M. 23 r]renti, quod ad plagam meridionalem Asiae de qua loquor fere quot sunt miliaria, tot sunt portus boni, capaces, profundi modo debito et tranquilli.¹⁶ Sunt etiam circa istam partem habitatae¹⁷ insulae multa valde quae¹⁸ habent in se vel faciunt de se portum. Poterunt etiam et debebunt galeae et naues portus eligere et mutare in tali conuenientia atque modo ut sicut terrestris exercitus mouebit sua castra inantia¹⁹ et procedet, sic²⁰ pariter et propinque marinus exercitus subsequatur, ut sic terrestris exercitus possit de omnibus recentari.²¹ De carnibus recentibus mentionem facere superfluum iudicaui, cum Turquia²² siue Asia in carnibus, vino, oleo, bladis, leguminibus, et omnibus aliis bonis terrae sic²³ ita egregia, fertilis, et abundans quod vere videbitur intuenti quod non in terra alia sit Ægyptus nec alia paradisos. Nec puto ²⁴quod exercitus indigeat²⁴ victualibus aliunde. In quo²⁵ abundans cautela et prouisio non nocebunt.²⁶

Explicit tertia et undecima pars. ²⁷Et duodecima pars sex continet rationes quod de hostibus fidei triumphum habendi faciliter sit sperandum.

Quartam et duodeciman et finem pariter hujus directorii ordo praecipit expedire. Et erit de spe certa faciliter de Turchis et aliis fidei et

⁹ Quam, apparently, M.

¹⁰ Habemus, M.

¹¹ Et, M.

¹² Bithie, M.

¹³ Tana, M.

¹⁴ Portatur, M.

¹⁵ Sera, M.

¹⁶ Transquilli, M.

¹⁷ Here M. adds *et non habitate*.

¹⁸ Here M. adds *vel*.

¹⁹ In antea, M.

²⁰ Si, M.

²¹ Retentari, M.

²² Tarquina, M., which of course has *Asya*, *habundans*, below.

²³ Si, M.

²⁴ Exercitus quod indigeat, M.

²⁵ Nisi quod, M.

²⁶ Nocebit, M.

²⁷ Here M. adds *quarta*.

crucis hostibus triumphandi. Ad quod declarandum²⁸ sex infero rationes.

Prima ratio est, quia eorum malitia est completa. Tantum enim duravit²⁹ eorum infida³⁰ peruersitas et in malitiis et peccatis perseuerans iniquitas quod clamorem opere compleuerunt. Constat etiam quod si bene gesserimus³¹ et rectam in hoc opere tenuerimus voluntatem, Dominus est nobiscum. Et si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Si enim consistent aduersum nos castra, si exurgat aduersum [P. 75] nos praelium, nihil timendum, in Domino est sperandum, qui est illuminatio mentis nostrae et³² protector assiduus vitae nostrae. Non est enim fortitudo, non est consilium, non est prudentia contra ipsum. Nunquam legi in aliqua historia veteris testamenti quod nisi propter peccatum Deus³³ tradiderit populum suum³³ gladio inimici. Legi tamen aliquos peccatores de hostibus blasphemantibus nomen Dei magnas victorias reportasse. In omnibus historiis ultramarinis³⁴ nunquam recolo me legisse quod nostri per hostes fuerint debellati, siue bellum cum multis gererent vel cum paucis, nisi aut propter peccata quae in ipsis regnabant, vel propter proditones quas inuicem committebant, seu propter discordias quas habebant, aut certe quia illam cum qua bellum initur dispositionem debitam negligebant.

Secunda ratio est, quia Turchi in se ipsos multipliciter sunt diuisi, et unus alium persequitur, spoliatur, et occidit. Et fere tot sunt principes quot sunt villae, et tot sunt reguli quot sunt urbes. Cum autem ipsi in tot contraria et diuisa³⁵ dominia sint diuisi, certe ipsorum potius futura desolatio est credenda quam nostra victoria non speranda. Omne enim regnum in se ipsum diuisum praedixit Dominus desolandum.³⁶

Tertia ratio est quae elicitur ex praemissa. Ideo enim³⁷ inter se, ut praemittitur, sunt diuisi, quia eorum capita, qui bella nouerant, se³⁸ mutuis seditionibus occiderunt,³⁸ aut serui proprios dominos mactauerunt,³⁹ et in locum⁴⁰ eorum qui plus de potentia habere poterant surrexerunt, atque in huiusmodi⁴¹ contrarietate et alteratione dominii continue persistentes de probiori⁴² militia quam haberent contigerunt strages variae et contingunt. Et sic consequenter sunt unione, numero, ac viribus⁴³ diminuti.

²⁸ *Demonstrandum*, M.

²⁹ *Ducauit*, M.

³⁰ *Imperfida*, M.

³¹ *Gessimus*, M., which reads *nichil, numquam*, below.

³² *Qui est*, M.

³³ *Populum suum tradidit*, M.

³⁴ *Ultramarinis*, M.

³⁵ *Diuersa*, M.

³⁶ *Desolabitur*, M.

³⁷ *Namque*, M.

³⁸ *Mutuis cedibus mactauerunt*, M.

³⁹ *Occiderunt*, M.

⁴⁰ *Locis*, M.

⁴¹ Here M. adds *in*.

⁴² *Probrorum*, M.

⁴³ *Veribus*, M.

Quarta ratio⁴⁴ est quod quia propter causam praefatam⁴⁵ de se ipsis militiam non habebant, de suis⁴⁶ empticiis et captiuis conati sunt ipsam militiam reparare. Graecos igitur empticios vel captiuos, quos variis modis ad suam perfidiam pertraxerunt, libertati dederunt, et eis in uxores suas filias tradiderunt. Praeterea quia ipsi Turchi raro consueuerunt se [M. 23 v] in villis includere⁴⁷ ad manendum, sed omni tempore habitant sub tentoriis in campestri, ideo praedictis libertinis,⁴⁸ licet sint ad perfidiam Sarracenicam,⁴⁹ ut praemittitur, deprauati, non tamen possunt [P. 76] donum⁵⁰ Christianitatis et fidem atque baptismi gratiam, quae ante susceperant, penitus obliuisci, ideo constat mihi et⁵¹ per eosdem quod si haberent aliquem nobilem et potentem qui eos per citam⁵² victoriam⁵³ liberaret cui possent⁵⁴ tanquam columnae firmissimae adhaerere, et contra iniquos ipsum valent scutum opponere defensuum, essent parati fortalicia tradere et suae captiuitatis injuriam et infidelitatis ignominiam in dominorum⁵⁴ suorum sanguine vindicare. Quinta ratio est, quia ipsi Turchi bellandi modum et industriam nullam⁵⁵ habent, probitate et audacia carent, non habent arma defensiuia seu etiam offensiuia nisi tantum arcus, pharetras,⁵⁶ et sagittas, loricas quasdam⁵⁷ quae proprius dici possunt caraciae,⁵⁸ quam loricae, quae non bellis virorum sed magis ludis conueniunt puerorum. Equos habent multos. Nam fere omnes equitant, etiam rustici et pastores. Sed ipsi equi debiles sunt et parui, ita quod non possunt super se aliqua⁵⁹ arma defensiuia nec equi nec milites tolerare: quae si ad tempus aliquod sustinerent, ad modici cursus exercitium caderent et creparent. Modus autem bellandi ipsorum est non in campo fortiter sistere⁶⁰ aut constanter resistere⁶⁰ vel audacter inuadere, sed semper fugere aut fugare, plus in insidiis quam viribus confidentes. Et breuiter concludendo, post Graecos et Babylonios⁶¹ ipsi sunt vilior natio orientis. Sexta ratio est, quia ipsi et Sarraceni, quos idem esse iudico in hac parte, nam omnes credunt et colunt unam

⁴⁴ *Vero*, M.

⁴⁵ *Prefactam* or *prefattam*, M.

⁴⁶ *Seruus*, M.

⁴⁷ *Concludere*, M.

⁴⁸ Here M. adds *castra custodienda et fortalicia tradiderunt et quia huiusmodi libertini*.

⁴⁹ *Sarracennincam*, M.

⁵⁰ *Domini*, M.

⁵¹ *Etiam*, M.

⁵² *Suam*, M.

⁵³ *Haberet cui possunt*, M., which of course has *columpne*, below.

⁵⁴ *Numerorum*, M.

⁵⁵ *Ullam*, M.

⁵⁶ *Feretras*, M.

⁵⁷ Here M. adds *habent de corio*.

⁵⁸ *Coracie*, M.

⁵⁹ *Ulla*, M., which reads *tollerare*, *Babilonios*, *abominabilis*, *immunda*, as usual, below.

⁶⁰ M. omits these three words (*aut . . . resistere*).

⁶¹ Here M. adds *in factis armorum*.

bestiam Machometum, quandam ⁶²adinuenerunt prophetiam⁶² quod in istis temporibus debet eorum secta abominabilis et immunda per quendam Francorum principem destrui et deleri. Et ideo ⁶³quandocunque audiunt⁶³ passagium ordinari, excidiosum praestolantur cum magna formidine finem suum. Quod et ego veraciter sum expertus cum essem in Perside ubi propter remotionem⁶⁴ terrarum a nobis minus⁶⁵ debet passagium formidari. Cum enim Dominus Papa Clemens passagium indixisset, et apud illos de Perside verbum hujusmodi sonuisset, tantus timor et tremor eorum corda percussit ac si jam Francorum gladios ad spatulas⁶⁶ habuissent.

Epilogus ad praedicta.

⁶⁷Praedicta autem non posui⁶⁷ et expressi quod propterea negligi debeant [P. 77] dispositio,⁶⁸ ordo, obedientia, disciplina, et prudentia militaris; ut quia hostis sine virtute est, sine prudentia, inualidus et inconstans, debeat exercitus noster vage procedere et incaute ac esse sine debita regula dissolutus. Per incautelam namque et securitatem atque defectum custodiae, quae ex aestimatione fragilitatis hostium procedebant, multi magni fortes et potentes exercitus perierunt. Amazones et mulieres quae in praedicta Turquia ⁶⁹ciuitatem Ephesum⁶⁹ construxerunt leguntur multos fortes tyrannos et principes superasse. Romani enim principes ita castra sua, ⁷⁰ubicunque in expeditionem⁷⁰ procederent, fossatis vallabant; muro cingebant,⁷¹ ac si⁷² semper hostis adesset⁷³ qui eos bellis assiduis et incursionibus molestaret.⁷⁴

Ego, qui vix est natio in toto oriente quam⁷⁵ ad bellum non viderim processisse, ad praemissa hoc unicum superaddo, quod non⁷⁶ [M. 24 r] Turchos despicabiles et despectos, et Aegyptios abominabiles atque viles, sed simul fortes, et⁷⁷ Tartaros, Indos, Arabes, atque Persas, sola potentia Franciae absque auxiliariis quibuscunque cum modo, ordine, disciplina, et dispositione congruis superaret. Hoc dico, hoc assero, hoc confirmo. Nec est aliud in ⁷⁸vero et experto⁷⁸ iudicio formidandum; non est aliud,

⁶² *Adueniunt prophetiam*, M.

⁶³ *Quandoque audiuit*, M.

⁶⁴ *Remociora*, M.

⁶⁵ *Minis or nimis*, M.

⁶⁶ *Spatulos*, M.

⁶⁷ *Predam autem posui*, M.

⁶⁸ *Disposi* (only), M.

⁶⁹ *Ciuitatum ciuitatem Ephesim*, M.

⁷⁰ *Ubi* (only), M.

⁷¹ Here M. adds *et in eis custodes ac vigiles disponebant*.

⁷² M. omits *si*.

⁷³ *Adesse*, M.

⁷⁴ Here M. adds a section-heading, *Confirmacio predictorum*.

⁷⁵ *Quomodo*, M.

⁷⁶ Here M. adds *solum*.

⁷⁷ M. omits *et*, reading *Yndos, Ffrancie*, below.

⁷⁸ *Vere et experte*, M.

exclusis omnibus difficultatibus quae ad praedicta obici potuerunt,⁷⁹ metuendum, nisi⁸⁰ peccata propria impugnarent, aut modus directionis hujus viae debitus non adesset. Scio namque multos, scio contra⁸¹ directionem hujusmodi itineris suas sententias probaturos; quibus non inuideo, non insulto, dummodo ad haec tria⁸² experientia hos informet et utilitas propria. Per quemcumque⁸³ enim, Domine mi Rex, bene, recte, ac prospere tua itinera dirigantur. Hoc est quod intendo, hoc est quod cupio toto corde, ut te videam illaese⁸⁴ super ⁸⁵aspidem et basiliscum⁸⁵ ambulantem et draconem pedibus conculcantem ac tandem in sanctam Hierusalem tui scepra regiminis moderantem et tanquam alter David terrae infideles populos coaequantem.⁸⁶

In fine conclusio monitoria sequitur ut in Deum tota mentis intentio dirigatur.

Igitur,⁸⁷ Domine mi Rex, ad hoc tam sanctum negotium exequendum non te ducat ostendendae tuae potentiae fastus, nec laudis propriae appetitus, nec elatio amplificandi⁸⁸ dominii, nec ambitio dominandi. Legimus namque quod Moysi [P. 78] fuit terrae sanctae promissio denegata quia pro se honorem et laudem appetiit, quae debuit dare Deo. Saul etiam meruit iram Dei, quia post victoriam sibimet erexit⁸⁹ fornicem triumphalem. In Machabaeorum libris quosdam de populo legimus⁹⁰ in manus hostium incidisse quia voluere⁹¹ facere sibi nomen. Paganorum sunt haec⁹² ut post optatos victorias et obtentas honores sibi celebrarent et triumphos. Te autem, Domine mi, decet cum directione cordis, cum fervore deuotionis, et cum puritate intentionis attribuere gloriam et honorem immortalis Regi, inuisibili, soli Deo, a quo debes⁹³ praemium expectare non momentaneum ⁹⁴et terrenum,⁹⁴ sed perpetuum et caeleste. Amen.

*Explicit directorium uniuersum. ⁹⁵Deo gratias in immensum. Amen.*⁹⁵

⁷⁹ *Poterunt*, M.

⁸⁰ Here M. adds *si nos*.

⁸¹ *Circa*, M.

⁸² *Certa*, M.

⁸³ *Quecumque*, M.

⁸⁴ *Ille se* (two words), M.

⁸⁵ *Basiliscum et aspidem*, M.

⁸⁶ *Torquentem*, M.

⁸⁷ *Gitur*, M.

⁸⁸ *Ampliandi*, M.

⁸⁹ *Erexerant*, M.

⁹⁰ *Legius*, M.

⁹¹ *Voluerunt*, M.

⁹² M. omits *haec*.

⁹³ *Debet*, M.

⁹⁴ M. omits these two words.

⁹⁵ M. omits these five words.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Folkways. A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals. By WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, Professor of Political and Social Science in Yale University. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1907. Pp. v, 692.)

PROFESSOR SUMNER has written a very valuable and timely book, and one involving years of patient research, as well as the possession of a ripe and fearless mind. By "folkways" he means "the ways of satisfying needs which become habitual and customary by the uncoordinated coöperation of individuals, each trying to satisfy needs as well as he can. When these uncoordinated individual acts become habits of the individual and, after some generations, traditional customs of ancestors, they are recognized as advantageous to social welfare. Then they get a philosophy and become rules of the life policy. Thus they get a notion of 'ought' and are sanctioned by religion and by the force of society. At this stage the folkways turn into mores. Taken together they make a social philosophy and a public morality."

The timeliness of a treatise of this character, particularly when the work is carried out as Professor Sumner has done it, is that we are still so naïve and anthropomorphic in our modes of thought that we are in the habit of regarding white civilization as a superior type *qua* white, while in fact the great bulk of our social practices—of our morals, our religion, our marriage, our manners—are almost as little rationalized as our language. They are superior from the point of view of intelligence to the reflexes of animal behavior, but are very far from representing a complete rational oversight. They are but little superior in rational content to the practices of the natural and half-cultural races, and even this slight superiority is usually only a few centuries old.

Professor Sumner has developed this standpoint in a manner which is at once fascinating and convincing, and the range and aptness of the ethnological and historical data brought into play is a thing to admire. Incidentally his book is one of the strongest arguments yet presented for the essential likeness of the human mind in all times and in all peoples, and also a most suggestive volume for those who are interested in the reform of our whole system of education. The analytical and descriptive side of the work is not surpassed, hardly equalled, in the field of social psychology, and the first chapters I regard as the clearest statement yet made on the "folk-mind".

The two most serious defects of *Folkways* are a lack of psychological standpoint and a lack of systematic and complete presentation. Aspects of social life are presented in a kaleidoscopic fashion, different sections treat of the same question (compare 479 with 481 and 484; and 625 with 640), the fine print goes over the same ground as the coarse, and the reader cannot avoid the impression that the illustrative materials are sometimes shuffled rather than logically arranged. Some points are elaborated with extreme detail and others touched on in so fragmentary a manner that it would have been better not to treat them at all. (The section on Japanese woman contains a single citation from Hearn, and Chinese woman is not alluded to at all.) Some large and important fields illustrating folkways are very inadequately handled. The treatment of folkways as illustrated by literature and art is conspicuously poor, sketchy, and apparently perfunctory. On the psychological side there is lack of clearly defined theory. The irrational nature of folkways is convincingly displayed, but we find no indication of the psychology of the process by which social practices are slowly rationalized. Indeed, the reviewer does not feel that Professor Sumner has made out a difference between *folkways* and *mores*, and it is certain that he frequently uses the terms indifferently (compare sections 1 and 40).

In view of the extraordinarily wide range of authorities used, it is remarkable that Professor Sumner neither cites nor lists Steinmetz's *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*, Nieboer's *Slavery as an Industrial System*, Westermarck's *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, nor Schultze's *Alterclassen und Männerbunde*—the most important books, perhaps, on certain topics to which he gives particular attention.

WILLIAM I. THOMAS.

The Development of Western Civilization. A Study in Ethical, Economic, and Political Evolution. By J. DORSEY FORREST, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Economics in Butler College. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1907. Pp. xii, 406.)

THIS book is an interpretation of human history from the standpoint of the identity of interest of the individual and of society. Social reformers have set up this ideal as a goal to be reached and are busy with programmes for its speedy attainment. These however can be of no help in the solution of social problems unless they accord with the general law of development of the human race. To understand our present condition and to put into successful operation forces which shall alleviate present evils, the track of the onward march must be closely scanned. The purpose of the social reformer, however, will not be served by confining attention to the line of march. That line must be studied with reference to the general topography. That is, an understanding of social history cannot be acquired by the pursuit of any

special discipline, or of any number of special disciplines taken separately. The history of thought, the history of morals, the history of economics, the history of political institutions and commonwealths must be studied in conjunction for the right understanding of any one of them and their relations to the general progress of society.

Applying this method to the consideration of ancient societies the author finds that "as a result of reflection upon their decaying life the Hebrews were able to free the ethical impulse from the old social habits, the Greeks freed the idea of the end of life from the particular life activities, and the Romans, though they gave objective expression to the Greek idea of society in which common ends should be served by all, failed to organize the freed *impulse* into new *habits* having higher social ends".

The ideas had been abstracted, but the societies, which made the abstractions, perished. The Christian church which accepted the abstractions was face to face with a decaying civilization and the military mastery of the barbaric Teutons. Therefore it could not give the community idea institutional form and was compelled to compromise in organizing the social motive of love. The chief instrument employed to reach the ideal was magic. In the sphere of government it furnished administrative assistance to stem the onrushing forces of dissolution. In the sphere of industry its domains offered the models for economic development. The economic problem was conditioned primarily by the necessity of obtaining an adequate food supply. The urgency of this need compelled the abandonment of the complete control of the laborer's activity and methods which prevailed throughout the ancient world. The existence of free village communities among the Germans is not denied, but the exigencies of both war and industry soon transformed these into lordships where a servile population, whose condition was like that of the Roman *coloni*, performed the agricultural labor. The tillers of the soil, however, whether German or Roman, stood upon a higher plain than any industrial class of antiquity because the business of war and government carried on by rude masters and without an organized administrative system prevented any superintendence of labor processes on the part of rulers.

Thus under the feudal régime we have a novel conjunction of phenomena, *viz.*, a society acquainted with the ideals abstracted by the ancient civilizations, but a society forced back by convulsion into an exclusively agricultural stage and disintegrated into a congery of self-dependent units.

Advancement beyond this stage depended in the last analysis upon the accumulation of capital. The production of a food supply beyond the immediate needs of consumption opened the door again to commerce. The expansion of commerce led to the growth of towns and the diversification of industry, an emancipated industry, freed from outside control of its technique, though the control of that technique under the guild system was not completely individualized.

The nature and processes of this early commerce undermined the feudal régime and the realistic philosophy. It determined the institutions and activities of the city commonwealths of Italy. It conditioned the principalities of northern Europe. As it became less and less exclusively a commerce in luxuries and more and more a trade in staples and necessities by the creation of new wants, there ensued not only a specialization of function in the activities of the individual but also a widening of the social activities of the individual. Society discovered without wholly perceiving it a new means to realize the social ends and thus undermined the position of the medieval church and made the Reformation a matter of course.

The dawn of the modern age, however, is signalized not so much by the formal revolt against the church, as it is by the political philosophy of the seventeenth century, rooted in the deposits of an economic revolution. The national state and the law of nations are agencies employed to enable the individual to function for larger and larger communities. The exercise of these agencies in the sphere of political action and of economic opportunity gave rise for the first time to the self-conscious individualism of the age of enlightenment. The state, like the gild and the church, was forced to abandon its claim to be the social end.

In these latter days the individual has put himself forward as the end. This assertion might only stimulate anarchy were it not for the organization of modern industry with its ever more insistent demonstration that no man liveth unto himself.

The author's method and treatment offer little ground for objection. What there is of it must be a matter of difference of emphasis rather than attack upon fundamentals. The thing of real moment is that he has given a new and important elucidation of the continuity of history.

JOHN H. CONEY.

Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur makedonischen Eroberung.

Von JUSTIN V. PRÁŠEK. Band I. *Geschichte der Meder und des Reichs der Länder.* [Handbücher der alten Geschichte, Serie I., 5 Abteilung.] (Gotha: Perthes. 1906. Pp. xii, 282.)

WITH a new Shah on the Peacock Throne of Teheran, a written constitution, a parliament, and much talk outside as to what Persia may become or what may become of Persia, we may say that a book on the early history of Iran is more timely than usual. The author of the present work is a professor in the historical department of the University of Prague, and he has presented to us in his first instalment a learned and painstaking account of the sequence of events that took place before 500 B. C. in the lands between the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf, the Tigris River, and the Indus, in other words the history of the kingdom of the Medes and Persians whose laws knew no change down to Alexander's time.

The writer leads us by his erudition through the dark mazes of the "Proto-Iranian and Proto-Median" periods, which might possibly have been lightened a little more at one point if he had made use of the less-known fact that "Median", as an adjective, really occurs in the Avesta as *Mazainya*—"the Mazanian demons" whom Zoroaster anathematizes)—and then he passes on to the beginnings of Media itself as a power.

In the face of such learning it may seem like carping or ungracious fault-finding—although one is none the less appreciative of the author's scholarship and critical acumen—to say that a large part of the Median portion of this history, or nearly half of the section lying before us, reads too much like a succession of deep and minute disquisitions, presenting argumentation as to the relative value of the various sources employed, discussion of views of previous writers, the *pros* and the *cons*, in short a sort of learned prolegomena, although the abundant bibliographical references in the foot-notes are always welcome. But much of this material of research would have found its place more appropriately in the publications of some special historical journal or the transactions of an academy, than in a book designed as well for the general student of history as for the professed Orientalist. It would have been really better to have published these portions separately as preliminary investigations, just as Professor Prášek has done on several occasions, and to have confined the present work more to results in those particular sections to which the reviewer is alluding.

The real interest in the present book, though not necessarily in fact, begins with the chapters on Cyrus, in treating of which the author lays special emphasis on the great ruler's grandly conceived idea of forming "a Kingdom of Countries"—a kind of Asiatic United States. It is to be regretted that when the Prague professor, at pages 204-205, places the date of Zoroaster's entering upon his ministry in the same year (559 B. C.) as that in which Cyrus began to reign, he does not show acquaintance with the special contributions on the life of the prophet of ancient Iran that have appeared since Floigl, whom he follows, wrote, more than twenty-five years ago.

It would come only within the province of a more technical review than this can be to point out minor details in which the Iranian specialist may take exception to the interpretation which the author has adopted for certain moot passages, or the view he maintains on certain disputed matters. It is not without interest, however, to observe that he finds reason for giving a higher estimate of the character of Cambyses than that which is commonly accorded to the mad monarch of Herodotus; in fact, a portion of his chapter on Cambyses reads like a whitewashing, but Dr. Prášek does not leave his reader without a chance to look up for himself the references on which this more favorable judgment is based, even though he may not agree with it. Yet *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

The section of the book lying before us for review ends with the overthrow of Smerdis, the Magian usurper; we shall look with interest for the next fascicle which promises to trace the career of the great organizer, Darius, and the sequence of events down to the momentous invasion of Iran by Alexander the Great.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

Woman; Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece and Rome, and among the Early Christians. By JAMES DONALDSON, M.A., LL.D., Principal of the University of St. Andrews. (New York, London, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1907. Pp. iv, 278.)

"SIR, I give you woman", cries the bagman in Thackeray, as he lifts his glass. The Principal of the University of St. Andrews gives us the woman of Graeco-Roman and early Christian antiquity in five or six agreeably written papers reprinted from the *Contemporary Review* of twenty-five or thirty years ago and supplemented by a useful bibliography and a few notes on the modesty of Homeric bathing, the character of Sappho, the relative dates of the *Ecclesiastical* and the *Republic*, and similar topics of perennial controversy.

Good taste, a pleasant if somewhat Bowdlerized style and a sufficiency of sound though not very painstaking scholarship redeem this volume from any malicious comparison with the lectures which M. Maurice Lefèvre delivered to *ces dames* in the presence of an *Auditrice auguste* and published with the title *La Femme à travers l'Histoire*. But the author himself would hardly claim for it the place of a serious historical monograph. He discourses pleasantly of the freedom enjoyed by the Homeric woman, of the lenient fatalistic view which the Homeric man took of her peccadillos, of the inevitable Nausicaa idyl. He attributes the succession for about four or five hundred years at Sparta "of the strongest men that probably ever existed on the face of the earth" to the purity and the gymnastic training of the Spartan girls. He protests against the villanous tales with which Athenian comedians have besmirched the name of Sappho, and commends the prototypes of the bachelor girl whose soul revolted at the sordid cares of housekeeping and sought refuge in her school from the low drudgery and monotonous routine to which it appears those women's lives were sacrificed in Lesbos. He ascribes the decay of Athens to the subjugation of her women, deduces the *hetaira* as the veritable complement of the unattractive Athenian wife, and takes the favorable, Professor Wilamowitz would say, the sentimental view of Aspasia. He shows us the good and the evil side of the Roman matron's life, describes her gradual emancipation, and sets forth the main features of the laws of marriage and divorce at Rome.

Lastly he shows how the position of woman declined with the decay

of the Empire through the early Christian centuries, and ascribes the failure of Christianity at first to elevate her condition to the fanatical asceticism of the more narrow-minded Christian fathers.

In all this there is little to praise or censure. The original sources have been consulted, but are not cited with sufficient fullness or precision to make the book a valuable work of reference. Sophocles does not represent one of his characters as regretting the loss of a brother or sister much more than that of a wife (p. 33). On the contrary, it is a woman, Antigone, who says that she could more easily replace a husband than a brother. In his account of the supposed speeches of Cato and L. Valerius in the Oppian Law Dr. Donaldson hardly appreciates the delicious humor of Livy. In citing Horace's *Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris* as proof of the success of the *Lex Julia* he takes an optimistic view of the evidential value of court poetry. It is not quite certain that Erinna was a pupil of Sappho; nor is it more than a conjecture that her poem, the "Distaff", sings the first revolt of the college girl against household drudgery.

But these are trifles. Dr. Donaldson's readable little book is perhaps quite as useful as a work of more solid erudition would be. Woman is half the world, as Plato said, and cannot be profitably studied, as some think she cannot study, in falsifying isolation from man. It is possible to tabulate for reference the laws and customs which from age to age have regulated the status of daughter, wife, widow or *hetaira*. But what generally passes for the study of woman is simply the study of sex—an essentially unhistorical theme for *plus ça change plus c'est la même chose*.

PAUL SHOREY.

Genséric, la Conquête Vandale en Afrique et la Destruction de l'Empire d'Occident. Par F. MARTROYE. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1907. Pp. vii, 392.)

THIS work is based on a careful use of all the available sources and presents a satisfactory account of the Vandal kingdom to the death of Genseric, 477.

The introduction is devoted mainly to a narrative of the Donatist controversy, the recital of which is used by M. Martroye to portray the separatist tendencies in Africa and the wretched condition of the African provinces. Chapter I. (La Conquête, pp. 78-136) covers the period from the death of Honorius, 423, to the treaty of 442 between Theodosius and Genseric. The events narrated are the rivalry of Aëtius and Boniface, the earlier wanderings of the Vandals, the career of the Visigoths under Ataulph and Wallia, and the conquest of Africa, 429-442. Some of M. Martroye's conclusions should be noticed: he is inclined to accept the story of the treason of Boniface and its motives as given by Procopius; he reckons the effective force of the Vandal army as 50,000 men at the most; the portion of Africa promised to

Genseric by Boniface he supposes to have been Mauretania, and that assigned the Vandals by the treaty of 442, proconsular Africa, Byzacene, and part of Numidia.

Chapter II. (*Politique et Alliances de Genséric*, pp. 137-165) continues the history to the sack of Rome, 455, and deals with the career of Attila, the palace intrigues in the time of Valentinian III., and the sack of Rome by the Vandals. Chapter III. (*La Guerre contre l'Empire*, pp. 166-262) is devoted mainly to an account of conditions in the West during the domination of Recimer, Orestes, and Odoacer in Italy. The relation of the Vandal kingdom to these events, of course, is given special attention. It is in this connection that M. Martroye develops his theory of the policy of Genseric; he shows him forming alliances with the Visigoths, Suevi, and Ostrogoths, intriguing with revolting generals of the East and the West, and taking part in the court politics of Rome and Constantinople. "The clever diplomacy of Genseric had succeeded in bringing about a situation analogous to that which, thirty years later, made the strength of Theodoric the Great. By his efforts an entente was established among the barbarians, and he became the bond of union among them and in a way their chief" (p. 235).

The material for chapter IV. (*L'Organisation de la Conquête*, pp. 263-325) is very meagre, but M. Martroye is able to show that the Roman administration was taken over almost complete by the Vandal kings. The Vandals were settled entirely in proconsular Africa, on lands taken from the former proprietors. They had a military organization, copied, M. Martroye asserts, from the Roman army; but there is nothing to indicate the persistence of any tribal organization. The Vandals were judged by Vandal law, but about the nature of this law or the method of administering it there seems to be no information.

Chapter V. (*Le Gouvernement de Genséric*, pp. 326-381) is devoted mainly to a discussion of the persecution of the Catholics and Roman aristocracy in proconsular Africa. In both cases the rigor of Genseric was inspired by political motives. In general the Vandal occupation, says M. Martroye, was not so disastrous as one might suppose; the provinces were spared the continual invasions that were devastating western Europe, the Moors were kept quiet by fear of the Vandals and the civil disturbances of the earlier period are not heard of after the conquest. Trade and commerce even began to revive after the wars of Genseric.

M. Martroye's estimate of Genseric is interesting. "He was the initiator of the system which some years later Theodoric put into practice in Italy." "Endowed to an extraordinary degree with the cunning (*l'esprit de ruse*) which a life of adventures had developed among the barbarians, and which their contemporaries regarded as their distinguishing characteristic, he possessed a rare ability for diplomatic intrigues." He was not, however, a statesman, and was not able to create a government that would endure.

M. Martroye's use of the sources is in general convincing, although his conclusions in some cases will be questioned. In the matter of the conscious policy which he attributes to Genseric the reader will feel that his theory, plausible and likely as it may be, is not completely established. He gives perhaps too much space to the miracles and marvels related by religious writers and to what in one instance he terms the "récits romanesques" of such chroniclers as Procopius and Jordanes, but these serve to enliven the narrative and do not seriously detract from its sober quality.

E. H. MCNEAL.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages. By JOSEPH S. TUNISON.
(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1907. Pp. xviii, 350.)

THE object of this book is to show that the Greek theatre existed in the Byzantine Empire throughout the Middle Ages and influenced the development in western Europe of both the medieval and the modern drama. As evidence the author cites literary productions, notices of persons and things theatrical, and practices in church and in social life. To connect the medieval and the modern drama with the unbroken Greek tradition, he tries to show that, when the medieval drama originated and when it was transformed into the modern, influence from Greece was actually present as a shaping force.

The book is very irritating, but very interesting and useful. It is interesting and useful, because it calls attention to many forgotten or only half-regarded features of Byzantine civilization in literature, in social life, and in the church. It is irritating, because the reader too often feels that, in order to reach sound conclusions, he must himself repeat Mr. Tunison's investigations. Dates are rarely given, though in such a discussion they are often essential; statements of fact fundamental to the discussion are often made without presentation of the evidence; the author too often uses evidence that has been discredited by recent research and too often makes unjustifiable inferences. The space allotted for this review permits only a few of the most flagrant examples.

On page eighty Eudocia (393-460) is cited as authority for comedy and the comedian Dexippus. In all the extant writings by this Eudocia (ed. Ludwich, Teubner texts), there is nothing of this nature. Apparently she is confused with another Eudocia (eleventh century), the putative author of the *Violarium*, a biographical dictionary now known to have been compiled about 1543. In the standard text of this (J. Flach, Teubner texts), section 309 is devoted to the comic writer Dioxippus (the older texts have Dexippus), and four of his comedies are mentioned.

Perhaps the most remarkable instances of uncritical procedure are connected with the attempt to ascribe the beginnings of the medieval

drama to Greek influence (pp. 161-181). Roswitha (Hrotsvit), as is well known, wrote a number of poems and six plays based on religious legends. She says she was induced to write her plays by reading the plays of Terence and blushing at their immorality. Mr. Tunison thinks that Greek influence at the Saxon court in the person of Theophano, wife of Otto II., is to be taken into account, and that Roswitha learned her dramatic technique from Theophano herself. No reason is assigned for rejecting Roswitha's statement, for her failure to mention her obligations to a lady of so great rank, or for the curious coincidence in number between her plays and those of Terence. The case for Greek influence is supported by very ingenious arguments. On page 164 we read: "But Roswitha took an unusual step for her time when she turned for materials [for her poems] to the synaxaries of the Greek church. The life of St. Pelagius, the histories of St. Proterius, St. Blasius, and St. Dionysius, the martyrdom of St. Agnes, the conversion of St. Theophilus, were for the most part material quite fresh in her time." As St. Blasius is nowhere mentioned by Roswitha, his name is doubtless a misprint for St. Basilus. Proterius, associated with him in the legend, is not the saint of that name; and the Theophilus mentioned is not St. Theophilus, but the well-known medieval counterpart of Faust. St. Agnes is a Roman saint and the scene of her martyrdom was Rome. St. Dionysius is the famous apostle to France and first bishop of Paris. As to St. Pelagius of Cordova, Roswitha says that she got his story from a citizen of Cordova. On page 165 we are told that Bodo the historian of Gandersheim says Roswitha knew Greek. So he does, but to weigh his testimony duly it is necessary to remember that he wrote some five hundred years after her death. On page 168 we are instructed that, "it is not impossible that they [the plays] should be mere paraphrases of pieces known to the religious theater of Byzantium". How then shall we account for the fact that they agree not only in general structure, but even in phraseology with Latin versions of the legends? Minor errors in detail also occur. That the play *Sapientia* "is an allegory in the form of a history" would have surprised Roswitha, and that it "might almost be called a masque" will surprise any reader who knows what constitutes a masque. It is surely misleading to say (p. 167) that "competent critics agree that her dramas could be acted as they were written". Some have contended that they could. That *Sapientia* and *Calimachus* could, is hard to believe. The implication of page 167 is that Roswitha's dramatic technique was excellent. Her "correctness" consists, in fact, only in not interpolating such expressions as "inquit" in the dialogue. She follows her legends almost slavishly and neglects the most obvious opportunities for spectacular and dramatic effects; see her treatment of the comic situation in *Dulcitius*, sc. iv, and compare, in *Gallicanus*, I, ix, with I, xii, 7, and, in *Calimachus*, sc. vii, with the report in ix, 13.

Why Mr. Tunison calls the account of the origin of tropes a legend

I do not understand. Notker himself tells us how he was led to compose them. But I am equally at a loss to know why Mr. Tunison regards Notker's master Yso as a "figment" and speaks of him as "supposititious". Is his other master, Marcellus, also a figment, developed from some Greek musical term? Notker himself mentions both with the same apparent good faith, the date of Yso's death is duly recorded in the necrology of St. Gall, and, although legendary elements had possibly crept into the story of his birth by the time Ekkehard IV. wrote, it is clear that he was a real person and that his name was not derived from the Greek term for the basal monotone of a melody, but was probably the vernacular form of Eusebius, his "name-father".

Even in his incidental excursions Mr. Tunison is unfortunate. Whether Guido delle Colonne knew Greek is a matter of little consequence—other men in the Middle Ages certainly did—but apparently he did not, or at least he made no use of his knowledge. Since the appearance of Gorra's *Testi Inediti di Storia Trojana* (1887), scholars have not credited Guido with a knowledge of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, to say nothing of Homer. The contents of the *Historia Destructionis Trojae*, even to minute details, are fully accounted for by Benoît de Sainte-More, Virgil, Ovid, and Isidore of Seville.

It is obvious, then, that Mr. Tunison's evidence cannot always be accepted without examination. But the book is, I repeat, distinctly interesting and valuable. It is the work of a scholarly and independent mind; but unfortunately the lack of sound methods produces as strange results in literary history as it used to produce in etymology. In the good old days of unchecked ingenious theorizing it was little trouble to derive an English word from the Hebrew or the Chaldee tongue. We have reformed all that in etymology, but we—not Mr. Tunison only, but professional scholars in some of the highest academic positions in this and other lands—are still pursuing in literary history and other fields of learning the same methods that brought etymology into disrepute. Mr. Tunison, in the scanty leisure of an editorial writer for a daily paper and without ready access to an adequately equipped library, has emphasized for us features in the history of literature and of civilization that have not received due consideration. By its merits no less than by its defects, his book deserves a more elaborate review than space here permits.

JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY.

Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888-1038). Étude sur les Origines du Royaume d'Arles. Par RENÉ POUPARDIN, docteur-ès-lettres. [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, fascicule 163.] (Paris: Champion. 1907. Pp. xl, 508.)

AMONG the various areas to which, to the confusion of the historical student, the name of Burgundy has at one time or another been attached,

one of the most clearly defined is the kingdom of Burgundy which arose at the break-up of the Carolingian Empire in 888 and joined to itself half a century later the kingdom of Provence. The kingdom thus formed maintained an independent existence until its union with the empire in 1034, and in the imperial system it occupied a distinct place beside Germany and Italy. Although not an ethnic unit, it was composed almost wholly of Romance-speaking peoples; it was never Germanized, and the greater part of it was absorbed piece by piece by France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As an historian of independent Burgundy M. Poupardin is admirably qualified. A pupil of Giry, Molinier, and Lot, he has distinguished himself by a volume on the kingdom of Provence and by various special studies in Carolingian history, and he has been designated editor of the Burgundian section in the collection of charters of French sovereigns which the Academy of Inscriptions has in active preparation. These documentary sources are for this period the historian's chief reliance, for there was practically no historical writing of any sort in Burgundy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the chroniclers of neighboring lands mention Burgundian affairs only when connected with their own countries. So great is the scarcity of material that the author does not attempt a continuous narrative. He brings together such facts as exist for the reign of each sovereign, and then studies for the period as a whole the character of the royal power and the feudal and ecclesiastical conditions. The material is unfortunately lacking for what would be an instructive comparison with Capetian and German kingship. Thietmar of Merseburg described Burgundian royalty in his day as possessing only the crown and the royal title and as supported at the expense of the bishops, and other indications bear out his characterization. The main interest of this period lies in the development of feudal centres of authority, and M. Poupardin shows how the large fiefs were formed and how the bishops acquired the prerogatives of counts in their dioceses. These conditions serve to explain why the kingdom never acquired real unity and why the German emperors found themselves in much the same position as their Burgundian predecessors with relation to the great lay and ecclesiastical princes of the kingdom of Arles. Incidentally the narrative throws light on various aspects of the period, such as the growth of feudal institutions, the Truce of God, and the Saracen and Hungarian invasions. Various special points, notably the relation of *episcopatus* and *comitatus*, are discussed in the appendices. There are genealogical tables and an excellent index. The volume is an excellent type of the French doctor's thesis and a valuable contribution to medieval history.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

The Pearl-Strings; A History of the Resúliyy Dynasty of Yemen.

By 'ALIYYU 'BNU 'L-HASAN 'EL-KHAZREJIYY; with Translation, Introduction, Annotations, Index, Tables, and Maps. By the late Sir J. W. REDHOUSE, Litt.D. Edited by E. G. BROWNE, R. A. NICHOLSON, and A. ROGERS, and printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial." Volume I., containing the First Part of the Translation. (Leyden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac and Company. 1906. Pp. xxvii, 320.)

AMONG the various bequests made and funds established during the last few years for the encouragement of different branches of learning the historical student may well feel a special interest in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial", for the scope of this fund includes not only studies in Oriental philology, but also researches touching any questions pertaining to the Mohammedan Orient.

This Memorial "was founded", as one of the circulars of its publications states, "by the late Mrs. Gibb, of Glasgow, to perpetuate the memory of her son the late Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, who died in his forty-fifth year on December 5, 1901, and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs to which his life was devoted". "The income of the Trust Fund may, at the discretion of the Trustees, be used for purposes connected with the furtherance of the studies enumerated above other than the publication of texts, translations and memoirs, such as the purchase of books and manuscripts, the granting of travelling scholarships, and the endowment of lecturers; but hitherto it has been chiefly applied to publication."

It is with great satisfaction that the reviewer notes the evident purpose of the trustees of this fund to publish translations of various important Oriental works. The great value of good translations from Oriental languages and the fact that there are so few of such translations have often been referred to by others, but are not likely to be mentioned too often. In spite of the great and manifest importance of, for example, the Arabic language, for the study of medieval history, the experience of years has made the reviewer feel very skeptical that any considerable number of historical students will spend enough time studying Arabic to enable them to use Arabic sources in the original. Whatever idea they get of these sources will almost inevitably be derived wholly, or for the most part, from translations. It was therefore a happy thought on the part of the trustees to introduce early into the series (it is vol. III., part 1) the first part of Al-Khazraji's important work translated by such a well-known scholar as the late Sir James W. Redhouse.

Al-Khazraji the author of this work, a unique manuscript of which belongs to the India Office, lived, as the translator informs us in his preface, at the court of the seventh monarch of the line whose history

he recounts, and died in the year 1409. The leading members of the family whose history he describes, having attained to a position of importance in Egypt, were sent by Saladin in 1173 to Yemen in the suite of Melik Mu'adhdham (commonly spelled Mu'azzam) his brother. It is with the arrival of this leader in Al-Yemen that the real history begins, although the author has given more or less legendary material purporting to be a sketch of the history of the family from the very earliest times (pp. 45-74).

Arrived in Yemen, members of the family were assigned to various positions of importance, their influence grew, and when in 1227 or 1228 Melik Mes'úd died (p. 90), Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, whom he had made his lieutenant in the whole of Yemen, determined to become an independent sovereign, though at first "he outwardly showed himself the lieutenant of Melik Mes'úd, making no alteration in the coinage or in the public prayer for the sovereign" (p. 94). So successful was he in his plans that by 630 A. H. (A. D. 1232-1233) we find him coining money in his own name and ordering preachers to offer public prayer for him (p. 97). It is the history of the first seven monarchs of the dynasty thus founded by him that we have in this work, for, as the translator tells us in his preface, the history ends with the death of Sultan Melik 'Eshref II., A. D. 1400, "though the dynasty was not dispossessed for another sixty years". The present volume brings the story down to the death of the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed in A. H. 721 (end of A. D. 1321).

Beside a full table of contents the volume has a preface by Professor Browne which contains among other things some interesting information about the translator, Sir James W. Redhouse, including a letter from him to Mr. Gibb. There is a short preface by the translator himself telling how he came to transcribe and translate the work. In the introduction (pp. 5-41), by the same hand, is given an outline of the history of Yemen from the earliest times down to 1858. The student will find this of much value in helping him to secure the proper perspective in considering the present work.

It is of course impossible to pass final judgment on the work till the rest of the translation, together with the text and the annotations, appear (it is planned to devote four more volumes to the complete work), but an examination of the volume will at once show the large amount of valuable material it contains for the political, religious, and social history of the period, and will make the student grateful to Professor Browne and his fellow-editors and to the trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial for making accessible to scholars this translation prepared with so much care by that great Orientalist, the late Sir James W. Redhouse.

J. R. JEWETT.

The Prince of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea, a Study of Greece in the Middle Ages. By Sir RENNELL RODD, K.C.M.G. Two volumes. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 301; iv, 334.)

THE history of Greece during the two centuries and a half between the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Fourth Crusade and the destruction of the Greek Empire in 1453 has never been satisfactorily written. Materials exist in considerable quantity and have accumulated recently through the efforts of Hopf and others. The various narratives which serve as sources for such a history are written from many points of view, and the attempt to construct the story as a whole has a tendency to become a series of family and disconnected narratives. Taken separately many are romantic. The difficulty comes in the attempt to weave them together. Sir Rennell Rodd has attempted the task of bringing the narratives into some kind of connexion so far as relates to Achaia and the Morea. Finlay in his *History of Greece* from 1204 to 1453 covers a larger field, though he does not give in such detail the story of Achaia. Sir Rennell Rodd has given to his particular subject much careful research. He writes clearly and in certain places also he is able to add useful local color from his own observation. As in his previous book on Greek customs, he shows his sympathy with the population of Greece and tells the stories of some of the barons in an interesting manner. As a contribution to the history of the period his work will always have the value which attaches to an independent examination of the authorities. Where it fails is, that it does not attempt to give an account of the condition of the population and that it makes no attempt to connect the events related with the history of Greece as a whole or to show their relation to that of Eastern Europe. This is the more remarkable because Sir Rennell Rodd precedes his narratives with an account of the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the division of the Empire, though he tells that prefatory story in a quite imperfect manner.

Upon the capture of Constantinople, the Empire west and south of Salonica was divided among the crusading leaders. The provinces were peopled with peasants who wished only to be left at peace and fell an easy prey to invaders. The only method of government which the leaders knew was that of the feudal system and they at once parcelled out the southern half of the Balkan peninsula into fiefs. The arrangement might have worked if the Latin emperors had been actual rulers. The fatal fault of the system was that there were soon a number of competing overlords. Of course the emperor on the Bosphorus was the one to whom under a properly organized feudal system all the greater and smaller barons should have been subject. But while some so regarded him, the greater number looked up to the king of France as their lord, others to the king of Naples, while others held under the

Republic of Venice. The Latin bishops who were appointed wherever the crusaders held rule did homage only to the pope. As each overlord was usually jealous of his prerogatives and privileges, there entered at once the element of discord. Barons supported by their lords were constantly at war with each other.

Meanwhile the population, mostly Greek, was harassed by exactions and by liability to services. Although among the rulers during the period treated of some were competent yet the characteristic note is the disregard of the population except as objects of extortion.

There is nothing in history quite like what happened in Greece during the two centuries after the establishment of the Latin Empire in 1204. A weak empire, a hostile population, a crowd of knightly adventurers, the chance of carving out kingdoms and duchies, two competing churches with prelates, priests and people in bitter opposition, all created a situation difficult to match. Many illustrations of the confusion and struggles which resulted are furnished by the author. Especially noteworthy is the story of the Villehardouins, who conquered the whole west coast of the Morea, succeeded in getting themselves recognized as Princes of Achaia, made terms with Venice, and held their own till 1245.

As the thirteenth century closes, we find the quarrels between the western barons in Greece and their overlords still continuing. Isabella Villehardouin became sole ruler of Achaia. In 1307 she and her husband bartered their claims in Achaia for certain lands and titles in Italy under Charles II. of Naples.

Though the Latin Empire had come in 1261 to a well-deserved end, the western barons continued for a century later to dream of its restoration. To realize this dream, they were aided by some of the popes. Much energy, ingenuity, and persistency was displayed by the Angevins and especially by Philip of Tarentum in trying to concentrate in themselves all the supposed claims to the throne of Constantinople. Sir Rennell in order to account for this, suggests that there still existed a belief that the "legitimate traditional seat of the Empire was in Byzantium"; that the popes held that the re-establishment of such empire in its "immemorial place" seemed a natural solution and therefore worked for it. But the suggestion will hardly bear examination. "One God, one church, and one emperor", had ceased to have any hold on Western men after the memorable coronation of Charles the Great on Christmas day 800, unless with the idea that the seat of the empire should be in the West. There is not a jot of evidence known to me that would suggest that either pope or king in the West wished it to be at Constantinople. Moreover at the particular period of which the author is speaking Philip le Bel was a more powerful personage than the pope, and no one would venture to suggest that Philip would have been in favor of the transfer of the seat of empire to Constantinople. Angevins and other claimants for the throne of Constantinople were

simply intriguing and fighting for their own hands. Each one wished that if an empire should be re-established he might be the emperor and though every year rendered such an event less probable, the chance of it was worth bearing in mind.

Sir Rennell points out that such chivalry as had existed in the Morea had vanished by the beginning of the fourteenth century. The history of that century is one of struggle and confusion and the complete breakdown of the feudal arrangements from which much had been hoped. Among the incidents which completed that breakdown he rightly attaches importance to the action of the Catalan Grand Company. Although they played their most mischievous part in preventing the Greek emperor from offering successful resistance to the Turks their lawless adventures have also an important place in the story of the Princes of Achaia. The authority mostly relied upon in these volumes is that of one of the adventurers; for, though Pachymer is quoted, his version, clear and without undue partiality, is practically disregarded, and their history until 1309 will not be correctly gathered from these volumes. After the departure of these buccaneers from the Greek Empire, they pushed on into Macedonia and Thessaly, took sides with one or other of the various claimants, and in 1311 in an important battle fought at Lake Copais secured victory against what Sir Rennell speaks of as the "finest fighting force the Franks of Romania had ever mustered", numbering some 8,000 foot and 6,000 horse. The bandits practically annihilated the knights. Without joining the author in his admiration for the knights generally, it may yet be admitted that some of them had been fairly good rulers and were certainly better than the adventures by whom they were beaten.

By this time everyone had become afraid of the Catalan Company. Popes and kings anathematized or disowned them. In 1313 the Venetians attacked them in Euboea. The pope urged the republic to uphold Christendom against "the sons of perdition" who were working by means of infidel Turks. They had made of the Piraeus a pirates' nest. They managed however to hold on notwithstanding the ban of excommunication, which was only removed in 1346 by Clement when he wanted their aid against the Turks. Their rule in Athens lasted seventy years and came to an end in 1386.

Of the adventures of the princes of the mercantile house of Acciai-uolo, of Leonard Tocco, and of others it is impossible to speak here except to say that in the narrative of their adventures a novelist may find abundance of incident. The transfer of authority to the Knights of Rhodes, who took that title about 1309, is almost the final phase of the history of the principality of Achaia. But by this time the confusion was at its worst. Companies of condottieri appeared who were ready to sell their swords to the highest bidder. The Greek emperors were gradually regaining their hold over the country and there can be little doubt, that it was a blessing to the population when the adminis-

tration of the country fell again under the rule of Constantinople. The dissensions among their rulers had made the peasants welcome even the Turks. Zacharia, the last prince of Achaia, obtained that dignity in 1404. On his death some thirty years later the Morea was once more mainly in the hands of the Greeks and the reign of the Frank barons was at an end.

Sir Rennell Rodd's narrative is usually accurate. I should like to know what authority the author has for stating (I. 277) that Andronicus II. (1282-1328) reduced the famous Varangian Guard. I am writing on an island in the Marmora without my books, but I recall no traces of such guard at so late a period. Moreover why not call the Varangians, Warings? Following Rafn and Hyde Clarke I have shown the connection between the Varini of Tacitus, and the Warings who settled in England and left their name in Waringford, Waringwic or Warwick, Warrington, etc., as well as in the not uncommon family name of Waring. Sir Rennell Rodd says (I. 269), that "The name is no doubt identical with *φράγγοι*, Frank, Feringhi, foreign." I have no doubt that it is not identical. He quotes a chrysobul of Alexius I. where they appear as *Ῥώσων* and as *βαρράγγων*. Bede also calls the Warings, Russians, in enumerating the three branches of the Teutonic race by which Britain was colonized. Villehardouin calls the guard "les Anglois et les Danois". No contemporary author confuses Warings with Frenchmen and Italians, who were Franks. The derivation given by the author is no longer accepted. They were Warings whose language was understood by the English who after the conquest of England in 1066 joined their ranks. Their appearance as described by Leo the Deacon shows them to have been like Saxons and Angles. Sir Rennell implies that the famous guard was unknown before the eleventh century. Here again he is mistaken. The Emperor Murzuphlos was not flung from the column of Arcadius upon the marble pavement of the forum of Taurus in Constantinople (I. 68), for the column is more than a mile distant from that forum. The general opinion is that the execution was from the column of Constantine known now as the Burnt Column.

In conclusion it may safely be said that the volumes under notice are valuable for the parts relating to the Morea though they show traces of haste elsewhere. If the author could find time to cut the two volumes down to one, omitting such parts as have no immediate connection with his subject and revising the rest, his book would be improved and have a distinctly greater historical value.

EDWIN PEARS.

Richard III: His Life and Character. Reviewed in the Light of Recent Research. By Sir CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B. London: Smith Elder and Company; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1906. Pp. xix, 327.)

THE appearance of a life of the last Plantagenet king by one of his most ardent admirers, Sir Clements Markham, did not come altogether as a surprise to students of English history. It was foreshadowed some fifteen years ago when Sir Clements, then Mr. Markham, contributed a long article on Richard III. to the *English Historical Review* in which he attempted to clear that king's character of all stain and convict his successor, Henry VII., of the murder of the sons of Edward IV. Unfortunately for his contentions Mr. James Gairdner entered the lists on behalf of the Lancastrians and Tudors and, in a subsequent number of the *Review*, vigorously repelled the accusation against Henry, showing the weakness of many of the arguments used by Mr. Markham.

The fact that the character of Richard III. was unduly blackened by the Tudor historians of the later fifteenth century, combined with the scarcity of strictly contemporary evidence as to his deeds, was bound, sooner or later, to cause a reaction in his favor. This reaction has shown itself in the biography by Sir George Buck, published about the middle of the seventeenth century, in Horace Walpole's *Historic Doubts* (1768), and in biographies by Halsted (1844) and by Legge (1885). The most authoritative biographer, however, Mr. James Gairdner, takes what is on the whole an adverse view of Richard's character and is inclined to hold him guilty of the murder of the young princes until he can be clearly proved innocent. At the same time Mr. Gairdner does much to clear the record of Richard's reign from unjust charges of maladministration.

In an interesting preface to his biography Sir Clements tells us how he came to be a defender of Richard III. and to bring out the present imposing life of him. Encouraged by several well-known English historians of the later nineteenth century he has carried the controversy over the character and deeds of Richard III. a step further and has given us a remarkable panegyric. The first part, containing eleven somewhat brief chapters, is a somewhat highly colored and partizan account of Richard's life and the fortunes of the Yorkists and Lancastrians. It closes with a spirited description of the battle of Bosworth in which Richard is made the hero while "Henry Tudor was skulking in the rear". It is hardly worth while to criticize this first portion of the biography in detail, nor would our space permit so doing, for it is clearly partizan throughout, exalting the conduct and character of the Yorkists and debasing the Lancastrians. Every charge against the former faction is repudiated and the authorities declared unreliable, while the same authorities are accepted if the story is to the discredit of the Lancastrians. Richard is truly "acquitted on all counts of the indictment" but the trial and verdict is not by an impartial judge.

The second part of the book is given up to a detailed examination of the various charges against Richard and the attempted proving of his innocence, after which, in part II., ch. v., we have "Henry Tudor in the Dock" and this unfortunate prince is shown to be the real criminal and to have used Richard as a shield. It is only surprising that Henry VII. is not made responsible for the murders of Henry VI. and of Clarence as well. Another statesman whose character is blackened by Sir Clements is Cardinal Morton, whom he holds responsible for practically all the charges against Richard III. found in the contemporary chronicles and for the *Life of Richard III.* usually attributed to Sir Thomas More. Every obscure reference in the sources of the time is made definite and full of meaning—"the children" referred to in July, 1484, can be none other than the young princes, still alive, "the Lord Bastard" of 1485 is certainly the young Edward V., because he is called "Lord" and not just "Bastard". And so it is assumed that the survival of the princes into the reign of Henry VII. is proved, Richard is entirely guiltless of their death, as he has been shown to be of all other crimes charged against him, and Henry VII. is the villain of the later fifteenth century. The reasoning that Sir Clements Markham uses is very ingenious but hardly convincing, and he does not improve his case by attempting in his closing chapter to show that Mr. Gairdner is inconsistent in his portrayal of Richard.

Historically speaking such a work is a mistake. A calm, careful, judicious examination of the evidence in regard to Richard III. has already been made by Mr. Gairdner and his judgment is that unless fresh original material can be discovered we must continue to accept in large part the traditional view as to his moral character. Sir Clements Markham does not bring forward new evidence of any great value and yet he acquits Richard of all crime or baseness, making him a model son and brother, a noble king, and a loving uncle. The picture he gives of Richard is far more inconsistent with what is certainly known of him than that given by Mr. Gairdner in his excellent biography.

Nothing but praise can be bestowed on the general appearance and typography of Sir Clements's book. There is an admirable portrait of the king prefixed to it, a number of interesting tables and genealogies, and in the back an excellent map of the battle of Bosworth. Errors in printing are seemingly lacking and the style of the book is thoroughly readable and clear.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

The Censorship of the Church of Rome and its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature. Volume II. By GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM, Litt.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. vi, 510.)

IN the first volume of his *Censorship of the Church of Rome*, Dr. Putnam had carried the history of Indexes other than Roman down to

the beginning of the nineteenth century; in his second volume he goes back a step to treat of the Index to Benedict XIV. of 1758, and then carries his narrative down to the present day. But the arrangement of the volume is by subject rather than chronologically, and so we find chapters devoted to the Treatment of the Scriptures under Censorship, the Monastic Orders and Censorship, Examples of Condemned Literature, and the Censorship of the Stage. In this arrangement of his material Dr. Putnam has only followed the example of Reusch, whose work has been the chief source of his text and references, as was the case in the first volume. Dr. Putnam is quite right in stating that the "Index lists are marvels of bibliographical inaccuracy", but can he cite any instances of a misunderstanding of the subject of the books, and of the language in which they were written, as remarkable as those of which he himself is guilty? Reusch (II. 119) cites the title "*Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigensis tributa in libros duos, opera et studio T. J., d. i. Thomae James, London 1600*"; in the work before us (II. 7) it appears as "the Cantabrigensis tributa of Thomas James". Usher's "*Gravissimae quaestiones de christ. ecclesiarum . . . continua successione et statu historica explicatio*" (Reusch, II. 119) is cited as "*Gravissimae Quaestiones de Christ, Ecclesiarum*" (II. 7). The title of a French controversial work, "*L'Antechrist Romain opposé à l'Antechrist juif du Card. Bellarmin, du Sieur Remond et autres*" (Reusch, II. 129), is abridged and emasculated as "*Remond's treatise 'L'Antichrist Romain opposé à l'Antichrist Juif du Bellarmin'*" (Putnam, II. 2).

The narrative of Reusch stops with the early eighties of the last century; Dr. Putnam's own note-books seem to have supplied him with but few of the more recent attempts on the part of the Roman church to arrest the progress of modern science and criticism, and of general intelligence. The sub-title of the book calls for the chapter on the Censorship of the State and by Protestants, of which the title is promising but the contents disappointing, as it is only a mild exposition of the apologetic work of Hilgers. This Jesuit writer is indebted to Reusch for most of his material, Dr. Putnam has already utilized that material in the first volume of his work; he accepts at this point, without criticism, the misinterpretations of the facts and the fallacies in the arguments of a controversial work. As the latest official statement of the purpose and intent of the Index, Dr. Putnam, in the chapter on the Literary Policy of the Modern Church, cites in full four of the documents prefatory to the Index of 1900, issued by Leo XIII.; but his failure to cite the source of his translation leaves his readers in doubt as to the meaning of the Latin original. In the final chapter on the Authority and Results of Censorship, where he confines himself almost entirely to repeating Reusch's citations from papist apologists, the omission of his authority's sane comments leaves one in doubt of the true statement of the matter, and of Dr. Putnam's own opinion of the effect

of the institution in the past, and as a present-day problem. Both a problem and a danger, because in the same year in which Pius X. has issued a syllabus to counteract the influence of the German Catholics' League against the Index, the authorities of one of the greatest public libraries in the United States have gone out of their way to prevent the admission of Fogazzaro's *Il Santo*, and to withdraw from circulation vernacular translations of the Bible, certain volumes of Carducci's works, and that dangerous heretical work Dickens's *Child's History of England*.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

Queen Hortense and Her Friends, 1783-1837. By I. A. TAYLOR.

In two volumes. (New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xii, 310; viii, 328.)

APART from the two emperors the members of the Bonaparte family were, at best, uninteresting mediocrities, but three of the Bonaparte wives, the Empresses Josephine and Eugénie and Queen Hortense, have never ceased to be the objects of the greatest interest. The winning personalities with which these three women graced the imperial court contributed in no small measure to the glory and success of the two emperors. The very brilliancy of their success as allied members of the imperial family made them the objects of bitter jealousy within the family and of intense hatred from enemies of the Bonapartes. Devout and enthusiastic admiration has been rendered to them by some writers, while others have reviled them as royalties and defamed them as women. Some women in their positions might have received exact justice from their biographers, but women of their characters and temperaments cannot expect it, for they are destined to be well hated or well loved, and the more exalted their position, the more intense the love or the hatred. To the historian these women are of slight importance for they had little influence in matters of state. They interest, rather, the thoughtless throng which delights in the gossip of high society and the sorrows of the unfortunate, and delights supremely in the stories of court life and the tribulations of unfortunate queens. Even compared with her mother and her daughter-in-law, the importance of Hortense is slight, and interest attaches to her chiefly as a queen to be pitied.

While Miss Taylor has produced an elaborate and conscientious study of the afflicted queen, the historian will find very little in it of service; those that weep over the sorrows of the great will find that the tragic element has not been developed in a racy style; and the seeker after scandal will find that element completely ignored, for the author is loathe to believe Hortense guilty of any lapse from virtue, and even casts serious doubt upon her supposed parentage of the Duc de Morny. There was need of a book in English on Queen Hortense. Miss Taylor has fairly supplied it, and incidentally has furnished the

best complete account of her in any language. In English there has been nothing except Abbott's volume for the youthful reader. In French there exist the worthless eulogy by Fourmestraux published under the Sècond Empire; the more careful study published a decade ago by Turquan, who fancied he was writing a "true" life because he was retailing all the scandalous gossip; and two of the four promised volumes of Mademoiselle d'Arjuzon's detailed but adulatory account. Miss Taylor, of course, ignores the two first mentioned narratives, cites Turquan only for refutation, and quotes Arjuzon frequently. Masson's elaborate works are often cited, but it must be remembered that the brilliant academician has furnished no satisfactory guarantees for the authenticity of his work. Miss Taylor has read widely among the memoir-writers and depends largely upon Mesdames Campan, Récamier, and Rémusat, and Mademoiselle Cochelet (Madame Parquin). In the absence of all, save a fragment, of the Memoirs of Hortense, which seem destined unfortunately never to be published, information concerning her must be derived chiefly from the memoirs of the court ladies—certainly not unimpeachable authorities. The author would have been wise had she quoted the Duchesse d'Abrantès, Fouché, and Constant less freely and less confidently. Miss Taylor has made no new researches, and supplies no new materials. She might well have inserted an essay upon the authorities or, at least, a complete list of the works cited. There are few criticisms of detail aside from the treatment of foreign proper names, in respect to which there are several infelicities. The use of the future perfect tense for historical narration is a new invention and should be patented without delay. On the other hand, the exclusive right of the Paris edition of the *Herald* to such a phrase as, "the Louis Bonapartes" should be respected.

The author restrains herself alike from adulation and from denunciation of Hortense. Almost invariably she takes the favorable view of her acts and only in rare instances does she criticize her. Eugénie's "douce entêtée" and Napoléon's "soie raisonnable" furnish her the keynote for her judgments upon the charming unfortunate. Whatever one's judgment in regard to specific facts, there is nothing in morals or misfortunes to differentiate Hortense greatly from many French women of her generation. The historian of the Napoleonic era will accord her scant mention.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

The Fall of Napoleon. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1907. Pp. x, 327.)

THE Napoleonic library that one might create, *i. e.*, of books or pamphlets wholly or partly on the subject of the Great Corsican, now numbers some thirty thousand volumes; and the present and promised output may run it up in the next generation to forty thousand. Yet they are all welcome, if good; and curiously most of them are read.

This book is on Napoleon the man and statesman; Napoleon the soldier is only sketched, although the author, oblivious of Hannibal, calls him "the greatest of all soldiers". The military narrative begins with the return from Russia, for failure in which country Napoleon is in a sense exculpated. The campaign of 1813, with Lützen and Bautzen, Dresden and Kulm, the Katzbach and Dennewitz, Leipsic and Hanau, is shortly treated; and that of 1814, with its desperate energy and fiery strategy, receives scant space. But in the Hundred Days, the author, as is natural to an Englishman, goes more into detail, and gives over one hundred pages—over a quarter of the volume. But then this is not a military history. The other portions of the work on the political phases of these amazing thirty months are more full and satisfactory. "It is only a personal history of Napoleon . . . between the years 1813 and 1815", claims the author; and yet the negotiations between the allies and Napoleon, and among the allies themselves, are amply set forth and readably discussed; and the great actors who then filled the stage are painted with good coloring, even if the hyper-trickiness of the era darkens the tone.

It does not seem, however, that the allies desired, as much as the author states, the continuance of the war until Napoleon could be crushed; that Metternich was always formulating terms that he knew Napoleon would not accept. There were many times when all those who governed the allied powers would have been glad of peace. The chief difficulty was that Napoleon could not, would not acknowledge that all Europe in arms was stronger than he was; that he would not accept less than his own terms for the sake of weary France. And this it was in which he was at fault.

Mr. Browning, we think, underrates the character of the czar. Alexander was the strongest of the allied sovereigns, and although Metternich as a diplomatist in many ways overtopped him, yet it was his character, more than that of Francis or of Frederick William, that carried the allied plans through to success. The monarch who waged the 1812 campaign was not a weak man. Neither were the allied monarchs, despite Metternich and Stein and Nesselrode, mere puppets.

The story of the futile Congress of Chatillon is well told; that of the island of Elba is most interesting. In many ways the emperor here exhibited the reasonable side of his character, so ably depicted by Lord Rosebery. His enemies did themselves no credit by their manner of treating him. "The King of France left him without money, the emperor of Austria robbed him of his child, Metternich employed a ruffian to debauch his wife, Castlereagh wished to transport him, Talleyrand to throw him into prison, and perhaps to assassinate him." Why should he not turn upon them? Yet a reasonable spirit was almost constant at Elba. The later life of Marie Louise is pointed out. It is an unsavory tale. With all her faults Josephine was the better woman; and it was with reason Napoleon wept in her room at Mal-

maison before he left the capital he and she had jointly made so beautiful and gay.

The return from Elba, dwelling upon the personal side of the story, is excellently narrated; and the drama at Laffray, when Napoleon advanced alone to meet the regiment that had been sent to arrest or kill him, is picturesque. "Surely, this is one of the great scenes of history!" exclaims our author.

Next come the chapters on the Waterloo campaign, rich in annals of British pluck. Then follow those describing the emperor's bearing while awaiting the decision of his captors as to his own future. England was the most exacerbated of the powers. In a leader of July 25, the *Times* called Napoleon a savage deserving the gallows.

The volume is well manufactured, and but for some errors in proof-reading (such as *Hassau* for *Hanau*, *Soignies*—the forest of—for *Soignes*, and *Marmont* for *Murat* in one place), no fault can be found with it. It is illustrated with eleven good phototypes. The battles merely hinted at need no maps. The Hundred Days would be better for a map of the celebrated triangle and one of Waterloo. Some of the translated quotations are only partial, without stars to show the gaps. These stars seem essential. Their absence sometimes affects the meaning.

Taken as a study of the politics of these stirring months, and as a sketch of by far the strongest actor in the momentous drama, the work can be highly commended. It is one that the worshippers of Napoleon will welcome.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

Napoleon's Conquest of Prussia, 1806. By F. LORAINÉ PETRE.

With an Introduction by Field Marshal Earl ROBERTS, V.C., K.G., etc. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1907. Pp. xxiii, 319.)

As Bonaparte's advance against Austria in 1797 was a part of his campaign of 1796, so were the Pultusk-Eylau-Friedland manoeuvres properly the continuation of the Jena operation, and Mr. Petre's recently reviewed book on the campaign in Poland was in a sense incomplete without the present volume to precede it. As Lord Roberts points out, the study of military history is growing among English-speaking peoples, and we welcome any exhaustive study of a notable campaign, even in this year of the Peace Congress. In his introduction Lord Roberts preaches mainly from the text of unpreparedness, the common failing of America as well as England—and his few words may well be heeded. The work is recommended "particularly to statesmen, on whose shoulders rests the responsibility of power".

The volume is easy to read. To a student already familiar with 1806, there are fewer causes of dissent than are usual. Mr. Petre sketches out the political as well as the military status: Prussia's neu-

trality from 1795 to 1805; her growing arrogance until Austerlitz suddenly humbled her tone; Napoleon's heaping diplomatic insult after insult upon her, while outwitting her in statecraft; her turning upon the conqueror of Austria with demands equally insulting; her false reliance on her really outworn military system—although even Napoleon respected it: "*il y aura de la terre à remuer*", said he; her utter failure to comprehend the methods of the new master of war.

At first blush, Napoleon's task appeared to be no sinecure: he was still at war with Russia; he was not certain Austria would not again rise, if she had the chance; and he needed the army of 1805. This has been called the best he ever commanded, and by 1806 it had been hardened by marching and fighting and strengthened morally by victory. The Prussian army was based on pipe-clay and ramrod discipline—the skeleton of Frederick's system without the soul, without the king's amazing capacity to do the fit thing. But its leaders knew not its weakness, had learned no lessons from Rivoli or Marengo. They deemed the army that Vater Fritz had trained invincible, as indeed it would have been against the same class of enemy as of yore; and they had no conception of the speed or certainty with which Napoleon could manoeuvre, nor of the momentum of his blow. While the French lived on the country and the soldier carried four days' rations in his haversack, the Prussians were delayed by feeding from their magazines. The French foot had the best, the Prussian the worst musket in Europe; in cavalry alone were they their enemy's equal. The French had the new division and corps organization—each body being complete and sufficient in itself; every Prussian brigade was controlled from headquarters. Napoleon could treat his divisions or corps as units; the Prussians' regiments were administrative but not fighting units. Napoleon's one order moved a corps of 20,000 men; the Prussians issued a score of orders for the same purpose. The emperor sent his instructions to his lieutenants, who remained with their commands; the Prussian generals were summoned to headquarters to receive them. Napoleon's one will was decisive; never ending councils of war delayed the Prussians. One army was perfected in the discipline of the march and battle, however prone to pillaging; the other was under severe discipline that held the men in check, but could not give the habit of war. In the one, the leaders were mostly over sixty; in the other mostly under forty. When they met, with Napoleon leading the French, there could be but one result.

In 1806 the Prussians made many mistakes, Napoleon made few. "No general, however great, escapes errors. The greatest is he who makes the fewest." From the opening move to the end of the pursuit, it was one of Napoleon's masterpieces. The last of the Prussian army to surrender was gallant Blücher, who insisted on writing at the end of the document: "I capitulate because I have neither bread nor ammu-

nition." He lived to win a revenge game at Waterloo. Of all this the book treats intelligently.

Soldiers no longer monopolize military history. Of this Messrs. Ropes and O'Connor Morris were proof. Mr. Petre's style is direct and clear. He understands his authorities, relying mainly on Foucart, Hoepfner, Montbé, Lettow-Vorbeck, and the *Correspondence*. There are of course hundreds of other writers on 1806. At times he compares the authorities to advantage. His topographical descriptions are good—the comparison of the field of Jena to Dorking being certainly original. There is a short chapter on the Strategy and Tactics of the campaign, several plans and maps, and a number of portraits of the distinguished actors, mostly from Mr. Broadley's collection. The manufacture of the book is admirable. Taken together Mr. Petre has contributed two good volumes to military history.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

L'Élaboration de la Charte Constitutionnelle de 1814 (1^{er} Avril—4 Juin 1814). Par PIERRE SIMON, Licencié-ès-lettres. (Paris: Édouard Cornély et Cie. 1906. Pp. 181.)

INCLUDING the critical apparatus this valuable and interesting monograph, executed in the best French manner, may be described as falling into three parts, a description of the sources utilized, a narrative of the events which shape the formulation and promulgation of the charter, and a critical study of the text of that document.

The bibliography is altogether admirable. In organization, critical spirit, and exact description of the sources, it leaves little to be desired. The manuscript material drawn from the Archives Nationales and the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs is considerable in amount and value. A collection of documents upon the charter deposited at the Archives Nationales by the minister of justice in June, 1905, the papers of Beugnot, the *procès-verbaux* of the Senate, and the police bulletin of the period, are perhaps the most important. Since the newspapers of the day were but few in number and of slight value, while the numerous pamphlets are of use only to reflect public opinion, the author has been compelled to resort for his narrative of events principally to the memoirs of the leading participants, controlling them wherever possible by the use of strictly contemporaneous materials. In this way a cautious and discriminating use has been made of about all the memoirs of the time, especially those of Vitrolles, Beugnot, and Ferrand.

The narrative of the course of events which produced the charter is related from the constitutional standpoint alone and is confined almost exclusively to the period between the arrival of the allies at Paris and the promulgation of the charter two months later. In the main, it is a development of the thesis that at the overthrow of Napoleon there was a strong likelihood that the Bourbons would be forced to accept the decidedly liberal constitution formulated by the Senate and supported by Czar Alexander, but that the situation underwent the gradual change,

whereby Louis XVIII. was enabled to impose upon the nation a constitution of a very different sort and much more to his own liking. This transformation was due principally to the unpopularity incurred by the Senate on account of the attempt to secure in its constitution the selfish interest of its own members, the influence of England, and the shrewd policy of Louis XVIII.

The critical study of the text of the charter is devoted largely to the origin of its general principles and particular provisions and to the process of its formulation. Its general principles may be discovered in a series of public declarations made by Louis XVIII. or his representatives during the early months of 1814, while the origin of the individual articles is to be found in nearly every instance in one or another of the revolutionary or Napoleonic constitutions. The document was formulated in great haste by a commission of twenty-two members appointed by the king and the entire work was executed behind closed doors in less than a week.

The author's conclusions, both for the thesis and incidental points, are in general so carefully drawn that they carry full conviction. An exception must be noted, however, as to the authorship of the declaration of Saint Ouen. In opposition to Ferrand, Hyde de Neuville, Barranté, and Talleyrand, affirming that it was the personal work of the king, he supports the pretensions of Vitrolles and La Maisonfort, who claim to have been its real authors. The argument consists of a comparison of the declaration with documents of which Vitrolles and La Maisonfort were the authors and ingenious inferences based upon incidents related in the memoirs of Ferrand and Talleyrand. But the similarity of the documents seems exaggerated, and, so far as it exists, may be otherwise accounted for, while equally plausible inferences but to an opposite effect may be drawn from the incidents in question.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late Lord ACTON, LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., and STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Volume X. *The Restoration.* (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xxix, 936.)

WITH its tenth volume the Cambridge Modern History enters fairly upon the nineteenth century, for this volume covers, however unequally, the history of Europe from about 1815 to about 1847. Unequally, one observes, since much material is included here which bears no immediate relation to the period under discussion. The chapter on English literature, for instance, begins with the end of the seventeenth century, that on German literature at about the year 1740. The chapters on Spanish

America take up the story somewhere in the sixteenth century and end with 1830. Those on Russia and Poland practically conclude with 1832 and the account of Catholic Emancipation opens with a description of the anti-Catholic legislation throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For this, the monographic character of the general plan of the series is responsible. And, excellent as that plan is in some respects, the reader of the present volume is apt to derive a certain impression of loose ends, not conveniently included elsewhere, being gathered up here. In this, as in other respects, the contrast is naturally made with the corresponding volume of the *Histoire Générale*, which covers precisely the same period. The obvious comparison cannot better be shown than by giving a list of the contents of the present volume. This, moreover, affords an excellent index of the nature of the book and sheds much light on the plans and ideas of the editors. The Congress of Vienna and the settlements of 1815 having been treated in the preceding volume on Napoleon, the Restoration naturally opens with a chapter on the Congresses, by Mr. W. A. Phillips. This is followed by Lady Blennerhassett's study of the Doctrinaires. Then come chapters on France (1815-1830) and Italy (1815-1847) respectively, by Professor Bourgeois and Professor Segré. Chapter v., also from the pen of Lady Blennerhassett, treats of the papacy and the Catholic Church. This is followed by a group of chapters on southern Europe and South America, Greece by Mr. Phillips, Spain by Professor Altamira, two chapters on Spanish America by Mr. Kirkpatrick, and one on Brazil and Portugal by Mr. Edmundson. Then, turning to central and eastern Europe Professor Pollard writes of the Germanic Confederation, Professor Robinson of Germanic literature, Professor Askenazy of Russia and of Poland. Returning to the West, Professor Bourgeois continues his history of France with a chapter on the Orleans Monarchy, and Mr. Edmundson contributes an account of the Low Countries. After another digression to the East, Mehemet Ali, by Mr. Phillips, the rest of the volume is almost entirely taken up with England and things English; Great Britain, 1815-1832, by Mr. Temperley, Catholic Emancipation by Mr. Davis, Great Britain and Ireland (1832-1841) by Mr. Gooch, Canada by Mr. Benians, the Revolution in English poetry and fiction by Mr. Courthope, Economic Change (European as well as English in this case) by Professor Clapham, and the British Economists by Professor Nicholson, in all rather more than a fourth of the book. It will be observed from this that the volume differs from its French prototype in several important particulars aside from the general difference in plan. We find here nothing on Switzerland, on Asia, not even India, nor on any English colonies or dependencies, save Canada. Apart from these and many matters of detail, the more obvious divisions in the respective volumes naturally parallel each other very closely. The balance of unity and logic certainly lie on the side of the *Histoire Générale*. And in view

of the great importance of colonial development in these years it seems a misfortune that no chapter on the British Empire as a whole appears in this volume, and that neither Australia nor South Africa have yet been discovered by the editors. Doubtless the next instalment will include both. The strong insistence on the idea of complete monographs against which criticism of a general history has been directed has another disadvantage apart from those mentioned. It prevents any fair survey of international relations, save in separate chapters. In the present volume no such survey exists outside the first discussion of the Congresses, which is inadequate after about 1823. A further general criticism may be lodged, not in this case against the editors but against no small number of contributors. There is not enough action in the book. It is not merely that the stress is laid almost wholly on the political side, in the historical articles proper. A good deal of the history here set down follows a tendency now prominent in many quarters, which is, in its place, both of interest and importance, the tendency to consider history as a sort of descriptive political science, by laying great stress on the minute study of past institutions. It is not difficult to elaborate lists of extinct offices and officials, and to describe various executive, legislative, and judicial bodies, with their constitution and duties. But it is not very illuminating, and it is not at all enlivening. The number of deputies in the Polish Parliament, the statistical account of the Russian administration in 1815, are valuable and important. But we should be glad to sacrifice some of the space given to these matters to learn what sort of men these were and what they did. We should be glad to sacrifice some of the long and not very interesting account of Russian administration for instance to that very vital and important phase of Russian activity at this time, war and expansion. It is perhaps too much to hope that any account of Germany during the period of the Germanic Confederation should have human interest so long as one's mind is fixed entirely on its moribund political institutions. And we shall probably never recover from that tendency to write the history of Spanish America wholly from the New Laws, the edicts and statutes of the Council, and the criminal records. But the application of some such method as that used by Professor Clapham in his admirable account of Economic Change to these subjects would give us much to hope for, especially if there could be added to it, on the political and institutional side, the clearness and vigor, the judicious omission and compression of Professor Bourgeois. It is not possible within the limits of a brief review to enter into the many points raised in such a large and various volume, composed of so many parts of such unequal merit. One may be permitted to add to the list of errata *glorious* (504), *ban[d]* (549), *parliament[a]ry* (579), *a Cortes* (282), *titan[t]ic* (169), *Laibac[k]h* (183), *Treitschke* (352), *Nuncio* (159). *recovered* (614); and to note that General Duphot was killed in 1797 [December 27] not in 1798 (132), that New Harmony is in Indiana not

Pennsylvania (780); that the Adelfi could not have had 40,000 members in the city of Lecce (111), and to object to such locutions as "dilatatory threads of diplomacy" (195), "far-going" (144), "liberally minded" (409), "Facing as he did both ways at once and endowed with a dignified stature and all the physical qualifications for power" (487). It is unfortunate there is no space here to consider many statements and views here set forth in detail. Among these may be noted especially the unusually favorable opinion of Louis Philippe, the accounts of Russian government in Poland, and Spanish rule in South America, the share of Americans in the Spanish revolutions, the "transparent honesty" of Castlereagh at Vienna, the opinions of "William Gladstone" on the Italian situation. Many are new, and interesting. On the whole we may conclude that the volume is, in some respects, a distinct contribution to the literature of the subject in English, and in spite of the defects natural to such a work, is likely to prove very useful for many purposes. This usefulness is greatly increased by the bibliographies and the index. Some of the former would have been improved by including certain items in the corresponding section of the *Histoire Générale*, but in many cases this bibliography is at once more complete as, of course, more recent than its predecessor. Two points attract attention. The first is the curious circumstance that while the bibliography of these thirty-two or three years covers 108 pages, the bibliography to volume IV., the Thirty Years' War covers 147 pages. The second is the omission of many translations of books by foreign authors into English. Among these one may note Professor Macvane's translation of Seignobos's *Histoire Politique de l'Europe contemporaine*, and the English version of Mitre's *Historia de San Martin*. Incidentally one is surprised not to find Professor Bourne's *Spain in America* listed here. The index, in so far as it has been possible to test it, seems good. It is, however, an index *nominum* only. But for any guide through such a vast accumulation of facts we must be truly thankful, since in the end such a series must remain, at best, a species of encyclopedia of history, to be consulted often, to be read, never.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Il Risorgimento Italiano e l'Azione d'un Patriota, Cospiratore e Soldato. Da MICHELE ROSI. (Roma-Torino: Casa Editrice Nazionale. 1906. Pp. 473.)

UNDER this mystifying title Signor Rosi writes the biography of Antonio Mordini, one of the secondary figures in the Risorgimento, who had, nevertheless, intimate relations with some of the chief actors and was so closely concerned in several important events that he is not a negligible quantity. Born in 1819 at Barga, Tuscany, of upper class parentage, he was early seized with the desire to rid Italy of despotism, became a republican and took part in the ineffectual plotting between 1845 and 1848. When the Revolution came, he hurried north

to enlist in the War of Independence, fought and conspired by turns at Venice, and on being expelled from that city, he went back to Florence. There he was one of the Radicals who hastened the collapse of the Grand-duke's government and set up the Democratic régime in which, from February to April, 1849, he was Minister of Foreign Affairs. On Leopold's restoration, Mordini went into exile, which he spent mostly in Piedmont. He gave his energy to conspiracies, very circumspectly, and with an increasing tendency towards conservatism: so that, even before the war of 1859, he had detached himself from Mazzini and the irreconcilable doctrinaires to join Garibaldi and the party whose motto was "First free and unite Italy, and then decide whether the Government shall be monarchical or republican."

Mordini followed Garibaldi to Sicily in 1860, was appointed president of the council of war at Palermo, and from September to December he held the most important and most ungrateful office of dictator of Sicily. Thenceforward, he sat as a Garibaldian deputy in Parliament, was arrested for complicity in the Aspromonte fiasco, and upon his release busied himself with new intrigues. By 1866 he had grown more moderate. Drawing away from the Extreme Left, he was minister of public works, then vice-president of the Chamber, and on November 28, 1870, he presided over the first session of the Italian deputies in Rome. Thenceforward, except for four years (1872-1876) when he served as prefect at Naples, his political activity slackened. But he led a busy life, and died full of honors in 1902.

From this summary, the reader will understand Mordini's contacts with the Risorgimento, and, consequently what historical material to look for in his biography. The points on which Signor Rosi has thrown important light are the Tuscan Democracy in 1848-1849; the conspiracies of the Party of Action, 1849-1859; the Sicilian Expedition, and particularly the provisional dictatorship; the Garibaldians' policy in Parliament and their schemes outside from 1861 to 1866. Signor Rosi writes a plain, unvarnished tale. His multitude of facts could be more easily grasped if they were occasionally fused into a more fluent narrative, instead of appearing like items, more or less related to each other, in a long inventory. The sixty-eight documents which he prints comprise many valuable letters from Mazzini, Modena, Pepe, Bertini, Crispi, Amari, Saffi, Ricasoli, and Kossuth, besides Mordini's own. In more than one instance they contain material which will be a primary source for future historians: as, for instance, Mordini's account of the meeting of Victor Emanuel and Garibaldi at Capua and their reception at Naples. Signor Rosi is a careful editor, scrupulously sober in his statements, and loyal to his subject. He promises to issue before long other studies on the Party of Action—the field which he has made his specialty. As this is the side of the Risorgimento about which (if we except the Vatican) the fewest authentic works exist, every addition to our knowledge is doubly welcome.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

The Campaign of Magenta and Solferino (1859). By Colonel H. C. WYLLY, C.B. [Special Campaign Series, No. 4.] (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 237.)

COLONEL WYLLY gives with scarcely a superfluous word a well digested account of what has been called this "short and brilliant but lucky campaign" in which France and Sardinia in five weeks of actual hostilities broke the power of Austria. Space forbids more than the briefest selection of instructive points to be noted. The story embraces the battles of Magenta and Solferino, with the three combats of Montebello, Palestro, and Malignano. The theatre of battle was the valley of the Po, and the commanders were the French emperor, Napoleon III., with General La Marmora commanding the Sardinian divisions, and the Austrian Count Gyulai.

The war became inevitable on January 1, 1859, when Napoleon said to the Austrian ambassador at his official reception, "Je regrette que les relations entre nous soient si mauvaises." On April 23 Austria demanded that Piedmont should agree to disarm within three days, which ultimatum was rejected.

The French soon concentrated 105,911 men with 264 guns supported by 56,629 Sardinians and Italians with ninety guns, a total of 162,540 men with 354 guns. The French were all regular troops and were organized in five corps. The Sardinians were organized in five divisions, largely composed of new troops. The Austrian army was at first composed of 160,000 men with 442 guns, organized in seven corps. Both sides were armed with rifles, about equivalent to our Springfield rifled musket, of calibre 58, and their artillery was, like ours in the Civil War, a mixture of smooth bores and rifles. The country is described as one closely cultivated—vines, corn, and rice, intersected by many irrigation channels. It was like one vast orchard, planted closely with young fruit trees impeding the view in every direction. Villages were numerous, and each one had its cemetery beside it—square enclosures with stone walls, eight to fifteen feet high, entered by iron gates with grated openings on each side. Roads were of three classes, postal, provincial, and communal, the first excellent, the second good, the last impassable in bad weather.

As the Austrians were nearest to the field they were first on the ground and had the privilege of initiating the offensive. On May 20 an Austrian, General Stadion, with six brigades of about 22,500 men, taken from four separate divisions, was sent to occupy Montebello, a village some twenty miles east of Alexandria. Here he was attacked and defeated by General Forey, with 8,400 men. Stadion was over cautious and did not engage his reserves, which all belonged to different corps. The French never lost the *morale* inspired by this action, but on May 30 crossed the Sessia river on the enemy's extreme right and

defeated him in the combat at Palestro, with the loss of seven guns and 2,118 men, the allies losing but 601, having made a surprise of their crossing. On June 4 the battle of Magenta was fought, the Austrians making the attack a day too soon, believing the enemy less concentrated than was the fact. They were defeated with the loss of 10,726 killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the allies was but 4,586. The forces engaged and casualty percentages were: Austrians, 61,618 men, 176 guns. Loss 17.4 per cent. Allies, 48,090 men, 87 guns. Loss 9.5 per cent. Some of the fighting over the villages was very severe. The village of Ponta Vecchio was taken and retaken six times. Had the Austrians postponed their attack a single day, their superiority of force would have been 45,000 men and 296 guns.

After this battle the Austrians withdrew behind the Mincio river and reorganized and increased their army by two corps. Count Gyulai was superseded, and Count Wimpffen and Count Schlick commanded the two armies now formed, the Emperor of Austria coming to the field and taking supreme command. The French also added a sixth corps to their army, under Prince Napoleon, but it was not engaged in subsequent battles. At Melignano on June 8, before crossing the Mincio, the Austrians, retreating slowly from Magenta, were overtaken and lost 1,474 men, to 851 lost by the allies, in a very severe combat prolonged until ended by night and a violent rain-storm. It was an unnecessary fight on the part of Austria.

On June 23 Austria recrossed the Mincio and was defeated on the twenty-fourth at Solferino, which ended the campaign, an armistice being signed August 8, and the treaty of Villa Franca in November. Solferino brought together the largest forces assembled in Europe since the battle of Prague. Austria had on the field 189,648 men and 752 guns. Her casualties were 21,737 or 11.5 per cent. The French had 118,019 men and 432 guns; the Italians 55,584 men and 90 guns; casualties 17,191, or 10 per cent. The Austrians and French were organized in corps, the Italians in divisions, which were found objectionable as not favoring concentration. The allies captured two colors, thirty guns, and 6,000 prisoners, but made no pursuit. The Austrians had four generals wounded; the French five, of whom two died; and the Italians two, of whom one died.

It is suggestive of both Chancellorsville and the Wilderness to read of the rumored approach during the battle of certain "mythical men from Mantua". During our Civil War rumor played a similar part on both of those occasions.

E. P. ALEXANDER.

A Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Volume VI. Australasia. By J. D. ROGERS. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1907. Pp. viii, 308, iv, 132.)

OPINION undoubtedly differs as to what constitutes a historical geography; indeed the question has already (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW,

VII., p. 385) been raised with reference to an earlier volume of the series to which this book belongs. Mr. Rogers has followed the plan laid down by Mr. Lucas, the originator of the series. Thus part one deals with history and part two with geography; and, though physical features are from time to time referred to in the first half of the book, it may be questioned how far the author has a thorough appreciation of the full significance of the relations of geography and history. The book is, however, a useful compendium of the history and geography of the vast region with which it deals. There are furthermore, a number of suggestive statements as to certain aspects of physiographical influence on social and political development. For example the unusual river system of which the Murray and the Darling are the main parts is shown to have played a large role in the expansion of English settlements; and the dominance of Melbourne by means of the five chief routes which radiate from it is well brought out. Yet before the reader has finished the first few chapters of the historical section he must turn to the geographical section to discover, if possible, information which might better have been given at the start or by way of commentary.

The use of metaphors is frequent and these endeavors to relieve the monotony of compact narrative and description will not always meet with the approval of the reader. In this volume the bibliographies are no longer to be found at the end of each chapter; but a full apparatus of foot-notes may on the whole better satisfy the student. The maps though numerous should have been clearer.

The introductory chapters summarize the history of discovery in the Pacific to the close of the eighteenth century, some features of native life, and the plans for a colony at Botany Bay. There never was, by the way, a convict settlement at Botany Bay (p. 50). As a region at first settled by state aid the early Australian colonies only emerged from a period of socialism when natural resources tempted the industry and adventure of free immigrants and of the second generation. The pioneers of this second period by their bolder wandering and scattering settlements made possible the third epoch. This was marked by voluntary immigration, public loans, discovery and development of richer resources, and competition; all was closely connected with expansion. In the case of New Zealand the free individual preceded organized colonization and the native population played a larger role than in Australia or Tasmania. As for the island world to the north, the adventurer, the missionary, and international rivalry chiefly with France, but in more recent periods with Germany also, have all gone to make the New Pacific south of the equator. These matters are all treated in the first part. The second part deals in succession with the geography of the Pacific Islands, New Guinea, New Zealand, and Australia. Here the wealth of detail and the limits of this notice must restrain even a summary. As a whole the very abundance of fact will increase the value of the book as an epitome.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie du Japon. Par E. PAPINOT, M.A. (Tokyo: Sansaisha; Yokohama, etc.: Kelly and Walsh. [1906.] Pp. 992, and a supplementary pamphlet containing eleven maps.)

M. PAPINOT has selected his topics with remarkable erudition and wisdom, and defined them with wonderful accuracy and fairness, so that he has succeeded in giving to the world an indispensable cyclopaedia, the need of which has long been felt by every foreign student of Japan. The work must be a by-product of many years of hard study, on the author's part, of the history and geography of Japan, for it is no mere translation or abridgment of Japanese works made with the help of untrained natives, but evidently a compilation of the author's own notes accumulated from extensive sources and now carefully organized into the form of a dictionary. Every page seems to demonstrate the author's knowledge of the Japanese language, both spoken and written. Still more remarkable is the manifestly scholarly character of his information, it being difficult to discover in this volume traces of the undisciplined curiosity of the traveller or of the subjective thinking of the foreigner. Except in the remote suggestion of his Catholic feeling against Hideyoshi shown in the reference to his Christian persecution in 1597 (p. 823), the author is seldom betrayed by that subjectivity which seriously detracts from the value of so commendable a work as Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*, and which profoundly affects many books hitherto written on Japan by foreign writers.

The reviewer who looks for faults in this volume will be disappointed, for they, if any, can hardly be of serious character. The author might, for example, have been a little more reserved in his definitions of *agata* and *haniwa*, two of the moot questions of Japan's history and archaeology; *Bashō*, *Horinji*, and a few other topics might have been explained a little more fully at the expense of subjects of minor importance; the Sanskrit or other original name and a brief history of each Buddhist deity might have been inserted; and in his note on *Fujiwara Kamatari* the author shows a little confusion of Emperor Kōtoku with Naka-no-ōye.

I would object to one point regarding his adoption of the current system of Romanizing Japanese words, for in doing so he has been obliged to share the fault of the system that seems unpardonable. Every student of Japanese must know that, in their literary usage as well as in their history in China and Japan, though not in the way they are pronounced on the street by the largest number of people, the sonants of the *sh* and the *ch* sounds (and also of the *s* and the *ts* sounds) are essentially distinct from each other. The author, however, transliterates without distinction the former pair into *j*, and the latter into *z*.

The cuts, some three hundred in number, with which the work is copiously illustrated are of uneven value. An important revision might

be made in this matter if the author consulted material kept at the archives of the Historiographic Institute, Imperial University of Tokyo.

The historical introduction, the eighteen appendices and other supplementary matters are highly valuable. On the whole, the work stands high above all other works of the class written in European languages, and may with a little labor be revised to become as thoroughly a trustworthy book, as it is indispensable in its present edition.

K. ASAKAWA.

Japan. By DAVID MURRAY, Ph.D., LL.D., Superintendent of Education in the Empire of Japan from 1873 to 1879. Revised edition. Supplementary chapters by Baron KENTARO KANEKO, LL.D. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1906. Pp. xii, 567.)

THE new edition of Murray's *Japan* appears with two supplementary chapters on recent events by Mr. Albert White Vorse and two lectures on the "resources and ideals of modern Japan" by Baron K. Kaneko. The body of the book remains substantially the same as in the first edition published in 1894, even at which early time it contained errors which modern criticism had long discarded, and omitted important discoveries that had recently been made. This condition was perhaps inevitable from the author's inability, in spite of his residence in Japan between 1873 and 1879 as educational adviser, to read any of the large number of her historical sources. He was obliged to rely mainly on the articles in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan, and the English works on Japan by Chamberlain, Satow, Griffis, Rein, Denning, and others, the only complete translation of an original source being the *Koshiki* rendered and annotated by Chamberlain. Dr. Murray was ignorant even of the identity of the *Nihongi* and the *Nihon-shoki* (p. 121). Any one who knows something of the great activity and the progress of the historical investigations in Japan will be disturbed to see in this book old forgotten errors and inaccuracies repeated, recently acquired knowledge disregarded, and new assumptions of the most uncritical nature stated as facts. Misstatements of familiar facts occur throughout the volume. The native reader is also told that his countrymen believed in legends and stories which he has seldom heard (pp. 20, 70, 122, 123, 130, 139, etc.). Although the author seems remarkably free from the ordinary prejudices of the foreign writer not reading Japanese, his unfortunate want of information has led him into occasional dogmas. He is, to take only two instances, led astray by his preconception as to the declining quality of the successive members of each line of feudal suzerains (pp. 150, 183, 321), and makes the assertion that the seclusion of Japan (c. 1640-1854) "was a great mistake" (p. 310). While he is a faithful recorder of legendary tales, as witness his stories of the mythical age (ch. II.), of the Empress Jingo (p. 74), of

Tokiwa and Yoshitsune (p. 136), and the like, he omits such cardinal facts of Japanese history as the Reform of 645, the establishment of feudal administration in 1186, the introduction at different times of various Buddhist sects and their profound influence on national life, the feudal moral code *bushido*, the revival of learning and the diffusion of education under the Tokugawa, the work of the late Count Katsu and of Fukuzawa, and the rise of political parties in the '80's of the last century. As for the institutional side of history, which many a reader would consider the most important, it will be looked for in vain in this volume.

Murray's *Japan* has in every way been superseded by Captain F. Brinkley's *Japan* in his *Oriental Series*. The former yet deserves a place in a popular library, however, for its comparative freedom from sentimental and moral judgment of the things narrated, as well as for its wealth of descriptive though uncritically presented data.

Mr. Vorse's two supplementary chapters on the constitution and the Chinese and Russian wars seem to possess singularly strong and weak points. The writer has dealt with the complex political questions of an active nation in a remarkably light spirit. One marvels to read that Ito once went abroad against the law of the land, that he organized a political party in the same year in which the Progressive party was born, and that the revision of the treaties made in 1894 was "one of the first fruits of the war" with China. It would be unnecessary to multiply these cases of evident error. Mr. Vorse has also the habit of not specifying the time and place of many an important event: "in September, 1875", for instance, "a Korean fort" was bombarded by "a Japanese war-vessel". This habit has unfortunately exposed his chapters to several possible errors of anachronism, even about so late and well-known an event as the peace conference held at Portsmouth. The reader needs to be cautioned frequently as to the discussion of the constitution by the writer, who has allowed himself even to speak in one breath of the emperor and his advisers, showing a habit of thought which would mislead one throughout the entire history of the political relations of Japan in one of its most vital points. From beginning to end no authorities are cited or criticized, so that the helpless reader is unable either to trust or to doubt the clear and simple statements with which the chapters abound. Mr. Vorse appears at his best in his narration of the events of the late war.

Baron Kaneko's two lectures cannot be said to deserve a place in a book of history. They are pleas of an advocate, as well as amenities of an envoy. Japan is good, Russia is evil; the Europeans are selfish, the Americans are enlightened. The civilization of Old Japan is compared favorably in a few brief sentences with that of Phoenicia, Carthage, Greece, and Rome—in the reverse order of these countries. "In other words, her civilization had just as sound and substantial foundation as that of any country on the map to-day", an assertion large

enough to be proved in one page (p. 475). Japan is "the savior of Europe" (p. 489), for her mission is "the occidentalizing of the East" (p. 490).

The critical reader of these pages will again and again be vexed by the question why there should be such a great disparity between the quality of an English book on Japanese history published in 1906 and that of English books on the history of any Western nation, and even a greater difference between the state of historical knowledge about Japan at home and that abroad, than there seems to exist between the scientific value of any of the text-books in Japanese secondary schools and that of the present work. Should he lament this state of things, or should he rejoice that even an impure knowledge of a long secluded nation is now accessible to the general public?

K. ASAKAWA.

British Malaya. An Account of the Origin and Progress of British Influence in Malaya. By Sir FRANK SWETTENHAM, K.C.M.G., late Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States. (New York: John Lane Company. 1907. Pp. xi, 354.)

THE career of Sir Frank Swettenham as a colonial administrator under the British crown has differed in one important particular from that of almost every other official of high rank under the Colonial Office.

It is the usual custom to promote the higher officials from one colony to another; and a glance at the record of services at the end of the Colonial Office List discloses a very remarkable range of experience among those gentlemen who are now at the head of the various colonial governments. The system is exactly opposite to that followed in the Indian service, where as a rule each government servant spends the greater part of his official life in one of the great provinces of which the Indian Empire is composed.

Each method has its advantages—the colonial method in that by presenting a succession of new problems to the administrator it counteracts any tendency towards administrative lethargy; the Indian method being admirably suited to the special conditions which arise from the great differences of race and language to be observed in the various parts of the Indian Empire.

Sir Frank Swettenham entered the service of the British government in the Malay Peninsula in 1868, and from that time until his retirement in 1904 he was constantly associated with the Malay states and the Straits settlements, rising from the lowest grade in the civil service, that of cadet, to the highest posts in the British administration in that part of the world—the governorship of the Straits Settlements and the high commissionership of the Federated Malay States.

It may be doubted whether, with the exception of Lord Cromer and His Highness Sir Charles Brooke, Raja of Sarawak, there is living

to-day any Englishman whose personal influence has been as great as that of Sir Frank Swettenham in the control and development of a tropical dependency. He has paid a curious but perfectly natural penalty for his success, since the orderly and unexciting progress of the Malay Peninsula has afforded nothing which could attract public attention in England; and where others, who have had their dependencies devastated by war, famine, and pestilence, have seen their names become household words among civilized nations, Sir Frank Swettenham is perhaps best known as the author of those delightful volumes, *Malay Sketches*, *The Real Malay*, and *Unaddressed Letters*.

But if the task to which he devoted himself in the Malay Peninsula was one in which battle, murder, and sudden death played a small part it was not because such things were unknown to the native states, for few places in the world have been more rent by internal strife, more distraught by intrigue, but because when he came to fill posts of responsibility the years which he had given to the study of the Malay, his language, his thought, his customs, served him well, and his official acts were guided by a deep understanding of the native and tempered by a tolerant sympathy from his point of view.

Thus many things which in less skilful hands would have spelled war and rebellion were effected through mutual understanding; and the story of British Malay is the most notable record of peaceful reform of which colonial history bears witness, from Lord Clive's Plassey to Lord Kitchener's Omdurman. Were it not for our author's modesty he might well have allowed his volume to bear the legend of another great administrator—*Quorum magna pars fui*.

Not only is Sir Frank Swettenham's work practically unknown except to those who have made a particular study of colonial administration, but the country of which he writes is scarcely more familiar to the general reader than Chandernagore or the Shan States.

British Malay, however, is one of the most important, if not the most important, of British possessions in the tropics. It furnishes the world with three-quarters of its tin supply; its chief town, Singapore, is not only of supreme strategic importance, but is in the first rank of great seaports; its area is greater than that of Ceylon; its population is nearly twice that of New Zealand; its public revenue exceeds that of all the British possessions in the New World, exclusive of Canada; its foreign trade is greater than that of New South Wales and Queensland combined; and its shipping is more than twice as great in volume as that of the colony of Victoria.

From what humble beginnings all this arose; by what infinity of tact and discretion the Malay sultans were led to reform their governments; through what dangers and difficulties the pioneers of British rule in the Peninsula won their way to success; out of what chaos of disorder and misery the native administrations have been rescued; these matters are the burden of Sir Frank Swettenham's book.

The volume is one which should appeal in an extraordinary degree to American readers, for there is scarcely a page which does not present some problem or recount some incident which throws light upon the peculiar character of the Peninsular Malay, who is the first cousin of the Filipino.

This is not a volume of opinions formulated by an arm-chair traveller; it does not drag out its length with the unmeaning vaporings of an irresponsible critic who has never been called on to act in an emergency, and who knows that he is secure in his wildest suggestion since he will never have to stake his life on the feasibility of his proposed methods. It is a practical book written by a practical man who has had the safety and welfare of a million people in his hands and who has maintained that safety and fostered that welfare with conspicuous ability and success under every variety of good and evil fortune.

Although, of course, there is no point to point analogy between the affairs and conditions of the Malay Peninsula and those of the Philippine Islands, the similarity is close enough to lend the greatest value to the suggestive treatment by Sir Frank Swettenham of a large number of questions which are of pressing urgency in the Philippines—methods of taxation, labor supply, education, and the employment of natives in the government service, to name only a few.

The book is provided with an excellent map and is profusely illustrated.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

Japanese Rule in Formosa. By YOSABURO TAKEKOSHI, Member of the Japanese Diet. With Preface by Baron SHIMPEI GOTO, Chief of the Civil Administration. Translated by GEORGE BRAITHWAITE. (London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1907. Pp. xv, 342.)

THIS volume gives an interesting account of Formosan affairs as they appear to a member of the Japanese Diet who visited the island on two occasions for the purpose of studying the effects of Japan's first undertaking in the line of colonial administration.

The authority of the volume is somewhat impaired by the insistence with which both the author and his sponsor (Baron Shimpei Goto, Chief of the Civil Administration of Formosa) explain that their object is to tell of Japanese successes. Baron Goto says in his Preface ". . . for my country's sake I cannot forbear giving to the world the story of our success. . . . We have, it is true, emerged victorious from the recent war, but the world still doubts our colonizing ability. I have been very glad, therefore, to write this Preface, believing that these pages will prove instrumental in removing these doubts. . . ."

The author in turn takes the reader into his confidence in his preface. He speaks of the responsibility of colonizing unopened portions of the globe, and continues—"Some people, however, are inclined to

question whether we possess the ability requisite for such a task. I felt that these would doubt no longer, could they but read the account of our successes in Formosa. With this idea I twice visited the island. . . ."

This is admirable as patriotism; but it inflicts the student with an uncomfortable sense of special pleading.

The book presents, in fact, a singular juxtaposition of naïve impression, shrewd insight, and quick observation.

The author describes a trial in one of the local appeal courts in which, the prisoner being a Formosan, the services of two interpreters were required; upon this Mr. Yosaburo Takekoshi makes the following comment—"When I read in Chinese history that in a certain case nine translations had been required, I began to realize what a vast country China was; and now that with my own eyes I saw the judge and the defendant sitting only one foot apart, yet speaking to each other through two interpreters, I was impressed with the greatness of our empire."

One of the most interesting portions of the book is that which describes the internal disorder which followed immediately upon the overthrow of Chinese authority in the island and the steps which were taken to reduce the island to a condition of peace and order. The account is vividly reminiscent of the early days of American rule in the Philippines. "The common people regarded them [the brigands and armed outlaws] as a sort of embryo Government who by a sudden turn of fortune's wheel might receive the reins of power. . . . The people without doubt hated their violence and cruelty, but they could not help at the same time admiring their bravery in the face of the Japanese. Again, they were well aware, that the brigands were more intimately acquainted with all their private affairs than the Government, with the result that everyone refused to give the officials any information as to the whereabouts of the brigands, keeping silence as the members of a secret society would do under similar circumstances."

The author describes the difficulty of distinguishing the brigands from the ordinary peaceful population and states, with unconscious humor, that the first necessity was "to ascertain exactly the strength and headquarters of the different bands, and, as far as possible, the names and addresses of those who composed them. . . ."

Where the author is not concerned to emphasize the success of his countrymen the volume is one of undoubted value, since it contains a great deal of information as to the administrative mechanism of the government, which is not available in other works on the island. Of special value and suggestiveness are the chapters on Land Tenure, Police Administration, and the Opium Monopoly. The account of the Opium Monopoly is of particular interest to Americans for, in the opinion of the committee appointed by the Philippine Commission to investigate the use of opium and the traffic therein, the Japanese in Formosa had

come nearer to a successful handling of the problem than any other of the great powers having dependencies in the Far East.

Mr. Yosaburo Takekoshi's volume is provided with a good map and an excellent bibliography; but it is much to be regretted that the book has no index.

The author shows some familiarity with the general literature of colonial administration; but one detects here and there an inaccuracy which could have been avoided. For instance the title of James Anthony Froude's well-known work was not *The History of English Colonization in the West Indies* but *The English in the West Indies: or the Bow of Ulysses*; the name of the distinguished chief justice of Barbados was not Sir Conrad Leaver but Sir Conrad Reeves; and the Christian name of the writer of this review is not Allen, but Alleyne.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1902-1903). *Games of the North American Indians*. By STEWART CULIN. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1907. Pp. xl, 846.)

THE only original contribution accompanying the *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* is an extended paper upon American Indian games. It is a bulky article of more than eight hundred pages, profusely illustrated with representations of games in progress and of the implements used in them. Mr. Culin has long been the chief American student of games. Almost twenty years ago he presented a paper upon the Street Games of Brooklyn Boys before the American Folk-Lore Society. This was followed by studies of Chinese games, the material investigated being found among Chinese immigrants in this country. In 1893 Mr. Culin exhibited a great collection of games from all parts of the world at the Chicago Exposition. This attracted much attention but its real chief importance was the new trend which it gave to his own studies. For it was through this exhibit that he came into direct contact with Korean games and gained certain hints regarding the games of our own Southwest from Frank Hamilton Cushing, the devoted student of Pueblo Indian life. The fact that games are related to religious ceremonial, that they exemplify notions of cosmogony and philosophy, and that they contain a large magical element, was there first appreciated and became the dominant idea in Mr. Culin's work thereafter. A beautiful book upon Korean games was an immediate result. As a consequence of his collaboration with Mr. Cushing a collection of games was sent by Mr. Culin to the International and Cotton States Exposition at Atlanta in 1895. The publication of the catalogue of this exhibit in the *Annual Report of the United States National*

Museum for 1896 showed the importance of the subject and developed a wide interest in the study of American Indian games. In 1902, at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, Mr. Culin displayed, as part of the exhibit of the University of Pennsylvania, a synoptic collection of American Indian games which, in conception, arrangement, and instruction value, was a model of what an ethnographic exhibit in such an exposition should be. And now, in the volume before us, Mr. Culin presents the results of his many years of work in this field.

Our author confines his attention to games requiring the use of implements. And, of games requiring implements in their play, the so-called games of chance are the most important. Far from their being of trifling significance, mere pastimes, such games are, in their beginnings, serious affairs. They had both a devotional aspect and divinatory meaning. They often form a part of the great annual ceremonies and fasting, purification and prayer were the preparation for their playing. The outcome was dependent upon the will of divine beings. Questions of vital importance were left to their decision.

Mr. Culin recognizes two chief classes of American Indian games: I. Games of Chance; II. Games of Dexterity. He asserts that games of pure skill and calculation are lacking among our tribes. The games to which his discussion is chiefly devoted may be tabulated as follows:

I. Chance	{	Dice games
		Guessing games
II. Dexterity	{	Archery
		Sliding sticks
		Ring and javelin
		Ball

Each of these is divided into several well-marked types: thus, the dice games are two—(a) where the dice are thrown directly from the hand, and (b) where they are shaken upon a bowl, dish, or platter and thrown up into the air. All of these various types are presented with an enormous amount of detail and illustration. Mr. Culin emphasizes the uniformity of American games through the whole continent and appears to consider the southwestern part of the United States as a centre of origination and dissemination. Our space does not admit of quotation of the author's argument but we present his summary of conclusions, slightly abbreviated.

(1) These games may be classified into a small number of related groups.

(2) Morphologically, they are identical and universal among all the tribes.

(3) They are ritual or have descended from religious ceremonial observances.

(4) Their identity and unity are shared by the myths with which they are associated.

(5) While often now mere gambling, they are still often, propitiatory, magical, and beneficent.

(6) They agree with widespread ceremonial observances found in other continents, which in their oldest and primitive forms are almost exclusively divinatory.

Lack of space prevents consideration of these conclusions. With no desire to criticize what is a discussion of great value and interest, we regret two features in the author's treatment: (1) That he groups his detailed matter regarding the games alphabetically under linguistic stocks. It may be that striking similarities may force us to admit the identity and universality stated in the second conclusion. There are, however, interesting local variations, the fact and the force of which are at least obscured by an alphabetical arrangement. Thus, the ring and javelin game may be one everywhere, but the netted ring of the Arapaho, the simple hoop of the Onondaga, and the bark ring of the Makahs are types of well-marked local forms that deserve emphasis. (2) That no distributional maps are introduced. If they were, the interesting and suggestive local developments just mentioned could be appreciated even if the alphabetical arrangement were retained. We believe that a combination of geographical treatment and map illustration would have improved Mr. Culin's paper and have given the basis for a more thoughtful and discriminating judgment on the part of the reader.

FREDERICK STARR.

Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound. Portraits and Biographies of the Men Honored in the Naming of Geographic Features of Northwestern America. By EDMOND S. MEANY, Professor of History, University of Washington. (New York, London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xvii, 344.)

THE author's work seems more properly that of an editor. The chief purpose is suggested in the second part of the title and announced in the introductory chapter. It is "to explain the meaning of geographic names in use" on the Northwest Coast. The first four chapters, pp. 1-60, and numerous lengthy biographical foot-notes throughout the rest of the book carry out this purpose. The remaining pages are occupied by a reproduction of pages 33-385 of the second volume of Vancouver's *Voyage* (ed. 1801). The numerous, excellent full-page illustrations give the book a very pleasing appearance.

In the main the work is trustworthy. If it had been well done it would have been of large value, especially to people who live in the Northwest or travel there. As it is it will doubtless be very interesting to many, and have a large sale, locally. Commendable diligence is shown in some things, notably in the collection of portraits, though, unfortunately, a woeful lack of it in others.

If the portion of Vancouver's *Voyage* had been faithfully reproduced it would require no comment in this review. But there are numerous errors in copying (changes, omissions, and insertions) which should have been corrected in proof-reading. In fifty-eight pages which the reviewer carefully compared with the original, twenty such errors were observed, besides numerous changes in form, such as in the use of italics, in changing obsolete spellings to current, and in breaking single paragraphs into two. If these changes in form were consistent and explained, they might be excusable.

The high-sounding preface contains much that it should not. Some of the introductory chapters should have been in the preface. Throughout the editor's own portion there are awkward sentences which often obscure the sense and reveal a lack of careful scholarship. Witness this from page 5: "Because he celebrated Restoration Day gave rise to Restoration Point, and because he took possession of the land for his King caused the christening of Possession Sound." Lack of proportion and inability to subordinate or eliminate minor details are everywhere noticeable. See chapter two, where in a fourteen-page biography of Vancouver two pages are given to an entertaining but almost wholly irrelevant sketch of Thomas Pitt. See also the note on New Dungeness, page 79—a curious collection of heterogeneous and irrelevant information. Chapter three, entitled "Historic Nootka Sound" reveals only very slight familiarity with the literature of the subject. The so-called "Life of Bodega y Quadra", chapter four, is largely taken up in telling how little is known about him, and in rehearsing the editor's very slightly rewarded efforts to learn more.

Of thirty or forty important biographical sketches the majority seem to have been taken almost bodily out of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, some slightly, others very much condensed. In the preface the editor suggests indirectly that "the *Dictionary of National Biography* has been of immense help", and in a few foot-notes it is mentioned; but nowhere does he indicate the extent to which he has leaned upon it. Passages quoted in the *Dictionary of National Biography* from other authorities are here repeated as though the editor had taken them directly from their original sources. Cf. p. 97, where there are two such quotations, both containing almost unmistakable evidence that they were copied from the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The sketches are, of course, true to fact, barring some blunders in copying.

WILLIAM R. MANNING.

Life and Letters of Charles Russell Lowell. By EDWARD W. EMERSON. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1907. Pp. viii, 499.)

THIS book has the handicap of not appearing until forty-three years after the time when it might naturally have been expected; and yet,

if the world would only think so, such a record of high living possesses all the charm it ever had. The hero perhaps becomes more interesting when viewed through such a perspective of years.

Charles Russell Lowell, first scholar of the Harvard class of 1854, was graduated at nineteen, and on Commencement Day, closing his books, gave himself to affairs. This course, singular in one so scholarly, was perhaps due to delicate health. A hemorrhage drove him from business to travel, during which, while recovering strength, he also learned languages and men, and became a practised horseman. He went at once to Washington after the assault on Sumter, and being commissioned a captain in the Sixth Regular Cavalry, showed much military aptitude. Being sent West to recruit he picked up in an Ohio village a crude back-country boy, Adna R. Chaffee, out of whom was evolved the lieutenant-general; and among the many tributes to Lowell which are given not one is warmer than that of General Chaffee to the man who gave him his first training. Lowell went through the Peninsula campaign with his regiment, and at Antietam was an aide of McClellan. His service was distinguished, and he was made colonel of the Second Massachusetts Cavalry. Assigned to the protection of Washington, he missed Chancellorsville and Gettysburg; but being pitted for many months especially against Mosby, he and his men developed great effectiveness in the best school for troopers.

In August 1864 Lowell emerged into a more conspicuous and probably less harassing field. He was set to command a fine brigade under Sheridan, in whose Shenandoah campaign no one did more or better. He knew neither fatigue nor fear. He was always at the front; his clothing was riddled, his scabbard was shattered, thirteen horses were shot under him. Nor in the field was his courage any more evident than his intellectual equipment—poise, judgment, decision. Long unscathed, his fate overtook him at Cedar Creek, where having baffled the advancing enemy he fell at the moment when the tide turned. Said Sheridan, who had a refined sensibility not always appreciated: "I do not think there was a quality I could have added to him. He was the perfection of a man and of a soldier." Had Lowell survived it was Sheridan's intention to make him his chief of cavalry.

While Mr. Emerson's intense admiration for his hero is very plain he writes always with restraint, good taste, and the best judgment. The sketch of Lowell's life is followed by a selection from his letters so clearly and fully annotated that the hero and his environment are very distinct. The letters could not be more unstudied and unassuming, yet they are marked now by pleasant wit, now by fine scholarship, now by discriminating estimates of men and events, now by all the finer affections. The Lowell quality is evident, and the reader comes to believe that had the soldier chosen to wield instead of the sword the mightier weapon, he too might have been a critic, apart, and greatly accomplished. Nor is it the least of the merits of this book that

through it one comes into close touch with a remarkable group, the men and women whom he especially cherished, Robert Gould Shaw, John M. Forbes, and Henry Lee Higginson, his intimate friends, Mrs. Anne Jackson Lowell, his mother, and Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, his wife.

J. K. HOSMER.

Military Memoirs of a Confederate. A Critical Narrative. By E. P. ALEXANDER. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xviii, 634.)

THE author of this work is an educated soldier, a graduate of West Point, had much experience in the field before the Civil War, served in the Confederate army, most of the time under Longstreet, and had exceptional opportunities to acquaint himself with inside facts, all of which, added to his fairness, qualified him to write a critical narrative of the campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia. He criticises alike Confederate friend and Federal foe, the justice of which, in some cases, may be disputed, but the good temper shown must be conceded.

He errs in throwing upon Patterson the entire blame for permitting Joseph E. Johnston to join Beauregard at Manassas, when General Scott should share the censure. He criticises the slowness, irresolution, and strategy of McDowell in the Bull Run campaign of July, 1861; holds that on the field his tactics were "poor and timid", and apparently adopts the view that a vigorous pursuit by 5,000 fresh Confederates of the panic-stricken Federals would have taken Washington next day, and that the fruits of victory were thrown away because Jefferson Davis and the two generals spent the few hours of remaining daylight in aimlessly riding over the battlefield.

General Huger has been held responsible for Confederate failure at Seven Pines, May 31, 1862; Alexander relieves him of that long borne burden and puts it on the shoulders of Johnston and Longstreet, saying of the first that "his efforts to handle the army in battle had been an utter failure", and his serious wounding on the field a distinct gain to the Confederate cause, as it brought General Lee to the front, and greatly increased the chances of a successful campaign against McClellan. Yet the first campaign conducted by Lee was marked by many grave errors, the first of which was in sending Stuart, June 11, 1862, on a reconnoissance to McClellan's rear, thus putting him on his guard and causing him to prepare for a change of base to James River. Lee permitted his lieutenants to open the battle of Mechanicsville or Beaver Dam before Jackson had come within supporting distance, and threw small detachments against the strongest parts of the Federal line, only to be bloodily repulsed, giving Longstreet an opportunity to write, "Next to Malvern Hill the sacrifice at Beaver Dam was unequaled in demoralization during the entire summer." At Gaines's Mill the battle seems to have been left in the hands of the division commanders until

it was nearly lost, and only at the last moment did Lee make his presence felt, and it was then too late to destroy Porter's corps. Lee's pursuit of McClellan is open to criticism, and his ill-advised order to attack at Malvern Hill brought upon him a terrible repulse; but here our critic has light censure. Jackson is justly criticised for his part in the Peninsular campaign. He failed to come up in time at Beaver Dam; he was so tardy at Gaines's Mill that not more than half a Confederate victory was won, when Porter should have been annihilated; he dawdled before Franklin's position at White Oak Creek crossing, losing an entire day; he took no initiative at Malvern Hill, and "had he been the Jackson of the Valley . . . he would have turned Malvern Hill by the left and taken position commanding the road somewhere beyond Turkey Creek". His ardent admirers excuse him on the ground of physical exhaustion due to the excessive labor of previous days, but our critic cites evidence to show that he was not disposed to expose his own men, but would be content to have others do the fighting, and gives a camp rumor that Jackson had said he "did not intend that his men should do all the fighting".

Of McClellan it is said that he was unfit for the command of an army; was wanting in "enterprise and audacity", and that the army fought better without him than with him, but it is admitted that he had no superior in organizing an army to take the field.

In the campaign against Pope, culminating in the Second Manassas, Alexander commends the audacity of Lee, gives some censure to Pope, part of which should have been directed to Halleck, and believes that one of the best fruits of Confederate victory on the field of Manassas was the court-martial of Fitz-John Porter, an officer of the highest type, and his dismissal from the Federal service.

The result of the campaign gave the Confederates an opportunity to send one-half of Lee's army by railroad to Chattanooga to aid Bragg in his campaign in Kentucky. Alexander thinks that such a movement would have been a profitable utilization of "Interior Lines" and would have borne better fruit than an invasion of Maryland, but Lee thought otherwise and promptly crossed the Potomac to tempt fate. It would have been a disastrous step had McClellan showed enterprise. Lee's wide dispersion of his army is criticised, and his audacity in doing so admired. McClellan lost his campaign by not swiftly pushing his army through Crampton's Gap of South Mountain, where he should have gone in person. Of Antietam, or Sharpsburg, correctly characterized as "the boldest and the bloodiest battle ever fought upon this continent", our critic intimates that the Confederates were reinforced on the field by the actual presence of McClellan himself with his army, which he handled feebly, though the fighting of his men was superb. Lee's giving battle with the Potomac at his back is condemned; McClellan lost a great opportunity in not destroying him.

Of Burnside it is held that he began his campaign with a blunder

in not making Lee's army his objective, instead of a movement on Fredericksburg. Of his conduct of the battle of Fredericksburg, it is enough to say that he gave confused orders to Franklin on the left, and made a "fatal mistake" in assaulting Marye's Heights. His withdrawal in the face of a victorious enemy "was a great feat", reflecting badly upon the vigilance of the Confederates.

Hooker's strategy at the opening of the Chancellorsville campaign, by which he manoeuvred Lee out of Fredericksburg is commended, and, contrary to general opinion, he is justified in falling back to his intrenched line around Chancellorsville on the first day when he saw that Lee was in motion to attack him. Our critic comes to the relief of the men of the 11th corps, attacked as they were "no troops could have acted differently". The recall of Sickles on the morning of the second day from the Hazel Grove position is put down as a "fatal mistake" on Hooker's part, "there has rarely been a more gratuitous gift of a battlefield". The decision to recross the river was the mistake of Hooker's life.

The victory at Chancellorsville presented the Confederates an opportunity for the use of interior lines to relieve Vicksburg and recoup affairs in the West by sending a column to Knoxville or Chattanooga, and threaten Kentucky. Such a campaign had been suggested by Longstreet, and Lee recognized the possibility of its success, but decided upon an invasion of Pennsylvania, believing that a victory there would recall Federal troops from the West and thus relieve Vicksburg and keep Rosecrans on the defensive. Lee's first great blunder of the Gettysburg campaign was in making it at all, and the second was the disposition made of Stuart's cavalry. After the two armies had come in collision at Gettysburg and Lee had hammered Meade into his strong position, Longstreet proposed to move around Meade's left, force him from position, and make him fight at a disadvantage, but Lee determined to attack Meade next day in position. Alexander disposes of the unjust criticism that Longstreet failed to obey Lee's order to attack early on the second day; condemns Sickles's advance to the Peach Orchard and gives a soldier's appreciation of Meade's foresight and tactics in bringing troops from every part of his line to the threatened point, in these words, "There was not during the war a finer example of efficient command than that displayed by Meade on this occasion." He holds that the conduct of the battle by the Confederates on the second day was "conspicuously bad", and strongly censures Ewell. On the third day, failing to recognize the weakest point of Meade's line—Cemetery Hill—Lee ordered an assault on Meade's left centre, and its execution with a column of 15,000 men, led by Pickett, was left to Longstreet. Alexander, who was Longstreet's chief of artillery, was to silence Meade's artillery and prepare the way for the assault; he was also to determine the proper moment for Pickett to advance. Fully convinced of the hopelessness of the

assault Longstreet tried in vain to avert a useless slaughter, saying as he stood with Alexander among his guns, "I do not want to make this charge, I do not see how it can succeed. I would not make it now but that General Lee has ordered it and is expecting it." Pickett led his column forward, the result was as Longstreet feared, and Lee said to the fugitives as they came back, "It was my fault this time." The critics of Longstreet will get no consolation from the pages treating of Gettysburg. Alexander believes that had Meade sent forward at this time a single fresh Union corps, say the sixth, it would have cut the Confederate army in two, and adds: "It must be ever held a colossal mistake that Meade did not organize a counter-stroke as soon as he discovered that the Confederate attack had been repulsed. He lost here an opportunity as great as McClellan had at Sharpsburg." He lost a still greater opportunity when he failed to press Lee relentlessly on his retreat to the Potomac.

In the Wilderness campaign Lee displayed "masterly generalship", and our author thinks Grant would have been utterly destroyed on the first day but for the wounding of Longstreet. He credits Grant with having completely deceived Lee as to his whereabouts for three days after withdrawing from Cold Harbor, and admits that the crossing of the James was well planned and successfully conducted, and holds that the movement on Petersburg was the real crisis of the war.

Space does not permit a satisfactory review of this book; to be appreciated it must be read. It professes to be written particularly for military students, but will be found of great interest to the general reader. The narrative is clear and concise, praise is worthily bestowed and criticism generally well taken and temperate. To some of the extremely critical it will be disappointing, in that the maps are not as good and as full as they should be, and foot-notes are wanting to show the authority upon which some novel statements are made.

E. A. CARMAN.

Documentary History of Reconstruction. Volume II. By WALTER L. FLEMING, Ph.D., Professor of History in West Virginia University. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1907. Pp. xiv, 480.)

In the April number the first volume of Professor Fleming's *Documentary History* was reviewed. The volume closed with the completion of legal Reconstruction by the restoration of the lately seceded states to their constitutional position in the Union and by the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the latter a fitting climax to the Congressional policy of Reconstruction. In the volume now under discussion it is intended to illustrate how this policy succeeded, to show it, no longer as a theory and an expedient of politicians, but in actual operation. Consequently the

documents in this volume convey a much clearer view of the realities of Reconstruction than did those of the former.

As regards the 338 documents themselves, their classification according to origin is interesting. There are seven state laws, nine federal laws, and six court decisions. Of the non-legal documents, 121 are from Southern Conservatives, thirty-six from Northern Conservatives, seventy-six from Southern Radicals, fifty-one from Northern Radicals, ten from Southern Unionists, five from Southern "Reform" Republicans, and seven from foreigners. Ten are unclassified. It will thus be seen that, in contrast to the former volume, a greater part of the material is of Southern origin.

The topics treated in the seven chapters which compose the book are as follows: The Union League, Carpetbag and Negro Rule, Educational Problems, Reconstruction in the Churches, Social and Industrial Conditions, The Ku Klux, and finally, the Undoing of Reconstruction. As in the former volume, the documents are rendered clearer and more valuable by editorial introductions to each chapter. These are exceedingly interesting and will be of great assistance to a correct interpretation of the documents. Each chapter has also a full bibliography which should prove very useful to the student of the period as reference is made by page to practically every work of value on the subject.

The material throughout is interesting and valuable, so much so, in fact, that it is difficult to make any discrimination in favor of certain chapters; but for general interest and information those concerning educational and religious matters and the one on the undoing of Reconstruction would seem the best. Most of the material relating to these subjects has hitherto been inaccessible to the general student and this fact enhances the value of these chapters.

The book has four illustrations, two of which seem especially worthy of mention. One is a photograph of sixty-five members of the famous, not to say infamous, South Carolina Legislature of 1868. The other is a group of North Carolina Ku Klux, particularly valuable at this time when, through fiction and melodrama, the public is being given an incorrect notion, not only of the costume but also of the very nature of the organization so potent in the overthrow of Reconstruction.

The book does not seem to admit of any special criticism. As was said of the former volume, it has the faults, though to an unusually small degree, of all such collections of historical documents. The two volumes will prove a valuable adjunct to teachers and students of our history, and the author is to be congratulated upon making such an addition to the works of reference upon the subject.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin. Two volumes.

Edited by ROLLO OGDEN. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. 322; 278.)

To many Americans, who, as college students in the seventies and eighties of the last century, were forming standards of judgment concerning politics, literature, and art, these two volumes will seem like reminiscences of an old preceptor. For such students and their teachers the *Nation* was an oracle. Especially the first two or three pages of each issue, under the caption, the Week, contained expositions and criticisms of politics that, for force and humor combined, were unrivalled in this country. To what extent the acumen, the love of justice and honesty, the marvelous power of expression that characterized those pages and indeed the whole journal, were infused into it by Mr. Godkin alone, this biography will sufficiently testify.

In 1870 when the *Nation* was only five years old Mr. Godkin was tempted to abandon it in order to accept the offer of a professorship of history at Harvard. The chorus of protest must have been flattering to the editor. John Bigelow wrote from Germany, "Tell them to require each student to take a copy of the *Nation*. . . why limit your pupils to hundreds which are now counted by thousands?" From Andover Theological Seminary Professor Moses Stuart Phelps wrote: "You are giving weekly lessons in history to hundreds of college graduates as well as under-graduates, and we cannot spare you." It was even so. When the English scholar and journalist, W. T. Arnold, told James Russell Lowell that the *Nation* was the best periodical in the world, the latter answered: "You are quite right, and the superiority is due to one man, Mr. E. L. Godkin, with whom I do not always agree, but whose ability, information, and unflinching integrity have made the *Nation* what it is. The paper is sometimes too good for the world, but very good it undoubtedly is, and the unvarying competence with which it treats question after question, and book after book, has made it a most valuable breakwater against the tepid wish-wash of incompetence which pours through the American press."

It is not often that a man of foreign birth and breeding can become in a decade the recognized spokesman for the most intelligent and scholarly sentiment in the country of his adoption. Such a distinction Mr. Godkin shares with Carl Schurz, a man of greater genius, but handicapped by a still more alien origin and training. Mr. Godkin's preliminary experience had been fortunate. A native of Ireland, of sturdy Cromwellian stock, the son of a Presbyterian minister, who was also an editor and controversial writer, he grew up in an atmosphere that sharpened perceptions. As Mr. Ogden says, "The original sin of journalism was fairly in his blood." His academic career was at Queen's College, Belfast, among his own people, so that when he went to London in 1851 to read law, he was filled with the political enthu-

siasms of the Irish leaders of 1848, whose chief party organ, curiously enough, was called the *Nation*. For the publishing house of Cassell, with which his father had been connected, he wrote a history of Hungary which had the Kossuth furore as its commercial source, but which served to crystallize its author's philosophy of democracy. His extraordinary facility in expression secured him an appointment with the *Daily News* as special field correspondent for the Crimean War. Liberal extracts from this correspondence prove that Mr. Godkin already possessed that singular power of visualizing events which was to make the columns of the *Nation* so vivid. They show also his felicity in winning the acquaintance and friendship of the best people.

His ideals of democracy led him to come to live in America in 1856. He became almost immediately the intimate friend of Frederic Law Olmsted, and of Professors Norton and Gurney at Cambridge, the élite of American aristocracy of culture. Still as correspondent of the *News*, Mr. Godkin travelled through the Southern states, and his descriptions of life among the slave-holders read like chapters from Olmsted's more famous *Journeys* in the same region. He practiced law a little, but journalism remained his chief occupation. During nine years, 1856-1865, he studied our people in the agonies of the greatest struggle in our history, and the latter half of the first volume is filled with the letters that embody his observations. In the columns of the *Daily News* he was the stalwart champion of the North, but his analysis of our defects was as keen as his defense of our ideals. As early as 1859 he noted "the curious mixture of rough English common sense and French excitability which enters into the American character. There seems to be pent up in the bosom of the public a supply of frantic enthusiasm which is constantly on the verge of explosion, and which does explode whenever it gets any reasonable excuse."

As early as 1863 Godkin, Olmsted, and Norton were discussing the possibility of establishing a high grade weekly. One of the eight chapters in the first volume (ch. VII.) tells the story of these first attempts and of the final fruition of their hopes. Nearly all of the second volume exhibits Mr. Godkin in the years of his militant editorship, first of the *Nation* alone, and after July 1, 1881, of the *Evening Post* and the *Nation* as its weekly edition, until his retirement in 1899. One seems to see the living man start up in these pages and to feel his warmth. Mr. Ogden has supplied only the necessary connections for the exchange of utterance between Godkin and his friends. The letters that passed between him and Olmsted, Norton, and Lowell are laid under heavy contribution, and there are few words that we would care to lose. One chapter shows Godkin the humorist, and he was famous for a Gargantuan laugh. Other chapters review his struggle for civil service reform, his fight against Blaine, and his warfare with Tammany. All these glimpses of the man illustrate what Mr. Howells called Godkin's "most uncommon gift of making serious inquiry attractive".

But the major part of both volumes is so arranged as to unroll a panorama of Mr. Godkin's pictorial analyses of men and things. By turns and altogether, it is thoughtful, humorous, brilliant, illuminating, and human.

It is unfortunate that the arrangement of the display is so defective. There is no table of contents and no outline of topics. The division into chapters might as well have been omitted, or else made to mean something. The index seems imperfect, and worst of all, the chronology of the story is oftentimes in a hopeless jumble. After one has shared the sorrow that fell upon the circle when Lowell died, it is incongruous to find within a few pages that Mr. Lowell is still writing his inimitable letters, and it is still more unsettling to have the first Mrs. Godkin die and come to life in a similar fashion.

With Mr. Godkin's shortcomings the biographer deals tactfully. He makes his subject reveal himself, and without detracting seriously from the general inference of eulogy, he lets Mr. Godkin display not only his brilliancy and essential loveliness but also his irritability, extreme individualism, and pride of culture, the qualities that evoked McCready Sykes's oft-quoted parody, beginning,

"Godkin the Righteous, known of old,
Priest of the Nation's moral health;
Within whose Post we daily read
The Gospel of the Rights of Wealth;"

Mr. Godkin was a democrat by philosophical conviction rather than by natural sympathy. He scarcely knew how to live outside of his own caste. He was too acute for even self-deception, and wrote to Norton: "I unfortunately cannot live in the house, and am always poking my nose into the serene upper air of philosophy, which is rather a desolate and chilly region, in which it is hard for a politician in a democracy to feel very comfortable—everybody down below having all the while a jolly time."

It is not surprising that his mood grew sometimes atra-bilious. To Olmsted he hoped "that we could grow old and grumble over the ways of the world together". And again with a burst of humor, "What an infernal old world it is! Nobody has a good time in it but Satan, and the Catholics worry even him with holy water." After the local election in November, 1897, he opens a deep despair: "I am tired of having to be continually hopeful; what I long for now is a little comfortable private gloom in despair. It seems in America as if a man was made for government, not government for man. These views are all for your private ear; don't give me away. As an editor I am bound to keep cheerful and expect grand things." It is sad to see that this is the mood in which he took off his armor in 1899: "Our present political condition is repulsive to me. I came here fifty years ago with high and fond ideals about America, for I was brought up in the Mill-Grote

school of radicals. They are now all shattered, and I have apparently to look elsewhere to keep even moderate hopes about the human race alive."

Among the letters of regret and commendation which were showered upon him at that time, there came one from that wise man, President Eliot, which condenses into one felicitous paragraph the whole meed of both praise and reproach for Mr. Godkin: "I have sometimes been sorry for you and your immediate co-adjutors, because you had no chance to work immediately and positively for the remedying of some of the evils which you exposed. The habitual critic gets a darker or less cheerful view of the social and political state than one does who is actively engaged in efforts to improve that state. All the greater are the obligations of society to the critic."

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

The Seigniorial System in Canada. A Study in French Colonial Policy. By WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Government in Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, XIII.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1907. Pp. xiii, 296.)

FEUDALISM in America seems to embody an incongruity, for in Europe nearly all that was real and strong in feudalism had passed away before America was discovered. Yet even in Europe the feudal tie still remained, though robbed of its original reality; in the tenure of land at least France was still feudal; and so it happened that, since it was the only system she knew, France planted feudalism in Canada as inevitably as the English carried the existing land laws of England to their colonies. Time was to show how far each system was appropriate to its new environment. The English law of entail was not suited to the conditions of the new world and has for the most part disappeared; the cardinal principle of feudalism, that the occupier and tiller of the soil had only a permanent usufruct rather than the freehold of his land, was even less suited to regions with vast areas of unoccupied land, and after more than two centuries of trial feudalism was abolished in Canada.

A treatise on Canadian feudalism that should be both popular, or at least untechnical, and adequately learned has long been a desideratum and, in lieu of something more adequate, Parkman's brief sketch in his *Old Régime in Canada* has done excellent service. Mr. Munro's volume now supplies a real want. It would be vain to expect in it that mysterious charm of style apparent in everything which Parkman wrote upon Canada, and found as yet in no other writer on the same topic. Mr. Munro does not try to be picturesque; he does not try to reconstruct the past life of a Canadian seignior as the Abbé Casgrain, for instance, has reconstructed that of a Canadian parish in the seventeenth century. What he does is to set forth the various aspects of the feudal

relation and their historical development. His style is lucid and his meaning is never obscure; he has mastered every important detail of his subject, and in consequence has produced a book which, though brief, will take rank at once as the authoritative exposition of Canadian feudalism.

Apart from supplementary matter the book has twelve chapters. The first, *The European Background*, discusses the rise and decay of feudalism in France. The custom of Paris, to Mr. Munro's regret, was adopted in Canada. It was, he thinks, unsuited to the needs of the new world, while that of Normandy would "have obviated many of the evils which attended the working of the seignorial system in the colony" (p. 10). Chapters II. and III. deal with the seignorial grants made between 1598 and 1760. Until 1666 these grants were made by the successive trading companies, but these were interested in trade, not in settlement, and finally the king took matters into his own hands. After a rapid survey of this settlement, which was very slow, Mr. Munro discusses the various systems of land tenure in Canada (two only, *en seigneurie* and *en censive*, being common) and in chapter v. he shows the relations between the seignior and his dependents. They involved among other things the military tie. In New France, attacked incessantly by Indians and periodically by the English, the necessity of military organization was as obvious as it had been when feudalism first sprang out of the conditions prevalent in Europe. The Canadian *habitant* was always a soldier, and indeed, owing to the state of the country, would probably have been so under freehold tenure as much as under the feudal tie, but this last furnished a ready-made leadership. The seignior's banal rights, the *corvée* in Canada, the administration of seigniorial justice, the Canadian *noblesse* (not all seigniors were of the noblesse), and the place of the Church in relation to Canadian feudalism, all have special chapters. Space does not permit detailed discussion of any of these topics. The only banal right which the seignior claimed seriously was that of forcing the *censitaires* to use his grist-mill. The *corvée* rarely became oppressive "and did not differ very essentially from the so-called 'statute labor' obligation which is imposed upon the rural population in some of the Canadian provinces at the present day" (p. 133). Nor did the seignior as judge or the Church as feudal lord press feudal rights in Canada so as to alienate the people.

Mr. Munro shows clearly the perennial beneficence of Louis XIV. He is here not a stern despot but a kindly father always ready with gifts and encouragement. He was not as wanting in enlightenment on colonial questions as is usually supposed. He was resolved that the Canadian seigniors should try to settle their tracts, and the *Arrêt of Marly* of 1711 made it compulsory for seigniors to grant lands on their estates to those who applied for them. They might not hold for a speculative rise in value. If feudalism failed in Canada it was due to inherent defects of the system rather than to any undue pressing of its possible abuses.

Fail it did. Under British supremacy for a hundred years it continued, and then, in 1854, with almost no one to regret it, a tenure that had prevailed in Canada for nearly 250 years was replaced by simple freehold. Mr. Munro does not discuss very fully the causes of the failure of the seigniorial system. There was room indeed for one more chapter, which should include this final survey of merits and defects. But within the limits he imposes on himself he has done his task extremely well. He is always accurate. He has examined not merely the available printed sources but has also consulted manuscript material at Paris, Ottawa, and elsewhere, notably the copious *Correspondance Générale*, a mine of information regarding New France from which as yet only gleanings have been made. The bibliographical apparatus is excellent and altogether the book attains to a very high standard both of historical insight and of scholarship. It is satisfactory to know that the present work is soon to be supplemented by a volume of documents on seigniorial tenure, for the most part unpublished, which Mr. Munro has in preparation for the Champlain Society.

MINOR NOTICES

Saint George, Champion of Christendom and Patron Saint of England. By E. O. Gordon. (London, Swan Sonnenschein and Company, 1907, pp. vii, 142.) Mr. Gordon's book is an attractive one, with its many choice illustrations of antiquities pertaining to the cult of St. George, and its richly embossed cover representing "the Victorious One" in combat with the dragon. The author has diligently collected every scrap of material, legendary, historical, literary, artistic, on the patron saint of England; and has divided his book into four parts dealing respectively with the life and martyrdom of the saint, his commemoration in the liturgies and institutions of England, celebrated knights of the order of the Garter from the Tudor period to the present, and representations of the saint in sacred and secular art—even to the signs of hostelries.

Quite naturally, the author has brought to notice very many interesting stories and local traditions concerning the saint's cult in Caerleon-on-Usk, Winchester, and Windsor; and in the second part of the book he has some really valuable material on William of Wykeham and his "poor scholars". But as a whole the book has little historical worth. The author does not appear to discriminate in the least between legend, poetry, chronicle, and sealed documents for their value as sources. The Greek Menology, the *Encomiums* of the blessed Abba Theodotus, the *Aurca Legenda* of Jacobus de Voragine, Hardyng's fifteenth-century *Chronicle*, Dr. Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, and Tennyson's *Idyls of the King* all bring equally welcome and sound grist to Mr. Gordon's mill. In fact he speaks in one place (p. 52) of a certain tradition as being "accepted" by Tennyson in his *Idyls*.

For the antiquary or the devoted tory who delights in the Duke of Argyll's *Governor's Guide* Mr. Gordon's book will contain much desirable information. The sections on the saint in art and on celebrated members of the order of St. George are rich in ecclesiastical lore and a sort of dignified ducal gossip: but there is too many a parenthetic passage on a most doubtful legendary text to suit the historical critic. For example, the author believes that a splinter of the True Cross, which it was the Empress Helena's "privilege to discover" (!) in Palestine, is contained in the orb of Edward the Confessor's sceptre among the regalia in the Tower; and he seems to share Eusebius's estimate of Constantine, to whom "we owe our *ideal* Christian soldier" (!!) (p. 137).

This quality of indifference to modern historical criticism seems to us a far more serious fault in the book than the occasional actual misstatements of the author in calling Henry Tudor the "heir presumptive" to the English throne (p. 65), in deploring Gustavus's death "on the hard-won field of Lutzen in 1637", and in speaking of Abbey's paintings of King Arthur in "the Town Hall of Boston" (p. 56).

D. S. MUZZEY.

The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals. By E. P. Evans. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1906, pp. x, 384.) The subject of this book deals with one of the most interesting phases of medieval law; and the author's essay is entertaining if not very profound or original. The work consists of two essays, first published in 1884 but since rewritten, prefaced by an introduction in which the nature of the problem involved is clearly stated; an appendix contains copious extracts from accounts of trials, including in several cases the pleadings themselves and the sentence pronounced; and there is an excellent index and a surprisingly large bibliography.

The second essay is of no interest to historians. It is a discussion of the philosophic basis of criminal responsibility and punishment, in which most theories now current are noticed, though hardly adequately discussed. The author's opinion appears to be that the justification for punishment is the combination of retribution and warning; the object to be punished must have the evil will which deserves to suffer and the capacity to take warning from the punishment of others. Applying this reasoning to the case of beasts, he concludes that they may possess the evil will, but not the capacity to be taught by example. In this respect beasts differ from brutal cranks, who may be so warned. Writing in 1884, the author says there can be no doubt that the execution of Guiteau has greatly lessened the dangers of this kind to which the president of the United States is exposed. Later events render this dictum questionable, and illustrate the unscientific nature of the sort of speculation which this essay contains.

The first essay entitled Bugs and Beasts before the Law, deals with

true historical material. The author has made an apparently exhaustive collection of instances both of injunctions and of criminal proceedings against beasts. This material might have been treated in several ways so as to add to human knowledge. A careful study of the proceedings might have afforded a valuable insight into the working of the medieval mind. There are circumstances related which appear to illustrate a tendency toward modern humanitarianism as early as the fifteenth century. Or the procedure might have been so examined as to throw light on the history of legal doctrines. The process against non-human defendants now survives only in the case of inanimate things; but for a thorough understanding of its nature a careful study of the position of animals in medieval law is necessary. The real basis of legal process against animals seems to have been the effort of the sovereign to restrain extra-judicial vengeance even against beasts, and to require a regular method of legal proceedings to fit every injury.

The author throws no light on these problems. He is content with the task of the journalist; he reports facts and makes such comments as would appeal to the man in the street. It is easy to turn to ridicule the ways and thoughts of an age long past; but to search with sympathy and insight for the real meaning of such ways and thoughts is the historian's task. From the point of view of the student of history Mr. Evans's book presents to the English reader in accessible form materials for study but it offers few original or helpful suggestions towards the use of these materials.

J. H. BEALE, jr.

A Short History of Mediaeval Peoples from the Dawn of the Christian Era to the Fall of Constantinople. By Robinson Souttar. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. vii, 682.) In its plan this book is evidently a continuation of a previous volume by the same author, rather than based on a modern conception of the term "mediaeval". Having written a "short history of ancient peoples" Mr. Souttar now begins with a review of the Augustan age and devotes three chapters to Roman literature before taking up the serious narrative of the reign of Tiberius. The progress of the Roman Empire from that time until the death of Justinian occupies more than half of the large volume. Comfortable space is found in seventy-two pages for a sketch of Mohammedanism and an equal measure is allotted to the Crusades. The remainder of the book is devoted to the Byzantine Empire from Justinian to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

Of western Europe there is no mention, except in connection with the Roman Empire. The Goths and Vandals are chronicled, but of the great Germanic movement in the West and North; of the beginnings of modern European nations; of the rise and culmination of feudal institutions; of the great German-Roman Empire, and of other impor-

tant events and phenomena which come within the dates set by the title, there is nothing said except by incidental reference. Therefore, to one who has not seen the book the name is misleading. It should be called the "Roman and Byzantine Empires", or words to that effect.

Thus much having been said of its designation, the book takes its place as a popular review of these great periods. No pretence of new investigation is made, and, in fact, all the paraphernalia of research are carefully banished. From cover to cover not a foot-note disfigures the pages, and only now and then is some modern authority quoted, or referred to in the text. The reader appears to be in safe hands, however, for the current modern opinion is not departed from, unless the author takes occasion to differ with some one as to the causes of the decline and fall of the Empire, or as to the effect of Christianity upon early political and social institutions. He is emphatic in his high valuation of the new religion.

For the most part the book deals with the externals of history. The great political movements of this period form indeed an essential and interesting part of the story, and perhaps one ought not to expect more in a work of these dimensions; but the economic and social life of the people are so woven into the fabric of Roman history that an author's conclusions about the causes of things are much more illuminating when grounded on a reasonable amount of descriptive detail. The work will, however, serve a useful purpose if it leads to greater familiarity with this momentous epoch.

J. M. VINCENT.

Umayyads and 'Abbāsids. Being the fourth part of Jurjī Zaydān's *History of Islamic Civilization*. Translated by D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. [Printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial".] (Leyden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac and Company, 1907, pp. xv, 325.) Among the interesting literary movements of the present day is the revival of Arabic literature and learning now taking place in Egypt. Whether this movement is due to the conditions brought about by Lord Cromer's administration, an administration which has added so greatly to the material prosperity of Egypt and of which every Englishman has good reason to be proud, whether it be due to an attempted Pan-Islamic revival, or whether it be due to some other cause or combination of causes, its extent and influence are such that Professor Margoliouth is justified in speaking of it in his preface to the translation of Zaydān's book as a "renaissance of Arabic literature and learning in that country, surpassing all that might have been imagined". He well says: "Societies formed for the encouragement of Arabic literature are constantly bringing to light important texts bearing on Mohammedan history, antiquities, and religion; and a whole series of magazines and reviews, such as the *Muktataf*, the *Hilāl*, the *Muktabis*,

the *Manár*, the *Muhít*, the *Diyá*, and others, while providing lighter entertainment for the educated in Egypt, also devote some of their pages to the study of works which interest European Orientalists." The editor of one of these magazines, the *Hilál*, Mr. G. Zaidan (to use the transliteration employed in the preface) who is, we are told, a Syrian by birth, but who has lived in Cairo for many years, is the author of the present book, which is the fourth part of his *History of Islamic Civilization*.

Even if this work had no claim on our attention other than the fact that it gives to the western reader knowing no Arabic the opportunity of acquainting himself with one of the productions of the literary movement referred to, it would still repay reading. But the reader soon discovers that the contents of the book will reward study, quite apart from the question as to what movement produced it. To show the wide range of topics treated it may be well to give the headings of a few sections taken almost at random. The following may be noted: Settlement of Aliens in Arabia; Classes of Arabs within Islam; Growth of the Population by the Increasing Birth Rate; Slaves and Freedmen in Islam; Growth of Town Life among the Arabs after the Conquest; Clients and their Treatment in the Umayyad Period; 'Abbásid Policy in the Treatment of their Subjects; Persecution of Tolerated Sects in 'Abbásid Times; The Barmecides and their Place in the Empire; The Turkish Army and Public Affairs; The Seljúk Dynasty and its Branches; Policy of the Spanish Umayyads; Timur Lenk.

There are few references to Western writers, but the author cites between thirty and forty Oriental works, and has evidently read widely and thought carefully. In a work covering so long a period and such a range of topics there are inevitably points about which there is room for difference of opinion, but the book is an interesting and stimulating account of the civilization of an important period, and reflects great credit on its author. Western students owe a debt both to the accomplished translator, Professor Margoliouth, and to the trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial for making this valuable work accessible to them.

J. R. JEWETT.

Der Kirchenstaat unter Klemens V. [*Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte*, herausgegeben von Georg von Below, Heinrich Finke, und Friedrich Meinecke, Heft 1.] Von Anton Eitel. (Berlin und Leipzig, Walther Rothschild, 1907, pp. 218.) This monograph on the political fortunes of the Papal States at the opening of the fourteenth century is the first of a series of special studies in medieval and modern history edited by Below, Finke, and Meinecke. Since the appearance of Sugenheim's *Entstehung und Ausbildung des Kirchenstaats* (1854) no attempt has been made to deal in a thorough fashion with the very critical period of papal rule in Italy which intervened between the full acknowledgment of the temporal sovereignty of the Church by Rudolf

of Hapsburg (1279) and the firm establishment of the vicarial authority by the strong statesmanship of John XXII. (1316-1334). The numerous excellent French works on the Avignon papacy have paid too little attention to Italy, while von Reumont and Gregorovius, too intent on the dramatic strife of barons and populace in Rome, have slighted the influence of Clement's vicars and legates. Furthermore, Theiner's publication of the *Register* of Clement, Finke's discovery of important material in the archives at Barcelona, and the author's own finds among the Roman records, make this study a valuable contribution to the history of the medieval Church.

After a short sketch of the troubled state of Tuscany (which, though not part of the papal lands, nevertheless lent them its own political complexion), Dr. Eitel traces the efforts of Clement's vicars to bring order and authority into the Patrimonium Petri, the Campagna-Maritima, the Duchy of Spoleto, the Mark of Ancona, the Romagna, Ferrara, and Este. Though he promises in his preface to "avoid everything that has interest merely for the local historian", he finds it hard to avoid following in the footsteps of the local annalist, and again and again falls into passages of rather petty chronicles—especially in the later chapters of the book. But all scholars who have attempted to thread the maze of what the genial chronicle of Parma calls "*prelia magna et tumultus quasi per singula loca*" in the Romagna and the Mark will judge the author lightly for a bit of rambling.

The main contention and final contribution of Dr. Eitel's monograph is the vindication of the essential statesmanship of Clement V. in the management of the Italian provinces, after the violent phratricism of Boniface VIII. and the weak complaisance of Benedict XI. Instead of one master in the papal lands, when Clement V. was elected to the chair of St. Peter, there were as many masters as there were turbulent cities and powerful families. This state of anarchy in his patrimony prescribed for Clement a policy of tortuous diplomacy reinforced, so far as possible, by the arms of France and Naples. The thoroughness with which Clement accomplished his political task (meeting failure only in Ferrara and Este) made possible the triumphs of the statesmanship of John XXII. in economic and administrative reforms.

One could wish that the excellent chapter on "*Die Provinzialverfassung im Kirchenstaat*" were much longer; but the author explains in a note (p. 58) that he is reserving the thorough treatment of the "*Verfassung des Kirchenstaats*" from Innocent III. to the end of the Avignon period for a special treatise.

D. S. MUZZEY.

Le Poète J. Fr. Regnard en son Chateau de Grillon. Étude Topographique, Littéraire et Morale. Par Joseph Guyot. (Paris, Picard et fils, 1907, pp. viii, 208.) In 1699 the dramatist Regnard bought the château of Grillon, lying to the southwest of Paris, near Dourdan, and in 1700, after he had taken possession of the estate, purchased the office

of lieutenant of the waters and forests of Dourdan, which carried with it the title of councillor to the king. For the remaining nine years of his life he combined the profession of playwright with the amusements of a country gentleman, writing comedies and riding to the hounds. But of this existence only the bare outline has been known, and the object of the present monograph is to furnish such additional information as may be gleaned from local sources. The difficulties of this task were increased by the destruction of the château half a century ago, after it had been deformed by various attempts to convert it into a factory. By summoning early recollections, however, and by correcting them by means of old views of the manor and descriptions of the buildings found in the bill of sale of 1699, M. Guyot has succeeded in presenting a clear idea of the interior and exterior of Grillon. To reproduce the life that Regnard led during his occupancy the author had at his disposal the records of the families of the neighborhood, and inventories which were made of the personal belongings of Regnard, first at the time of his death, and later, when his estate was settled. These facts, reinforced by the author's knowledge of the theatres and comedians of Paris and his acquaintance with the customs and spirit of the time, are so handled as to give us a vivid impression of Regnard's occupations and diversions, though the increase in biographical data remains quite inconsiderable.

The inventories form the most important part of the new material and are printed at length in the appendix. They describe to us in detail the appointments of a well-to-do establishment. The notaries who made them took their task most seriously. Each room of the château was visited in turn and its contents written down and appraised. The appraisal is sometimes by the lot, more often by the piece. While the valuation seems in many cases but an approximate estimate, we can learn in a general way how different furnishings were regarded. We select a few articles. Books are held cheaply, hardly more than a livre each, mirrors are expensive, tapestries are considered to be worth more than furniture, as an upholstered armchair and three chairs with upholstered backs are returned at ten livres for the four. Gilt furniture is rated higher, but four pictures in gilt frames are assessed at twenty livres only. Silverware is valuable, the contents of Grillon amounting to over six thousand livres. Three horses are assessed at three hundred livres, while the hay provided for them is valued at two hundred, and their harness at twenty.

The volume is issued in a limited edition at the author's expense, is printed on fine paper and handsomely illustrated with engravings and cuts of Grillon and Dourdan.

F. M. WARREN.

Map of the World by Jodocus Hondius, 1611. Edited by Edward Luther Stevenson, Ph.D. and Joseph Fischer, S.J. Facsimile issued under the joint auspices of the American Geographical Society and the

Hispanic Society of America. (New York, 1907; portfolio of eighteen sectional sheets and one sheet containing a reduction of the whole map; accompanying text, 19 pp. and two illustrations.) In a way this reproduction commemorates the four-hundredth anniversary of the first naming of America by Waldseemüller, to whom Josse de Hondt (or Jodocus Hondius) was a worthy successor. He was born at Wacken, Flanders, in 1563; became proficient in Latin and Greek, and studied painting, mathematics, and cosmography. On account of the religious persecutions in his own country during the war with Spain, he removed to England, and in London worked for some years as a maker of mathematical instruments and a designer of fonts for the typefounders, beside pursuing the vocation of an engraver of maps. He was the founder of a well-known family of painters and engravers. He has not received the critical biographical consideration which his fame deserves. He removed from London to Amsterdam, where his son, Josse, was born in 1593, and where he himself died on February 16, 1611. His business in the Calverstraete was continued by his son, Hendrik (1588-1658), who became a noted engraver. In 1604 Jodocus Hondius acquired the collection of copperplates left by the death of Mercator, which we know from Hondius's 1605 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. These plates he reissued from time to time in editions of Mercator's *Atlas* and in other ways. Neither he nor his son, Hendrik, improved very much upon the *Atlas*, but they extended it. The Dutch school built upon the foundations of Mercator, and continued the errors of the Ptolemaic system. His praenomen lived in a son (baptized in 1593) and in his son (baptized in 1622), from which confusion has resulted; but it is evident that this map was the work of the original Jodocus Hondius.

The map is of huge size, and is known by but one original exemplar, which is in the collection of the late Prince Franz von Waldburg zu Wolfegg-Waldsee, in Württemberg, where it was found by Father Fischer, of Feldkirch, Austria, in 1901, the same year that he discovered the great Waldseemüller world-maps of 1507 and 1516, in the same castle. It was in a bad condition, considerably crumpled, torn and mounted upon a coarse linen, but was entrusted to Father Ehrle, of the Vatican, whose ability to restore such things is shown again by the remarkable results attained. The photographic negatives were made in Feldkirch under favorable supervision, and the reproduction was made in the establishment of Edward Bierstadt, by the artotype or gelatine process, the results being admirable. The actual publication and preparation of the text, printed by De Vinne, were done by Professor Stevenson of Rutgers College.

In this map Hondius showed independent initiative and made some contributions to geographical records, but he also continued the errors which had persisted for over a century. It could not have been finished before 1610, because it shows the results of recent voyages and discoveries, such as Weymouth's (1602), Champlain's (1604), Hudson's

(1608), and an unsuccessful attempt to reach China by way of Novaja Semlja, in 1609. But aside from its cartographical value, its absorbing interest is as a work of art. It is, we believe, the finest copper-plate world-map of great size which has survived or is known. Its large border-panels are scenes in the jungle, etc., and around the hemispheres are biblical scenes and emblematic figures, while other parts contain portraits of Mercator, Hondius, Drake, Cavendish, Magellan and Noort. The figures of ships are valuable for illustrative uses and for a study of naval architecture. The original map is a monument and so is its reproduction.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Lettres du Comte Valentin Esterhazy à sa Femme, 1784-1792, avec une Introduction et des Notes par Ernest Daudet. (Paris, Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1907, pp. viii, 429.) In his introduction to the *Mémoires du Comte Valentin Esterhazy* published in 1905 (reviewed in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, July, 1906, vol. XI., p. 935) M. Daudet quoted some letters from the count to his wife. These quotations caused the readers of the *Mémoires* to demand a fuller publication of the correspondence. M. Daudet presents in this volume such of the letters as seem to him worth while for the period extending from the count's marriage to the daughter of the Comte d'Hallweil in March, 1784, to the outbreak of war in April, 1792. He promises to follow this volume with a similar one for the later period, extending to the death of the count in July, 1805.

The earlier letters narrate the experiences of the count in court circles. Both the *Mémoires* and the *Lettres* give abundant evidence of the intimate friendship of the count with Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and the Comte d'Artois. Of equal interest in this period are the letters written during his tours of military inspection as governor of Rocroy. His Hungarian and Austrian connections made him *persona grata* at the court of the Archduchess Maria Christina, which he visited at the moment when the intrigues of Joseph II. threatened to precipitate a war with the Dutch. This visit afforded opportunities for observations of the Austrian army which he compares with the French army in his letter of July 28, 1785. The letters of this period also describe his residence in the family of the Duc de Choiseul during the last illness of the great minister, and his trip to visit his mother at Vigan, near Nîmes, in 1786.

From these sketches of court, military, and provincial life under the Ancien Régime, the reader is suddenly jumped over three interesting years, for which M. Daudet has found no letters, and landed in the midst of the Revolution. The first letters of this new period describe the emigration of the count and his family first to St. Albans and then to Tournai. With no flattering pen Esterhazy depicts the bedraggled ceremony and gaiety of the princes and their followers, the divided councils, the petty intrigues, and the dissipation, which proved that the clear mind and the strong hand to direct and manage were absent from

Coblenz no less than from the Tuileries. The letters of August 8 and 9, 1791, are noteworthy on this point. The count's Austrian connections caused the Comte d'Artois to take him as his personal companion to the conference at Pillnitz. As an immediate result of the conference, the count was hurried off to represent the Bourbon interests at St. Petersburg. From his first audience, described in his letter of September 15, 1791, until the death of the Tsaritsa Catherine, he continued at this post, the recipient of the marked personal favor of the empress.

This volume makes little contribution to the knowledge of events, but is a welcome addition to the literature illuminating the Revolution.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

L'Ancien Régime en Lorraine et Barrois d'après des Documents Inédits (1698-1789). Quatrième Édition. Revue et Augmentée d'un Épisode de la Révolution en Lorraine. Par Cardinal Mathieu. (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. xxiv, 539.) The recent religious troubles in France have afforded Cardinal Mathieu a pretext for reprinting his doctor's thesis which was presented at the University of Nancy under the professorship of M. Rambaud in 1878. The similarity in method to M. Rambaud's well-known *Histoire de la Civilisation en France* shows clearly the hand of the master. The volume is one of the earliest and one of the best of the numerous works on the local history of the Ancien Régime and the Revolution which have been produced by historical students under the Third Republic. The second half of the eight-page list of authorities shows how much work has been done in the history of Lorraine alone in the past thirty years. In spite of this flood of new materials, the cardinal has made but slight changes in preparing the new edition. He should have inserted at least one good map of the province, though several are desirable for the proper elucidation of the narrative. The volume opens with a careful historical retrospect for the purpose of defining the term Lorraine. Then, assuming that the Revolution was directed against the Church, the administration, and the nobility, the author devotes a series of chapters to the conditions in Lorraine, in each of these particulars, in the eighteenth century. Important chapters deal with "opinion" in Lorraine and its manifestations prior to 1789, and with the elections of 1789 and the cahiers. There is added to this edition an account of the trial of Charlotte de Rutant, a native of Saulxures-lès-Nancy, who was executed at Paris in October, 1793. Cardinal Mathieu has honestly attempted to deal justly with the various persons, classes, institutions, and conditions, but his clericalism and conservatism are frequently obvious. While he does not hesitate to confess that evils existed in the Church under the Ancien Régime, he is at pains to clear the Church of blame and to charge most of the evil to the unrighteous greed of laymen, especially lay rulers. The book is a careful piece of work, cautious and moderate in tone. It is to be recommended to the student who desires

a detailed account of the exact conditions in one of the French provinces prior to the Revolution, written by one inclined to sympathize with the old order. The reader should remember that Lorraine was a recently annexed frontier province which had suffered many vicissitudes during the century before the Revolution, and that the conditions there were unusually complex and confused. GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

An invaluable help for the student of modern Italian history is Professor Ernesto Masi's *Catalogo di Alcuni Libri per la Storia del Risorgimento*, issued in the admirable series, *Biblioteca Storica Andrea Ponti*. Professor Masi is one of the acutest critics of this period, and he has written in this brochure not only a list of the leading works but an outline of the historical evolution itself. Addressing primarily young Italians, he confines this list to books in either Italian or in French, but these, we need hardly remark, comprise nineteen-twentieths of the really vital material. Anyone who has mastered the works here discussed will be in a position to specialize intelligently. Professor Masi's swift but penetrating summary, which may be read in a couple of hours, is a model. It is to be hoped that his *Catalogo*, which is issued in the beautifully printed Ponti series, may be put into such a form that it will get the wide circulation which it merits. Evidently, no college or working library should be without it. W. R. T.

L'Assistance sous la Seconde République (1848-1851), par Ferdinand Dreyfus. (Paris, Édouard Cornély et Cie, 1907, pp. 220.) The volume, opening with a sketch of the treatment of poverty in France between 1795 and 1848, forms a sequel to previous studies by the same author on the First Republic, and the series is to be completed by a similar work on the Third. In philanthropic projects the revolution of 1848 cherished at the outset the same ideals as the Constituent Assembly. It dreamt of liberating society from all suffering. To the provisional government the *droit au travail* seemed the panacea; but this view met with the opposition of the *bourgeoisie*, and the government, on its fall, bequeathed the unsolved problem to its successors. The *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, found the much debated question in the same status. The present work is an acute discussion of the various steps leading to this nugatory result as well as of contemporary measures actually passed with a view to social amelioration.

A Bird's-Eye View of American History. By Leon C. Prince of the Pennsylvania Bar and the Faculty of Dickinson College. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. vi, 364.) A summary of four centuries of American history within the limits of 350 small pages subjects the narrative to compression so heroic that the reviewer's criticism must be largely of perspective. Practically as much space is accorded to Pennsylvania, 1664-1681, as to all the New England colonies, 1620-1691. To the development of American literature is allotted a total

of sixteen lines, one-half the space given to the exploits and burial of John Paul Jones. Monroe's "cocked hat and costume in the fashion of the Revolution", and "the magnificence of the personal appearance of 'Hancock the Superb'" catch the bird's eye, though it takes no note of such matters as the New England Confederation or Albany Congress; the preliminaries which led to the Federal Convention; the Know-Nothing Party; or "Uncle Tom's Cabin".

A few errors may be cited: McKinley's assassination took place a day later than stated. It is twice asserted that the Constitution "forbade the importation of slaves after 1808". Twice, with especial emphasis, is the startling and unwarranted statement made that New York, Rhode Island, and Virginia "came into the Union on the express condition that they could withdraw whenever they might choose to do so". Although a chapter of *The Silver Question in Politics* comprises one-sixteenth of the whole book, it gives no clean-cut account of the alleged "Crime of '73" which loomed so large in the controversy; it declares: "This anti-silver legislation inevitably cheapened the commercial value of the white metal", but makes no mention of the enormous increase in the annual production of silver; it omits all reference to the twelve years of experience with silver purchase and coinage under the Bland-Allison Act.

In view of the space-limits of the book, some topics receive surprisingly comprehensive treatment, *e. g.*, the comparison of the French and English as colonists; the causes of the Revolutionary War, and of the War of 1812; the course of Reconstruction. In general the discussion is well-balanced, but some statements will call forth dissent. In discussing Revolutionary Doctrine and Modern Practice the author concludes: "It was the plain intention of the framers of the Constitution that the Republic should, if it wanted to, hold dependencies indefinitely and never allow them to become anything else." It is true that the "Whig Party left no permanent legislation", but the statement that "it was not associated with any great or vital facts in American history" needs decided qualification. Of the Negro of To-day Mr. Prince takes a thoroughly one-sided and pessimistic view. He emphasizes "the beneficent and humanizing influence of white control", which passed away with slavery; dismisses in three lines the progress and promise of "an exceedingly small class of intelligent and efficient colored people" and then devotes several pages to a vigorous presentation of the considerations which lead him to conclude: "At his present rate of deterioration the American negro is destined to a certain and not distant extinction."

To the mature reader this outline will prove serviceable in connection with more extended histories. The book's usefulness, however, is greatly impaired by the inexcusable omission of an index, for which the so-called Outline of American History—a mere list of the author's

chapter-headings and their sub-topics—is but a clumsy and ineffective substitute.

GEORGE H. HAYNES.

A Short History of the American Navy. By John R. Spears. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. vi, 134.) Mr. Spears's little book is published under the auspices of the "Navy League of the United States", an organization of which General Horace Porter is the president. The purposes of this publication may be gathered from the purposes of the league, which are "to acquire and spread before the citizens of the country information as to the condition of its naval forces and ships, and to awaken public interest and activity in all matters tending to aid, improve, and develop the efficiency of the Navy". With these ends in view and with a limited amount of space at his disposal, the author naturally produced a brief, popular, sketchy narrative of the navy. This book is not to be taken too seriously. It of course makes no pretensions to scholarship and has neither foot-notes nor index. It contributes little new knowledge and fortunately not many errors worthy of being noted—just the usual small slips that one is likely to find in popular volumes. For instance, the Continental navy contained somewhat more than "forty-seven ships" (p. 3); and at the end of the Revolution four vessels and not "one" remained in service (p. 15). Of more importance are some misstatements (p. 1) respecting the founding of the Continental navy, which are derived from Buell's *Paul Jones*. It should be said whenever occasion offers that the romancing Buell is to be read for his story and not for his facts, which when quoted should always be verified. Some fault, were one disposed, might be found with the composition of the book, which seems to indicate haste on the part of the author. The curious student might like to learn the original source of a few of Mr. Spears's quotations; for instance, the words of Captain Pearson of the *Serapis*, who shortly before his engagement with the *Bon Homme Richard* "turned to his surgeon and said: 'Doctor, the stranger is probably Paul Jones. If so there is work ahead'" (p. 12).

This book contains thirteen chapters. One of them treats of the Continental navy; one, of the naval war with France; one, of the Tripolitan War; four, of the Naval War of 1812; one, of the navy in the Civil War; and one, of the navy in the Spanish-American War. Of the remaining four chapters, three give an account of the naval material, and one of naval organization. One of the chapters on the Naval War of 1812 treats of the origin of this war. The author's version of the confused history of this period is rather unsatisfactory and is ultra-patriotic. Throughout the book runs the moral that an efficient navy is necessary for the maintenance of peace.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

Heroes of the Navy in America. By Charles Morris. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1907, pp. 320.) Mr.

Morris's book belongs to the popular variety, and is exceedingly well adapted to the needs of young readers. It is replete with incident and action, and is written in a pleasing and spirited manner, with short, sharp, and clear sentences. Treating chiefly, although not entirely, of our naval successes, it presents a rather one-sided and flattering picture of our naval history as a whole. A book of naval "heroes", however, could not well do otherwise.

Of the twenty-eight heroes here treated, eight, O'Brien, Biddle, John Paul Jones, Dale, Barry, Arnold, Tucker, and Barney, belong to the Revolutionary War; one, Truxtun, distinguished himself in the naval war with France; three, Preble, Bainbridge, and Decatur, may be assigned to the Tripolitan War; ten, Hull, Jacob Jones, Blakely, Lawrence, Morris, David Porter, O. H. Perry, Macdonough, Reid, and Stewart, found a theatre for their daring deeds in the War of 1812; one, M. C. Perry, became famous for his expedition to Japan; three, Farragut, D. D. Porter, and Cushing, achieved their fame during the Civil War; and two, Dewey and Hobson, were the heroes of the late conflict with Spain. No two men would probably agree upon the same list of twenty-eight names for a naval hall of fame. It is doubtful whether the brief career of Nicholas Biddle entitles him to enrollment. Mr. Morris has done more than justice to the worthies of the War of 1812, who number ten or possibly twelve if we include Bainbridge and Decatur. To Morris's three naval celebrities of the Civil War, we should wish to add a few names, possibly those of Worden, Winslow, Flusser, and Semmes.

The author has generally been careful of his facts. Depending upon secondary authorities he has, however, naturally copied a few of their errors. Those that I have noted are of minor importance. For instance, the *General Monk* was not the last prize of the Revolutionary War (p. 86); O. H. Perry did not take part in the defense of Baltimore (p. 225); the *Fulton the Second* was not the first steam war-vessel in our navy (p. 262); and M. C. Perry did not plan the construction of the *Missouri* and *Mississippi* (p. 263). The proper spellings of the names of the two brigs captured by Captain John Barry in May, 1781, are *Atalanta* and *Trepassey*. "Truxtun" is believed to be the preferable spelling of the name of the chief officer in the naval war with France.

Mr. Morris's book is accompanied with twelve illustrations, chiefly of naval engagements. It has no index.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

A Guide to Massachusetts Local History. Compiled by Charles A. Flagg. (Salem, Mass., The Salem Press Company, 1907, pp. x, 256.) This is, as the title-page indicates, "a bibliographic index to the literature of the towns, cities and counties of the state, including books, pamphlets, articles in periodicals and collected works, books in preparation,

historical manuscripts, newspaper clippings, etc." The material listed includes political and military history, descriptive writings, and collected genealogy and biography. It excludes natural history, educational and religious history, excepting that references to the history of the old original churches are given, and it also leaves out, as beside the point, the history of institutions, societies, and industries, town, city, and state documents, directories, maps, addresses, sermons, individual biography, genealogies of individual families, and official manuscript records in the hands of their legal custodians, which are described in the reports of the state record commissioner. General works are given first; then, in order, the material under the counties, which are alphabetically arranged, and, under the counties, the material relating to the towns, which are alphabetically arranged, likewise. The arrangement is convenient, and the use of the work is facilitated by an index to localities which gives both their present and obsolete names. In the body of the work the names of the localities are followed with outline statements of the original designation of the territory in question, date of incorporation, changes in limits, etc. This information, for the most part, is based on that contained in the *Manual* of the Massachusetts general court; certain changes have been made when they seemed necessary, but, in these cases, the authority is not named. That Mr. Flagg has been generous in defining the scope of his undertaking is apparent to anyone at all acquainted with the extent of the literature of the local history in a state in which historical and antiquarian interest has been developed as in Massachusetts. The results of his industry are highly successful. Some of his spoils may have escaped, it is true, though his drag-net has been thrown far out, and local investigators and antiquarians have helped him draw it in. This, however, can best be told in the practical use of the *Guide*. But, in bibliography, he is either a hopeless optimist or else a beginner who dares use the word "complete". Mr. Flagg went into a field that had been explored by Colburn so long ago as a quarter of a century, and has well accomplished a necessary task. The mechanical features of the book are pleasing.

W. A. S.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, second series, volume XX. (Boston, the Society, 1907, pp. xviii, 614.) This volume contains the proceedings of the society from January 1906 to March 1907, inclusive. Refined scholarship, literary experience, and good taste characterize its contents; but it cannot be said that they make an important addition to historical knowledge. One-fourth of the volume is taken up with biographical sketches of deceased members. So important are these deemed that, no such sketch of Charles Sumner having, it appears, been inserted in the series during the thirty-three years since he died, one is now printed in the present volume, surely a superfluous attention to a member whose life has been so amply recorded

elsewhere. Yet there is good reading in these sketches, and finished appreciations of a sort not common in the United States. Another fourth of the volume is taken up with portions of the correspondence of William Duane, moderately interesting. They make it possible to estimate the real calibre and attainments of one who was, it is well known, a power in his time, and illustrate, to a world still unduly impressed with the value of newspaper writers, the pithy saying of Oxenstjerna, *Nescis quantilla prudentia homines regantur*. Of the rest of the volume a large part is contributed by the president of the society, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and the most interesting thing in it is his discussion, apropos of Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Granville*, of the causes by which Great Britain was prevented (and barely prevented) from recognizing the Confederacy. Next most interesting is Mr. F. B. Sanborn's somewhat disorderly account of St. John de Crèvecoeur.

Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College; with Annals of the College History. Volume IV., July, 1778-June, 1792. By Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt. D. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1907, pp. 752.) Doubtless the plan and character of Dr. Dexter's work have already become familiar from the preceding volume. The collegiate year is taken as a unit, beginning with the annals, then follows a list of the graduates of that year, followed by brief biographical sketches of these in alphabetical order. A list is given of all works which the subject of the sketch may have published (the predominance of sermons is noticeable), also a list of authorities consulted in the preparation of the sketch. The biography is oftener than otherwise simply a chronicle of the man's career, though now and then there are more definite portrayals of character. In examining the lists of graduates for these years we meet with several noteworthy names. For instance, in the class of 1778, there is Joel Barlow, "Noachus" Webster, and "Oliverus" Wolcott; in the class of 1781 "Jacobus" Kent; in that of 1785, Return Jonathan Meigs and "Timotheus" Pitkin. The annals are very brief, usually not more than a page for the year, yet in the lines and between the lines we get frequent and vivid glimpses of the times, manners, and men at Old Yale that interest even those who are not her sons. We see also the trials of the country reflected in the tribulations of the college. For instance, in the year 1779-1780, "at Commencement Professor Daggett presented to the Corporation an earnest remonstrance on account of the inadequacy of his salary in this time of inflated prices". The preparation of this work has involved wide research into a great variety of sources, and Dr. Dexter deserves large credit for the service he has done for the history of Yale.

The Story of Bacon's Rebellion. By Mary Newton Stanard. (New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1907, pp. 181.) In spite of the considerable darkness that has surrounded it, "Bacon's Rebellion" in Virginia in 1676 has always drawn the attention of

historical students as being pregnant with meaning, as it has also strongly attracted the romancer by its picturesque and dramatic character. In recent years a good deal of material has been unearthed in the British public records—lists of grievances, sundry accounts of the troubles, letters, etc.—which not only throws light on the course of the rebellion itself but has made it possible to reach a better understanding of the causes which lay behind it. By use of this material Mrs. Stanard has been able to write a tolerably complete account of the whole stirring episode. It cannot be said that every gap has been filled out, neither is it altogether certain that the author's interpretations are always correct. The historical student may incline to question whether the romantic in the episode has not sometimes lifted the author's feet off the solid rock of historical criticism. Nathaniel Bacon is at all times a hero, and Governor Berkeley is almost everywhere Bacon's enemy. At one act of Bacon's Mrs. Stanard does exclaim: "Alas, for the age of chivalry!", but it is with a voice of genuine admiration for the general who was so "picturesque in his methods". But Mrs. Stanard has aimed, while adhering to the documentary evidence in the case, to make the story interesting to the general reader; and she has succeeded admirably. At the same time she has brought into clearer light the causes and results of this famous uprising. There are no foot-notes to the work, but an appendix contains a list of the sources of information.

Robert Lucas. By John C. Parish. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1907, pp. xv, 356.) The career of Robert Lucas as a soldier in the War of 1812, as a politician and governor of Ohio, and as Iowa's first territorial governor (1838-1841) is here set out with all available detail for which the author evidently sought assiduously. Over one-half of this volume relates to Ohio: less than one-third refers to his brief official service in Iowa. Mr. Parish is clearly hard pressed to discover facts that distinguished Lucas as a speaker and state senator in the legislature of Ohio; and he confesses (p. 123) that his first term as governor was "uneventful" and his second was "largely the story of the Northern Boundary Dispute" with Michigan. In Iowa Lucas produced more sound and fury but little more in positive results. At the outset the usurpation of his office by the territorial secretary put him at loggerheads with his own political party. With an absolute veto in legislation he promptly interfered with insidious and open attempts to disregard the organic law. Precise in disposition he could not bend nor would he placate. Malignant opposition and defeat were his reward. Hence while Lucas's state papers were always worthy of his office his influence on affairs was chiefly negative, and the value of Mr. Parish's work lies in its illustrations of the beginnings of our states under tutelage.

In dealing with matters in controversy the author discriminates the essentials clearly and depends upon original sources mainly. His chapters on territorial expenditures, the executive veto, and the boundary dispute with Missouri are excellent; but the narrative is marred by magniloquence anent minutia and the notion that reiteration makes for impressiveness. Thus we are told (p. 17) of the marriage of Lucas and of his making "his home at the tavern" of the bride's father; on page 22 we are again so informed; and the announcement is solemnly reiterated on page 24. He gives as much space to "Aunt Friendly Lucas'" meals, cakes, smiles, and horse "Nig" as to the two bills that seem to indicate that Lucas was active in the legislature of Ohio (pp. 79-80). The journals, correspondence, and state papers of Lucas secure admiration of his character, sanity, self-control, and earnest patriotism; but he has no place among the gods. If a volume like this is requisite for the meagre achievements of Robert Lucas one is curious as to the number of volumes the editor will consider necessary for Grimes, Harlan, Kirkwood, and Miller.

F. I. HERRIOTT.

Canadian Archives: Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, selected and edited with notes by Adam Shortt, Professor of Political Science, Queen's University, and Arthur G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist. (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1907, pp. xiv, 734.) The publication of this volume marks a new departure in the work of the Dominion Archives. Hitherto its volumes have consisted of official reports or of calendars, with only occasional printing of texts. The present book is the first of a projected series, each volume of which is intended to have unity of subject and to present in proper order all the essential documents for a given portion of Canadian history. It is needless to explain how great a service may be performed, for lawyers as well as historical students, by the issue of a series comprising all the leading papers illustrating the constitutional development of Canada. In the present blue-book form or in some style more dignified and more suitable to that purpose, it should have a large future in Canadian historical education. The first volume contains only documents relating to the central portion of Canada known at the time as the province of Quebec, from the English conquest to the passing of the Constitutional Act in 1791. It includes both primary documents such as capitulations, treaties, royal proclamations, statutes, commissions and instructions to governors, provincial laws and ordinances, and also closely related papers, such as reports and letters, which help to make clear the reasons for formal action or to show its practical results. Contemporary discussions in Parliament or public print are not included. Some 250 documents are given. Selection, arrangement (chronological in nearly all cases) and annotation, all are excellent. Special pains have been taken to present accurate texts, not hitherto obtainable even in case of some of the most important documents.

Guide to the Materials for American History in Cuban Archives. By Luis Marino Pérez. (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1907, pp. x, 142.) The Cuban national archives are highly incomplete, by reason of extensive deportation of papers to Spain and by reason of the calamities which usually befall archives in tropical and revolutionary countries. Indeed even since the conclusion of Mr. Pérez's quest (which ended in December, 1905, not December, 1906, as by an unfortunate misprint is stated on p. iv), much additional damage was caused by the autumnal outbreak of the latter year. Nevertheless those archives, and the episcopal and other archives described in the book, contain much that is useful for American history. Mr. Pérez's plan is first to give a general survey of the material, accompanied by a history of the archives and such sketch of administrative organization as is needful, and then to present lists of those papers found by him which seem to have the greatest value for history. He lists 551 such documents or groups of documents. They are classified as Documents on the Relations between Cuba and the United States, of which the chief section is the correspondence of the captains-general, and Florida and Louisiana Papers, secular and ecclesiastical. Appendixes present lists prepared by the Trist Commission, 1830-1835, and lists of Cuban manuscript documents accessible in Washington.

Bolivia y Perú. Notas Históricas y Bibliográficas, por G. René-Moreno. Segunda edición aumentada. (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Barcelona, 1905, pp. x, 333.)—*Bolivia y Perú. Más Notas Históricas y Bibliográficas*, por G. René-Moreno. (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Barcelona, 1905, pp. 311.) The author of these essays, for many years Director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Lima, has long been known to bibliographers as the author of four or five admirable works in the field of Bolivian and Peruvian bibliography. The present volumes of essays, interesting alike to the historian and the bibliographer, represent the best of historical scholarship and style in Spanish America.

Notas Históricas, etc. (first edition, Santiago, 1901). The volume opens with an account of the curious chronicle of Fray Antonio de la Calancha, the *Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Augustin en el Perú*, printed at Barcelona in 1638, and reissued in 1639 with an altered title-page. The work, in 922 folio pages of text, is a history of the Augustinian missions in Peru, Quito, New Granada, and Chile, from their beginnings in 1551 to the year 1633, with interesting details of the physical features and social conditions of those provinces. Señor René-Moreno has admirably pointed out the merits and characteristics of this remarkable monument of early Spanish civilization and culture in America and opened the way to a first-hand study of it. Both issues of the work are exceedingly rare; but a copy of the 1639 edition is in the Library of Congress. The second essay, entitled "Union Americana", deals with the various conceptions of American union which have been

entertained since the Congress of Panama, and especially with the relations between Brazil and the Spanish-American countries. The third is devoted to a review of the life and writings of Mariano R. Terrazas, a prominent Bolivian journalist and politician (died 1878). The fourth, written in 1878, describes the journey from La Paz to the Pacific, and contains many interesting observations on the development of the means of communication in Bolivia. The last and most important deals with the history of the Audiencia de Charcas in Upper Peru (1559-1809), an institution which played an exceedingly important rôle throughout its existence, but which has not yet been adequately treated by the historian.

Más Notas Históricas, etc. The first essay of this volume is devoted to a review of the remarkable discourse prepared in the year 1811 by one of the judges of the Audiencia de Charcas, Don Mariano Alejo Alvarez, entitled: *Discurso sobre la Preferencia que deben tener los Americanos en los Empleos de América*. It was published at Lima, in 1820, for the first time, having been interdicted in 1811 before the author could read it. Apropos Señor René-Moreno indulges in an interesting analysis of the deeper causes of the Spanish-American revolution. The rest of the volume contains various narratives and original documents under the title "Informaciones verbales sobre los sucesos de 1809 en Chuquisaca", among which is some interesting information concerning the archbishop Moxó.

LUIS M. PÉREZ.

Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses: a College Fetish, 1883; "Shall Cromwell Have a Statue?", 1902, Some Modern College Tendencies, 1906. By Charles Francis Adams. (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907, pp. vi, 200.) Mr. Adams has been well advised to collect these addresses in permanent form. While they can hardly be said to make a book of history at the present time, they will certainly be regarded by the future historian of education in the nineteenth century as an important part of his source-material. The present writer agrees too well with most of Mr. Adams's ideas to act as critic of them, but doubts the practicability of dividing Harvard, or any other long-established college, into distinct colleges. The private dormitory might very easily carry out the details of the suggestion which the author makes, if the owner were willing, and thus reproduce, as exactly as modern conditions allow, the master's hall in which the separate colleges of the medieval university began. The address which makes this proposition, that of 1906, is followed by a "Supplementary Note" reinforcing its arguments, and the book also includes two Harvard commencement speeches and an article from the Harvard Graduates' Magazine on the Tuition Fee.

TEXT-BOOKS.

An Advanced History of Great Britain from the Earliest Times to the Death of Queen Victoria. By T. F. TOUT, M.A., Professor of Medieval and Modern History in the University of Manchester. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xlii, 755.)

THIS book is intended for use in the higher schools of England. It is admirably fitted for its purpose. It is not too large, on the one hand, nor too small, on the other. It does not try to say everything on the subject of English history, and thus avoids the error of over-compression and excessive detail so common in almost all English text-books. Yet all the essential facts are set forth. The style is well suited to the object in view, being plain, direct, simple, concise, but not dry or hard.

In addition to the text the book contains sixty-three maps and plans, eight bibliographical lists, and a large number of genealogical tables. The bibliography is a little too scanty, but is excellent as far as it goes. The genealogical tables are brief and give precisely the needed information and no more. But above all, the maps are deserving of the highest commendation. They are of various sizes, from a page to less than a fourth of a page, done in black and white only, perfectly clear in detail, not overburdened with names, yet giving all the information which such maps ought to give. In brief, the maps are the best for their purpose which the writer has ever encountered in a text-book. The plans are open to the criticism that they are for the most part illustrative of battles, but for their purpose they are excellent.

Eight chapters of the book are devoted to what may be called the history of civilization in England. These chapters are well done, though they are necessarily very brief.

The scholarship displayed in the book must be heartily commended. The information is drawn from the best primary and secondary sources and is used with great discrimination. In only two points has the present reviewer found anything to criticize. One of these is in regard to the author's conception of Cromwell's position and character. Tout seems to have read the later works on Cromwell, but without having been much influenced by them. The second point in which he deserves criticism is in regard to Napoleon. He blames Napoleon for almost all the troubles of Europe after 1801. His dislike for Napoleon even goes so far as to impel him to spell Bonaparte, *Buonaparte*. This is a bit of almost inexcusable British arrogance.

There are a number of minor errors and of typographical mistakes. The following list may be found useful when the book reaches a second edition: It is not literally true that "before the Norman Conquest England stood quite isolated from the rest of the world"; on page 105 *king* should be *ring*; on page 165 *Henry IV.* should be *Henry III.*;

David, Prince of Wales, was hanged, not beheaded; on page 225 it is impossible to determine from the text whose uncle Thomas of Woodstock was; the account of the events connected with Wat Tyler's murder is not in accordance with the best information we have on that subject; 1836 on page 233 should be 1386; it is not plain that Richard II. was "always anxious to be a despot"; the clerical members of the House of Lords did not form a majority of that body "all through the Middle Ages"; Sawtre was not a victim under the statute *de heretico comburendo*; it is not accurate to say that the Hussites were put down and that the orthodox party triumphed everywhere; was the *Kingis Quhair* written by James I. of Scotland? The statement that "for the six years that remained of his rule" Wolsey "never summoned another parliament", gives a false idea of the position of Wolsey. Cromwell's treatment of Wolsey was hardly as creditable as Tout supposes; it should be pointed out why Edward VI. could not assign the crown by will as could his father; the remark that Henry VIII. was forced to go over to the Protestants gives the impression that he was a Protestant, which is hardly correct; the story of the *Revenge* is questioned and had better be omitted; the Commons' Protestation of 1629 did not threaten those who "promoted Arminianism", but those who introduced Arminianism; the Army Plot was certainly not intended "to destroy the royal power"; Strafford did not exclaim "with his last breath", "Put not your trust in princes"; *brought* on page 448 should be *wrought*; the quotation from Milton on page 460 is not accurate; Pride did not purge out the Lords; the word *Rump* was not applied to the Parliament immediately after Pride's Purge; Cromwell was not given the power in the Humble Petition and Advice to name his successors, but only his successor, a very different matter; Charles II. did not claim to suspend "power", but acts; on page 485 *from* should be *for*; *La Hougue* should be *La Hogue*; *Salton* should be *Saltoun*; Braddock's expedition should be mentioned; the phrase "English ships" in the Navigation Act included ships built in the colonies; there was no Jacobin party, but only a Jacobin club—the extreme party was called Montagnard; Napoleon's absolute government did not end the Revolution; January, 1854, was not the "first time for many generations" that Englishmen and Frenchmen engaged in battle as allies.

On the whole, Tout's book may be unreservedly recommended for use in the freshman classes of American colleges and universities, as well as in the classes of the best American preparatory schools.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

A Short History of Social Life in England. By M. B. Synge, F. R. Hist. S. (New York, A. S. Barnes and Company, 1906, pp. xvi, 407.) A brief history of the social life of England would be extremely useful, if it were written by a scholar who knew the subject thoroughly. Unfortunately, Mr. Synge does not seem to be qualified for the task

he has undertaken. He has thrown together a mass of details, apparently without being able to determine which facts were worth being told, which were not, nor yet which were actually facts and which were only supposed to be such. He seems to have no well-ordered plan for presenting his material. He follows as far as possible a chronological order of arrangement, and this plan necessitates frequent and wearisome repetitions. Finally, he devotes too much space to political history, though he gives notice in his introduction that he will avoid doing so.

A few quotations will show better than anything else could the qualifications of Mr. Synge for his task. He informs us, for instance, that "when Hengist, the Saxon, brought his beautiful daughter Rowena to these shores she was introduced to the British king, Vortigern, at a royal banquet. Modestly advancing towards the king, according to the custom in her own country, she held out a golden cup of ale. 'Waes hael hlaford Conny' (Health to my lord), she said in her own tongue. The words were interpreted to the British King, and the memory of the event has been preserved in England by the wassail cup at banquets and festivals." Again he declares that the "Crusading fever is but the result of the new-born desire to minister to those in need and to relieve the oppressed." Samite, he thinks, was a mysterious kind of cloth; the Black Death created "for the first time that discord between the employer and employed which has been so marked a feature of economic England from the fourteenth century even to the present time", and up to that time "the whole system of social inequality had passed 'unquestioned as to the Divine order of the world'". He asserts that "no man died without bequeathing what he could to his parish church". Equality of the sexes was "a characteristic feature of the Middle Ages", though for insubordination wives "were apparently still beaten by their husbands". In the days of Henry VIII., he finds "the faint shadow of Protection creeping over the country". These statements are excellent examples of the writer's lack of accurate knowledge concerning the subjects about which he writes.

An objectionable feature of the book is its jingoistic tone, which is probably injected into the book with the idea that it is necessary for the cultivation of the patriotism of the growing English boy. There are also, of course, the sentimental and condescending references to Americans characteristic of the English public to-day: "For 'truly they come of the Blood,' and though some three hundred years have rolled away since our fathers left their English homes, and the little Puritan colonies have grown into a great and independent nation, yet their ancestors are our ancestors, and no width of stormy sea can wash out the old blood relationship which is a bond stronger than love, a force mightier than time."

There is no bibliography and no references to books which would supply fuller information upon the subjects treated.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

American History and Government. A Text-Book on the History and Civil Government of the United States. By JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Ph.D., Professor of American History and Politics in Indiana University, and THOMAS FRANCIS MORAN, Ph.D., Professor of History and Economics in Purdue University. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xix, 476, lxxxviii.)

THE authors of this work state their purpose to be "to set forth the essential facts in the History of the United States and to explain the general principles of our national and local government".

The book is designed for use as a text-book in the grammar schools. So large a proportion of public school pupils conclude their school work in the grammar grades, it is thought desirable that some study of civics and history should be a part of the curriculum of those grades. It is the intention to combine the usual work in history with the study of the main principles of our government in their historical setting. For this purpose the authors have prepared this manual, which is very like the usual grammar-school history, with nine very excellent chapters, including a history of the Old Confederation and its Failures, and the Making of the Constitution, and a clear and careful exposition of the machinery of the national government as provided by the Constitution. These sixty-seven pages are altogether the best part of the book. In clearness of statement and explanation they leave little to be desired.

The rest of the book is not so good. The style of the historical chapters is not attractive; the subject-matter is too condensed to be interesting. The division of paragraphs with the usual black-type headings is sometimes unfortunate. Too often the whole matter of the paragraph first appears in bold type, only to be repeated in smaller type below, much as is the case with the headlines in the newspaper. Paragraph-headings of any sort are of doubtful value. They leave too little to be done by the pupil. They interrupt the narrative and tend to destroy the curiosity of the reader. In some cases the heading contains what might better be left for the student to draw as a conclusion.

A few loose statements are noted in the text of the historical chapters. John Cabot is said to have sailed from Bristol in search of a "Northwest Passage" to Asia. As he was ignorant of any land between England and Asia there is no evidence that he was searching for a "Northwest Passage". George Calvert did not obtain a grant of land of "indefinite" boundaries, but his son Cecil obtained a charter giving him a grant with boundaries as well defined as circumstances would permit. The statement is made that in 1629 the patroon system was established in New Netherlands whereby "anyone" founding a settlement of fifty or more persons would be given a grant of land. The truth seems to be that in 1629 this privilege was offered by the famous charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions" to members of the West India Company

only, and that eleven years later in 1640 the privilege was extended to "all good inhabitants of the Netherlands". New Jersey and Connecticut were not "the only northern states which retained a property qualification for voting in 1837", for in Rhode Island the suffrage was so restricted until after Dorr's Rebellion.

In the main the spirit of the book is eminently fair and judicial, although it must be said that scant justice is done the English side of the argument in the matter of the Stamp Act, while in the discussion of the causes of the Mexican War there seems to be an undue desire to justify the action of the United States. In treating of Genet, and the relations between France and the United States in the administration of Washington no mention is made of the Treaty of 1778 which was ignored by the American government. It may be questioned whether it is quite fair to judge the action of England in the matter of "paper blockades" prior to the War of 1812 by the standard adopted by the great powers in the Declaration of Paris of 1856. The discussion of the Monroe Doctrine is inadequate, and is so condensed as to be misleading.

The maps and illustrations are well chosen. The well selected list of reference books in the back of the volume are evidently designed for the use of the teacher rather than of the pupil.

ARCHIBALD FREEMAN.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

John Andrew Doyle, historian of the American colonies, died on August 4 at his residence in South Wales. He was born in 1844 and educated at Eton and Oxford. During all his later years he was a fellow of All Souls, but he preferred his country life. It was remarkable that among the few Englishmen who have paid serious attention to the history of the major division of their race, the chief should be a country squire—keen sportsman, master of the harriers, rifle shot—of Mr. Doyle's type, conservative in mind, even tory in the non-political sense, and little in the habit of associating with Americans. The explanation lies perhaps in the winning of the Arnold Prize in 1869 by an essay, published that year, on *The American Colonies previous to the Declaration of Independence*. From this Mr. Doyle proceeded in 1876 to a text-book of general United States history in Freeman's series, and in 1882 to the publication of the first volume of his valued, but probably in America still undervalued, *English Colonies in America*. This volume, on Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, was followed four years later by two considerably better volumes on the Puritan colonies, and about a year ago by a fourth on the middle colonies, and a fifth, on the colonies under the house of Hanover. These volumes were sometimes marred by errors which one living in close contact with the main stream of historical work in America would not have committed; but they were not such as to affect the validity of his judgments of colonial men and things. These were, especially in political history, remarkably sound and penetrating, and doubtless the more so for the author's detachment; for he viewed our colonial history, as our own writers seldom do, with a mind made catholic by wide reading in the history of European statesmanship and culture, and by a healthy habit of comparison more easily maintained by the out-of-door man than by the cloistered student.

Mr. John R. Ficklen, professor of history in Tulane University, died at Chautauqua August 4, at the age of 48. Previously a teacher of Latin and of English, he had held the chair of history at New Orleans for eleven years. At the time of his death he was occupied in preparing a history of reconstruction in Louisiana. He was a sound scholar, and a gentleman of most engaging qualities.

We regret to have to chronicle the death, in June, of Miss Mary Louise Dalton, the energetic and valued librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, to whom it owes much of its recent advancement; and

that of Mr. Robert T. Swan, who had for nineteen years served the state of Massachusetts as commissioner of town and county records, and had, as may be seen by examination of his interesting and valuable reports, made his office a model of efficiency and of intelligent care for historical interests.

Sir Spencer Walpole, author of the *History of England from 1815*, six volumes, and *The History of Twenty-Five Years*, two volumes, died on July 6 aged sixty-eight. He held several civil offices and was secretary to the Post-Office from 1893 to 1899. Among his other writings are a life of his grandfather, Spencer Perceval, the prime minister, and a life of Lord John Russell.

The Rev. Ethelred L. Taunton, one of the most learned members of the English Roman Catholic clergy, died in London on May 9 in the fiftieth year of his age. Among his works are *A History of the Jesuits in England*, and *The English Black Monks of St. Benedict*. At the time of his death he was engaged upon a biography of Cardinal Pole which was intended to form a companion volume to his life of Cardinal Wolsey, published a few years ago.

Rev. Henry de B. Gibbins, economic historian and educator, died on August 12 in his forty-third year. From 1895 to 1899 he was vice-principal of Liverpool College and headmaster of the grammar school; he then became headmaster of King Charles I. school, Kidderminster. Last year he was appointed principal of Lennoxville University, Canada. He possessed a pleasing literary style, and his books were widely read. His *Industrial History of England* went into ten editions in fifteen years, and his *Industry in England* and *The English People in the Nineteenth Century* are both in their third edition.

Jules Lair, member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, died at Paris on May 16, aged seventy. Of his numerous writings, the greater part deal with medieval history and with the criticism of texts. In this class his *Étude sur la Vie et la Mort de Guillaume Longue-Épée, Duc de Normandie* (1893), and two volumes of *Études Critiques sur Divers Textes des X^e et XI^e Siècles* (1899) are most important. His study of Nicolas Fouquet (1890, two volumes) was crowned by the Academy. He was appointed by the Institute director of the monumental edition of the *Mémoires* of Richelieu.

M. Victor Tantet, assistant archivist of the ministry of the colonies in Paris, who had been of invaluable assistance to a whole generation of American investigators there, died in that city on June 11.

Dr. Moritz Brosch died in July at the age of seventy-eight. His best known work is *Neuere Geschichte von England von 1509 bis 1874*. He also wrote *Gründung des Kirchenstaats, Geschichte des Kirchenstaats, Bolingbroke und die Whigs und Tories seiner Zeit*, and *Cromwell und die Puritanische Revolution*.

At a meeting held in Trinity College, Cambridge, on June 1, it was resolved that The Frederic William Maitland Memorial Fund be established for the promotion of research and instruction in the history of law, and of legal language and institutions; that, if practicable, a personal memorial of the late Professor Maitland be obtained and placed in the Squire Law Library of the University of Cambridge; and that the balance of the fund be offered to the University to be held in trust for carrying out the object proposed. The general committee appointed to appeal for subscriptions includes the names of deans of the law faculties of several American universities, and of several other American lawyers and scholars. The *Cambridge University Reporter* of July 22 contains a full account of the proceedings at the meeting.

An Oxford University memorial to the late Professor Pelham is to take the form of a studentship in connection with the British School at Rome. The treasurer of the memorial fund is the Rector of Exeter College.

Mrs. W. E. H. Lecky would feel very much obliged if those who possess any letters from the late Mr. Lecky, which might be of use as a memoir, would kindly forward them to her, addressed to 38 Onslow Gardens, London, S. W. They will be returned in due course.

Professor Charles Gross of Harvard University plans to spend the present academic year in London, where he will edit for the Selden Society a volume on *The Law Merchant*.

Dr. Hervey M. Bowman of Berlin, Ontario, lately of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, has become a member of the staff of the Archives of the Dominion of Canada, and has begun investigations of the history of boundary questions between Canada and the United States.

At the University of Wisconsin Dr. Carl R. Fish and Dr. George C. Sellery have been promoted to associate professorships of American and European history respectively, Dr. U. B. Phillips to an assistant professorship of American history.

Dr. J. L. Conger has been elected professor of history in Knox College, Dr. Laurence M. Larson assistant professor in the University of Illinois.

Dr. William R. Manning of Purdue University has been elected associate professor of diplomatic history in the new school of political science established by the George Washington University.

Professor Frank G. Bates of Alfred University has become assistant professor of history and political science in the University of Kansas.

Dr. Arthur L. Cross and Dr. Frederic L. Paxson have been made junior professors of the University of Michigan.

Dr. Henry R. Spencer of Princeton has become a professor of American history in the Ohio State University.

Professor David Y. Thomas has become professor of history and political science in the University of Arkansas.

The American Historical Association will hold its twenty-fourth annual meeting at Madison, Wisconsin, December 27-31, 1907. Meetings of the American Economic, Political Science and Sociological Associations will be held at the same time and place. The American Historical Association will have sessions devoted to American economic history, to the European history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to Western history, American and Canadian. There will be a conference of state and local historical societies, and one on the relations of history and geography. There will also be six simultaneous informal conferences of workers in medieval, modern European, Oriental, American colonial and American constitutional history, and in the history of the United States since 1865.

To the announcement made in our last issue (XII. 938) concerning the International Historical Congress to be held at Berlin August 6-12, 1908, we are now able to add that, by an important change from the practice of its predecessors of the Hague, Paris, and Rome, the Berlin congress will make no attempt at any other publication of its proceedings than such as is contained in the daily programme. The place of the next congress will be selected by vote of the whole body in the last general meeting. The *Atti* of the congress at Rome have been completed in a series of twelve important volumes. A strikingly large number of its recommendations have been adopted by the Italian and other governments and historical societies, so that many historical enterprises will trace their initiative to that meeting.

Under the general editorship of Dr. Georg Schuster, the Historical Society of Berlin has brought out the twenty-eighth annual volume of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, the volume for 1905 (Berlin, Wiedmann, pp. xii, 316, 519, 332, 326). This volume contains reports for the history of Egypt, the Hebrews, India, Persia, and Rome, two-thirds of the periods and states of Germany, medieval northern Italy, Spain, medieval France and Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Hungary, Islam, Japan, the United States (by Mr. Waldo G. Leland), Canada (by Mr. H. H. Langton), *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, and church history. It is announced that reports will hereafter be made on the history of China and on that of Central and South America, the latter by Mr. Hiram Bingham, jr.

The Century Company announces a series of histories under the general editorship of Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University, in about ten volumes, which will begin to appear during 1908 or early in 1909. When completed the series will form a history of the world from the viewpoint of modern scholarship, characterized by emphasis upon those events and forces in the past which bear upon the permanent elements of civilization and help to explain and illuminate the life and

problems of today. The first volume will be an *Introduction to the Study of History*, by Professor Burr; two others will deal with the ancient world. The Middle Ages, to about 1273, will be treated by Professor Dana C. Munro of the University of Wisconsin; the Renaissance and Reformation, to about 1598, by Professor Earle W. Dow of the University of Michigan; the period from about 1598 to 1748 by Professor Wilbur C. Abbott of the University of Kansas; the Revolutionary period, 1748-1815, by Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University; and the nineteenth century, from 1815, by Professor William E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania. A volume of contemporary history, including Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, is also in contemplation and special volumes on Greater Britain from about 1500 and on the United States.

Last year's lectures in the series of "American Lectures on the History of Religion" were given by Professor Maurice Bloomfield of the John Hopkins University. They are now brought out in book form, *The Religion of the Veda, from Rig-Veda to Upanishads* (Putnam).

In 1908 the Angrand prize of 5,000 francs will be awarded at the Bibliothèque Nationale for the best work published from 1903 to 1907 in France or abroad on the history, ethnography, archaeology or linguistics of the races indigenous to America before the arrival of Columbus. Ten copies of each competing work should be sent to the secretary of the Library.

In volume IX. fascicle 9 of the *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik* (1906, pp. 601-658 and p. 727) K. Krumbacher discusses in detail the value of photography in archaeological studies and advocates its application to the reproduction of manuscripts.

The Roman historical journal, *Annales de St.-Louis*, organ of the French establishment at that convent, ceased to appear in October, 1906. It is now proposed to resume its publication if sufficient support be assured. It will continue to print the results of research in the Vatican archives and elsewhere, of archaeological explorations, and unedited texts. The treasurer of the new editorial staff is Abbé P. Calmet, 5 Via S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.

Professors K. Brandi of Göttingen, H. Bresslau of Strassburg and M. Tangl of Berlin will publish an *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* (Leipzig, Veit) which will be issued in fascicles at irregular intervals. Although texts will not be entirely excluded, the *Archiv* will be devoted principally to studies on various questions pertaining to diplomatic, especially to the history of chanceries.

The sixth *Table Générale* of the *Revue Historique* (Paris, Alcan, 1907, pp. 120) appears to be a very complete index to the volumes issued

from 1901 through 1905. One section of the index includes references to nearly 4,000 works noted in the "Bulletins", reviews, and *chronique*.

Die Geschichte der Menschheit (Bondi, Berlin), by Professor K. Breysig of Berlin, will treat of the various stages of development in the history of mankind. The first volume deals with *Die Amerikaner des Nordwestens und des Nordens*.

The two remaining volumes of the translation of Dr. H. F. Helmolt's *The World's History* will be issued by Mr. Heinemann before the end of the year. They are entitled *The Teuton and Latin Races* and *Western Europe since 1800*.

The municipal council of Paris has given the funds necessary to create at the College of France in October a chair for the history of labor.

Historische Geographie (Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1907, pp. vii, 650) by Professor Konrad Kretschmer of Berlin deals with various periods from ancient to modern times and treats of physical, political, and cultural geography. Under the last head are studied settlements, colonization, exploitation of the soil, commerce, and public works.

An elaborate *Dictionnaire d'Histoire, de Biographie et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, compiled by Monsignor A. Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, A. Vogt of Fribourg, U. Rouziès, and numerous collaborators, will be published by Letouzey and Ané, Paris, in the same form as the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* and the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* now being issued by this house.

The *Bulletin* of the Society for the Progress of Philological and Historical Studies (Brussels) contains abstracts of the communications made at the session of May 12, when Canon Cauchie spoke of the assemblies of the French clergy and their financial rôle under the Old Régime and M. Pirenne spoke on recent researches into the historical origins of capitalism.

Studien zur Frühromantischen Politik und Geschichtsauffassung (1907, pp. viii, 113) by A. Poetzsch, forms the third *Heft* in Professor Karl Lamprecht's *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte* (Leipzig, Voigtländer), earlier contributions to which were noted in our last number.

Teachers of history will doubtless find many valuable suggestions in the volume entitled *L'Enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1907, pp. 191), containing conferences of the Musée Pédagogique held in 1907. The contributors are MM. Ch. Seignobos, Ch.-V. Langlois, L. Gallouédec, and M. Tournier.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Sieger, *Zur Behandlung der Historischen Länderkunde* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVIII. 2).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The second part of the *Tebtunis Papyri* (1907, pp. xv, 485), edited by Dr. B. P. Grenfell, Dr. A. S. Hunt, and Professor E. J. Goodspeed, deals with papyri found in the houses of Tebtunis, dating mostly from the first three centuries of the Christian era. The excavations were undertaken for the University of California, on behalf of which Mr. Frowde is publishing the series. The first volume was published in 1902.

An excellent account of what has been accomplished in Palestinian explorations and excavations is presented in *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente* (Paris, Lecoivre) by Father Hugues Vincent.

Professor E. Sellin of the University of Vienna, first director of the German Archaeological School at Jerusalem, has contributed to the proceedings of the Vienna Academy of Sciences his preliminary report on the excavations made by that school on the site of the Biblical Jericho, resulting in the discovery of the remnants of public buildings and of private houses, the latter chiefly belonging to the Canaanitish and prehistoric age, and of many domestic objects.

Sidon: a Study in Oriental History (Macmillan, 1907, pp. vii, 172) by Professor F. Carl Eiselen of the Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston, Illinois, is a recent volume of the Columbia University Oriental Series, containing an account of the Phoenician city from the earliest times down to the present day.

A detailed report of archaeological explorations in Chinese Turkestan, carried out and described under the orders of the government of India by M. Aurel Stein, has been published by the Oxford University Press under the title *Ancient Khotan* (1907, two volumes).

The Austrian Archaeological Institute has published the first volume of what promises to be a magnificent series descriptive of the *Forschungen in Ephesos* (Vienna, Alfred Holder) carried on by the Institute since 1894. The book includes a full discussion of Ephesian historical topography by Professor Benndorf, the first director of the explorations.

In J. Sundwall's *Epigraphische Beiträge zur sozial-politischen Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des Demosthenes* (Leipzig, Kreysing, 1906, pp. vi, 92) the author concludes that in the time of Demosthenes the government of Athens was by no means so completely in the hands of the proletariat as is commonly supposed. The lists of officials regularly show a disproportionate number of names from wealthy families.

A study of *The General, Civil and Military Administration of Noricum and Raetia* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1907, pp. 69) by Mary B. Peaks, reprinted from volume IV. of *Studies in Classical Philology*, includes lists of the governors of these provinces, of the officers and soldiers of the legions stationed there, and of the *alae* and cohorts stationed or raised there.

J. Toutain has published a detailed study, based on new inscriptions, of *Le Cadastre de l'Afrique Romaine*, in the memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, XII. 1, 1907.

Documentary publications: L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings, including Records of the Early History of the Kassites* (Luzac, 1907, 2 vols.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Flach, *Le Code de Hammourabi et la Constitution Originnaire de la Propriété dans l'Ancienne Chaldée*, I. (Revue Historique, July-August); W. S. Ferguson, *Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents*, I. (Klio, VII. 2); F. F. Abbott, *The Story of Two Oligarchies* (Arena, June); F. W. Kelsey, *The Cues of Caesar* (The Classical Journal, December) [treats of the composition of the *Gallic War* and *Civil War*].

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The interesting little volume entitled *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*, by Father Hippolyte Delehaye, of the Bollandist Society, has been translated into English by Mrs. Virginia M. Crawford and published by Messrs. Longmans—*The Legends of the Saints: an Introduction to Hagiography* (pp. xx, 241).

A revised and enlarged edition of Dr. Henry Charles Lea's *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church* is to be published immediately by the Macmillan Company.

Dom Chr. Baur's work on *Saint Jean Chrysostome et ses Oeuvres dans l'Histoire Littéraire* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1907, pp. xii, 312) forms the eighteenth fascicle of the series published by the members of the historical and philological conferences of the University of Louvain. The author has aimed at bringing together the principal indications concerning the authority and influence exercised in the church during fifteen centuries by Saint John Chrysostom. Much bibliographical information is included.

M. Félix Mouret presents some new archaeological and documentary evidence relating to *Sulpice Sévère à Primuliac* (Paris, Picard, 1907, pp. 236) tending to support the hypothesis that Sulpitius spent his later years at Primuliac, and identifying it with a place near Béziers.

Documentary publications: C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Juris Antiquissima*, vol. II., part 1., *Concilia Ancyritanum et Neocaesariense* (Frowde, 1907); F. Cavallera, *Les Fragments de Saint Amphiloque dans l'Hodegos et le Tome Dogmatique d'Anastase le Sinaité* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Callewaert, *Les Persécutions contre les Chrétiens dans la Politique Religieuse de l'Empire Romain* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); H. Koch, *Die Kirchenbusse*

des Kaisers Theodosius des Grosses in Geschichte und Legende (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 2).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The first volume of the *Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1907, pp. xi, 458) by Georg Grupp embraces the period from the fall of the Roman Empire to the Carolingians. The greater part of the book consists of a detailed account of the manners and institutions of the Germanic peoples established in the old Roman Empire.

La Translation des Saints Marcellin et Pierre (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 116), a study of Einhard and his political life from 827 to 834 by Marguerite Bondonio, forms fascicle 160 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

In a volume entitled *Étude sur les Fausses Décrétales* (Louvain, Ch. Peeters, 1907, pp. 121) P. Fournier brings together the articles on this subject contributed by him to the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, VII. 1-4 and VIII. 1.

The new edition of *Nithardi Historiarum Libri IIII.* (Hannover, Hahn, 1907, pp. xiv, 61) by E. Müller in the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* marks an important advance in the critical study of this work. The poem of Angelbert on the battle of Fontenoy, 842, is included in the volume.

Professor G. Kurth has published a study on *La Lèpre en Occident avant les Croisades* (Paris, Bloud, 1907, pp. 63).

M. Joseph Bédier, who succeeded to the professorships formerly held by Gaston Paris, will shortly publish through the house of Champion a collection of *Chansons de Croisades*, for which M. P. Aubry has reconstructed the music and a work entitled *Les Légendes Épiques*, studies of the origin and formation of the *chansons de geste*.

Under the title *The Mirror of the Times: Mir'ât az-Zamân*, Professor J. R. Jewett has published through the Chicago University Press a magnificent facsimile reproduction of a manuscript of the Landberg collection of Arabic manuscripts belonging to Yale, containing an account by Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzi of the period from 1101 to 1257, the year of the author's death. Many events important in the history of the Crusades are narrated.

Father H. Delehaye reviews the principal sources of information concerning the saints of Cyprus, and prints some hitherto unpublished texts, in a work entitled *Saints de Chypre* (Brussels, Polleunis, 1907, pp. 161-304) reprinted from the *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXVI.

M. Achille Luchaire has recently added to his series of works relating to Innocent III. a volume entitled *Innocent III.: La Question d'Orient* (Paris, Hachette, 1907, pp. 307).

Dr. David S. Schaff, son of the late Dr. Philip Schaff, has added to the well-known *History of the Christian Church*, written by his father, a volume filling a part of the gap left in that work at the original author's death. It is designated as volume V., part I., *The Middle Ages*, and extends from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII., from which point it is to be presumed that a second part will continue the work to the beginning of the German Reformation, dealt with by Dr. Philip Schaff in his sixth volume.

An important epoch in the history of studies of medieval India and Central Asia was marked by the publication in 1857 of M. Stanislaus Julien's translation of the diary of sixteen years of Indian pilgrimage (A. D. 629-645) kept by the Chinese Buddhist Hiouen Tsang (as the name has usually been spelled, after M. Julien's example). A vast amount of learned comment on text and translation, topography, and archaeology, summing up the results of the last fifty years of such study, is conveyed in the two volumes *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, by the late Thomas Watters, edited for the Royal Asiatic Society by Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids and Mr. S. W. Bushell.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Manitius, *Geschichtliches aus Mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (Neues Archiv, XXXII. 3); M. Jusselin, *Notes Tiromiennes dans les Diplomes* (Le Moyen Age, May-June); W. Turner, *Irish Teachers in the Carolingian Revival of Learning* (Catholic University Bulletin, July); F. Lot, *La Question des Fausses Décrétales* (Revue Historique, July-August); J. Haller, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIX. 1) [reviews Dr. W. Norden's work of the same title]; J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Papstwahlen und das Kaisertum (1046-1328)*, III. (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXVIII. 2).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

In the May number of the *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Father Fidel Fita gives a full account of the series of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, published by the Jesuit fathers of the Peninsula since 1894.

Pie VI., sa Vie, son Pontificat (1717-1799) (Paris, Picard, 1907) a work in two volumes by Jules Gendry, canon of the cathedral of Nantes, is based upon researches in the Vatican archives and contains hitherto unpublished documents.

Under the direction of the historical section of the General Staff of the French army the following works have recently been published through the house of Chapelot, Paris: *La Campagne Maritime de 1805: Trafalgar*, by E. Desbrière; *Les Opérations Militaires sur la Sambre en 1794: Bataille de Fleurus*, by Commandant V. Dupuis; and *Les Préliminaires de la Guerre de la Succession d'Autriche*, by M. Sautai.

The third volume of Professor Oman's *History of the Peninsular War* will be published this autumn by the Oxford University Press. The second volume, which brought the narrative down to September, 1809, was published in 1903.

Napoléon et la Suède: L'Élection de Bernadotte (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1907, pp. 32), by M. P. Coquelle, correspondent of the Ministry of Public Instruction, is based on unpublished documents in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the Archives Nationales.

A. Dreux's *Dernières Années de l'Ambassade en Allemagne de M. de Gontaut-Biron* (1874-1877) (Paris, Plon) is based on the diplomatic papers of M. de Gontaut.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Willaert, *Négociations Politico-Religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques (1508-1625): II. Intervention des Souverains Anglais en Faveur du Protestantisme aux Pays-Bas*, VII. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, July); J. F. Chance, *The Northern Pacification of 1719-1720*, I. (*English Historical Review*, July); E. Daudet, *Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818* (*Le Correspondant*, July 10); E. Daniels, *Oesterreich und der Krimkrieg* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, July); H. Welschinger, *La France, l'Autriche et l'Italie en 1870* (*Le Correspondant*, July 25); P. Matter, *Bismarck et les Colonies Françaises* (*Revue Bleue*, August 10).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In the July number of the *Revue Historique*, M. Charles Bémont continues his review of recent works relating to English history.

The papers to be read before the Royal Historical Society during the coming season will include studies by Professor Firth on ballads of the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.; by Dr. C. Cotton on the Bardon Papers, which contain some materials relating to the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots; by Miss Evelyn Fox on the diary of an Elizabethan gentlewoman, Lady Hoby of Yorkshire; and by Mr. Basil Williams on the family of Yorke in the early part of the reign of George III., from unpublished Hardwicke MSS. A paper on Indian history and the second part of Sir Henry Howorth's study of Julius Caesar may also be given.

During the course of next year it is hoped to begin the reissue of the *Dictionary of National Biography* in a less expensive and more compendious form, comprising one-third of the present number of volumes.

The Date of the First Shaping of the Cúchulainn Saga (London, Frowde, 1907, pp. 34) by Mr. William Ridgeway, has been reprinted from the second volume of the *Proceedings of the British Academy*. The author concludes that the poems took shape not much later than

100 A. D. and possibly a century earlier; also, that the race who are represented in the epic are the tall, fair-haired, grey-eyed Celts of Britain and the Continent.

In *The Governance of London: Studies on the Place occupied by London in English Institutions* (Unwin, 1907, pp. 418) Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, the well-known writer on local institutions, argues that London remained essentially Roman in constitution far into the medieval period.

A study of the English tin mines and their history under the title *The Stannaries*, by George Randall Lewis, is announced as the third volume in the series of "Harvard Economic Studies".

A History of the Jews in England, by Albert M. Hyamson, has lately been published for the Jewish Historical Society by Messrs. Macmillan and Company.

A scholarly revised translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England* (Bell and Sons) with introduction, life, and notes by Miss A. M. Sellar, late vice-principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, aims at giving in brief and convenient form the substance of the views held by trustworthy authorities.

Manx Crosses, by P. M. C. Kermodé (London, Benrose and Sons) is a sumptuous and authoritative volume, by one who has devoted many years to the subject, and who treats it with the utmost completeness. More than half the crosses and inscriptions described, Ogam and runic, are now for the first time fully published.

Mr. Charles Dawson's illustrated brochure on *The "Restorations" of the Bayeux Tapestry* is published by Elliot Stock, London (1907, pp. 14).

Miss Bertha H. Putnam's monograph on *The Enforcement of the Statute of Laborers* will be published in the "Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law".

John Leland's *Itinerary*, edited by Miss Lucy Toulmin-Smith, has been published by George Bell and Sons, London.

Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire in 1590, with notes by J. Gillow (privately printed for the Catholic Record Society, 1907, pp. 82) reproduces a map in the British Museum which the preface states to be a copy made for Lord Burghley of a colored map on vellum in the Record Office "no doubt drawn up for the Privy Council to enable the government to bring extra pressure upon the great landowners to conform to the new doctrines". The letter-press consists of biographical and genealogical notes on the manorial families and the later history of their estates.

The Clarendon Press has brought out a new edition of the *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen*, taken out of Hakluyt and edited by the late

Mr. E. J. Payne (Oxford, pp. lxxii, 415). The previous editions (1880, 1893, 1900) have been condensed into one by the omission of the last voyage and last letter of Thomas Cavendish, of Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*, and of the introductory matter relating to those texts. Mr. C. R. Beazley furnishes some additional notes for the present convenient issue of these interesting narratives. The Press also issues separately (pp. lvi, 280) *The Voyages of Hawkins, Frobisher and Drake*.

Mr. J. A. R. Marriott has written a comprehensive biography of Lord Falkland under the title *The Life and Times of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland* (Putnams, 1907).

The series of *Acts of the Privy Council*, edited by J. R. Dasent, has been completed, so far as present plans extend, by the issue of the volume for 1601-1604.

Professor Wolfgang Michael of Freiburg has written a life of *Cromwell* (Berlin, Hofman, two volumes) for the German "Heroes" series. While largely based on printed secondary sources, the narrative is also drawn from manuscript sources found in London and Sweden and in the secret archives of Berlin.

The Union of 1707: A Survey of Events (Glasgow, Outram, 1907, pp. 205) is a collection of eighteen articles reprinted from the *Glasgow Herald*, with an introduction by Professor Hume Brown. The other writers are Mr. R. S. Rait, Mr. A. Lang, Mr. James Mackinnon, Mr. W. Law Mathieson, Mr. W. R. Scott, Mr. R. Renwick, Mr. James Colville, Mr. J. H. Millar, and Professor R. Lodge. The text of the Articles of Union is included.

Simultaneously with the issue of the interesting second and third volumes of the Historical Commission's *Calendar of the Stuart Papers* it is announced that a large mass of additional Stuart papers has been "recently discovered" at Windsor Castle, which will require the issue of supplements to all three of the volumes already prepared there.

A monograph by N. A. Brisco on *The Economic Policy of Robert Walpole* is announced for publication in the "Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law".

The English translation of Dr. Albert von Ruville's life of Chatham is to be published in this country by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The second volume of the official *History of the War in South Africa* (Hurst and Blackett, 1907) extends from Lord Roberts's relief of Kimberley to the defence of Ladysmith. Forty-nine maps and panoramas are included.

British government publications: *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VI.*, vol. II., 1429-1436; vol. III., 1436-1441; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the Stuart Papers preserved at Windsor Castle, vol. III., October 1, 1716-February 28, 1717.

Other documentary publications: *Great Roll of the Pipe* for the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry II., 1177-1178 (London, Spottiswood); M. D. Harris, *The Coventry Leet Book or Mayor's Register*, I. [Early English Text Society, CXXXIV.] (London, Kegan Paul); Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica: The Reigns of Edward I., Edward II., and Edward III.*, translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, MacLehose, 1907, pp. xix, 195); J. W. Clark, *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, 1295-1296, with an introduction by the late Professor F. W. Maitland (Cambridge University Press, pp. 456); R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book H.*, circa 1375-1399 (J. E. Francis, pp. lvii, 527); David, Lord Elcho, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the years 1744, 1745, 1746*, with memoir and notes by the Hon. Evan Charteris (Edinburgh, Douglas, pp. 477); A. F. Steuart, *The Woodhouselee MS.*, narrating events in and near Edinburgh during Prince Charles's occupation of the city in 1745 (Edinburgh, Chambers, 1907).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Loserth, *Wiclifs Lehre vom Wahren und Falschen Papsttum* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIX. 2); R. G. Marsden, *The Vice-Admirals of the Coast* (English Historical Review, July); V. M. Montagu, *The Scottish College in Paris* (The Scottish Historical Review, July); R. Dewar, *Burnet on the Scottish Troubles* (The Scottish Historical Review, July); G. H. Orpen, *Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland*, II. (English Historical Review, July).

FRANCE

The Grand Prix Gobert has been awarded to M. Charles Bémont for his edition of the *Rôles Gascons* (9000 francs) and to M. Louis Halphen for his volume entitled *Le Comté d'Anjou au XI^e Siècle* (1000 francs).

The fourth volume of the invaluable Manuals of Historical Bibliography published by Picard, Paris, is a *Bibliographie Générale des Cartulaires Français ou relatifs à l'Histoire de France* (1907, pp. xv, 627) by Henri Stein, joint author with M. Ch.-V. Langlois of the first volume of this series—*Les Archives de l'Histoire de France*.

A *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri I^{er}, Roi de France*, 1031-1060 (Paris, Champion, 1907), compiled by Frédéric Sœhnée, archivist of the Archives Nationales, forms fascicle 161 of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.

Part of a work which promises to be of the greatest merit has appeared in the two first volumes of the *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille* (Paris, Picard, 1907, pp. cccli, 286; 355) by M. Jean Guiraud, of the University of Besançon. These volumes contain an excellent introduction of 351 pages on Albigensianism in Languedoc in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and a collection of 534 documents (charters, bulls, etc.) relating to the monastery. A third volume will

soon be published containing the text of the canonical visitation made in 1340 by the provincial prior of Toulouse, with a preface on the administration of the ecclesiastical domains.

Étude sur l'Humanisme Français: Guillaume Budé, by Dr. Louis Delaruelle, forms fascicle 162 of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.

The Society of Breton Bibliophiles publishes this year a collection by M. Letaconnoux of *Documents Administratifs concernant la Bretagne sur la Fin du Règne de Louis XIV.* and *L'Histoire Inédite des Bretons* by Pierre le Baud, edited by M. de Calan. It will shortly print the *Procès-Verbaux des États de Bretagne et Documents Annexes, de l'Avènement de François I^{er} à Henri III.*, edited by M. de Calan.

M. Albert Vandal of the French Academy treats of *La République Consulaire* (Paris, Plon, 1907) in the second volume of his work on *L'Avènement de Bonaparte*.

The third and fourth volumes of Colonel Theodore A. Dodge's *Napoleon* are announced for publication this autumn by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.

Étienne Cabet et les Origines du Communisme Icarien jusqu' à 1834 and *Histoire de la Communauté Icarienne* (1848-1849) are the titles of doctoral theses sustained by M. Prudhommeaux before the faculty of letters of Paris. The opinions of the jury of award are given in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* for May, which also contains a document of the year 1848 from the office of the prefect of police, edited by M. Pierre Caron, containing lists of the principal agents of Cabet in France.

Le Second Empire, 1852-1870 (Paris, Rouff, 1907, pp. 392) by M. Albert Thomas, with a preface by M. Charles Andler, is the tenth volume in the *Histoire Socialiste* edited by M. Jean Jaurès.

The twelfth volume of Émile Ollivier's great work, *L'Empire Libéral: Études, Récits, Souvenirs* (Paris, Garnier, 1907) brings the narrative to the outbreak of the war of 1870.

Professor A. Debidour continues his *Histoire des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France* by the issue of two volumes on *L'Église Catholique et l'État sous la Troisième République* (Paris, Alcan).

The third volume of Gabriel Hanotaux's *Contemporary France* (Putnam's) translated by J. C. Tarver, covers the years 1874-1877.

Documentary publications: C. Faure, *Trois Chartes de Franchises du Dauphiné* [Réaumont, 1311; Beaucroissant, 1312; Rives, 1340] (Paris, Larose and Tenin, pp. 25); C. Nicoullaud, *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne, née d'Osmond*, II., 1815-1819 (Paris, Plon, 1907, pp. 439).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Sée, *Les Classes Rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution* (Annales de Bretagne, April);

J. Letaconnoux, *Le Régime de la Corvée en Bretagne au XVIII^e Siècle*, con. (Annales de Bretagne, April); A. Aulard, *Taine Historien de la Révolution Française*, VIII. (La Révolution Française, August 14); H. Carré, *Les Parlements et la Convocation des États Généraux*, I., II. (La Révolution Française, July 14, August 14); A. Mathiez, *La France et Rome sous la Constituante d'après la Correspondance du Cardinal Bernis*, II. *Pie VI., Avignon et le Comtat* (La Révolution Française, August 14); Dr. Magnac, *Le Fédéralisme en 1793 et 1794* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); R. Guyot and F. Thénard, *Le Conventionnel Goujon*, concl. (Revue Historique, July-August); L. Picard, *La Préparation d'une Campagne de Napoléon: La Transformation de l'Armée Républicaine en Armée Impériale*, I. (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); L. de Lanza de Laborie, *Les Débuts du Régime Concordataire à Paris: L'Épiscopat du Cardinal de Belloy, 1802-1808* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Napoleon während der Schlacht bei Belle Alliance*, II. (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 2); P. Gaffarel, *L'Occupation Étrangère à Marseille en 1815*, I., II. (La Révolution Française, June 14, July 14).

ITALY, SPAIN

Gli Archivi della Storia d'Italia, which was directed by the late Professor Giuseppe Mazzatinti, will be continued by State Archivist Giustiniano degli Azzi Vitelleschi. The fifth volume will contain a general index to the first series, an inventory of the state archives of Lucca and an inventory of a number of communal archives, including those of Florence.

At the annual general meeting held in April of the Reale Deputazione sovra gli Studi di Storia Patria per le Antiche Provincie e la Lombardia, it was stated that works by the following authors were in preparation for publication in the *Monumenta*: Signori Lippi, *Gli Stamenti dell'Isola e Regno di Sardegna*; Cipolla, *Atlante Bobbiese*; Frutaz and Schiaparelli, *Carte Augustane*; Wenzel, Boffito, and Ramuzzi, *Codice Diplomatico delle Relazioni fra la Casa di Savoia e la S. Sede*; Casanova, *Cartario della Berardenga*; Manno, *Bibliografia Storica degli Stati della Monarchia di Savoia*, VIII.

Messrs. Methuen in London and Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons in New York are beginning the publication of a new series edited by Edward Armstrong and R. L. Douglas, "Historic States of Italy", of which *Milan: The House of Sforza*, by Miss C. M. Ady, will be ready this autumn, while volumes on *Naples: The House of Anjou* and *Milan: The House of Visconti* are in preparation; Messrs. Putnam also announce "The Romance of History Series", opening with *Elizabeth and Philip; or, the Whole Story of the Spanish Armada*, by Major Martin Hume.

The fourth number of the *Archivio Muratoriano* contains an extended reply by G. Monticolo to a criticism of his edition of Marino

Sanudo's *Vite dei Dogi*, and articles by L. A. Botteghi on the *Annales Sanctae Justinae Patavini*, and by A. Tallone on an historical poem of Antonio Astesano on the earthquake of 1456, the text of which is here first printed.

Domenico Ciàmpoli has compiled from manuscript and printed sources a full if not a complete collection of the political and military writings of Giuseppe Garibaldi, which is announced for publication by Henri Voghera, Rome. The volume will contain about one thousand pages and will include illustrations and indexes.

The *Roman Journals* of Ferdinand Gregorovius, translated by Mrs. G. W. Hamilton from the second German edition, edited by Friedrich Althaus, will be published in London during the autumn by Messrs. Bell. Besides having a biographical interest, the work presents a picture of the modern transformation of Rome and Italy, of which from 1852 until 1874 the author was an eye-witness.

The publication of a new monthly review entitled *Empori* and printed in the Catalan language has been begun at Barcelona during the current year. The first number contains an article by Señor Rubió y Lluch on the authenticity of the celebrated chronicle attributed to James I.

Volumes three and four of the *Colección de Documentos para el Estudio de la Historia de Aragon* will soon be issued. The former contains the *Documentos Pinatenses Reales, correspondientes al Reinado de Sancho Ramírez (1063-1094)*; the latter, the *Documentos Pinatenses Particulares*, relating to the same reign.

The fourth and concluding volume of Dr. H. C. Lea's *History of the Inquisition of Spain* will be published this fall by Macmillan.

The *Casa de Contratación de las Indias* is the subject of a study, said to be important, by Señor Piernas Hurtado, published in the review *Lectura* of Madrid, sixth year, I. 99, 203, 311; II. 1ff. The author indicates various topics for further investigation connected with West Indian commerce, and gives bibliographical references and information touching the archives of Seville and Madrid.

M. Rodriguez Villa has written a biography of *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Sandoval, Conde de la Corzana (1650-1720)*, who took an active part in the War of the Spanish Succession and represented the house of Austria as plenipotentiary at Utrecht. The book, which is based on numerous documents, is published by the house of Fortanet (Madrid, 1907, pp. 333).

Documentary publications: E. Bertanza and G. dalla Santa, *Documenti per la Storia della Cultura in Venezia: Maestri, Scuole e Scuolari a Venezia fino al 1500* [Monumenti Storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, first series, vol. XII.] (Venice, 1907, pp. xxii, 405); *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis*, documents for the his-

tory of the University of Bologna from its origin to the fifteenth century (Bologna, Beltrami, pp. 112); G. Bourgin, *Documents Italiens sur Cagliostro et la Francmaçonnerie* (Revue Historique, July-August).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Espejo, *Sobre Organización de la Hacienda Española en el Siglo XVI.*, I. (Cultura Española, May).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

The *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* for May contains an account of the progress made in the publication of the various historical series now being issued by the historical commissions of Bavaria, Saxony, Baden and by the Hansische Geschichtsverein.

The seventh edition of the Dahlmann-Waitz *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Dieterich) has been completed by the issue of an *Ergänzungsband* (pp. 150) containing references to the publications of 1905-1906 and the index.

The task of re-editing the catalogues of the medieval libraries of Germany has been undertaken by the federation (Cartell) of the five academies of Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich, and Vienna.

The sixth volume of the *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.* (Leipzig, 1907, pp. xii, 398) by G. Meyer von Knonau, narrates in the form of annals usual to this series, with very abundant annotations, the history of Germany from 1106-1116.

Luther's Table Talk: a Critical Study (Macmillan, 1907, pp. 135) by Preserved Smith is number 2 of volume XXVI. of the "Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law".

The "Relation" by Sydenham Poyntz, an English volunteer and later a prominent Parliamentary officer, of his experiences during the first half of the Thirty Years' War, will be issued this year in the Camden Series of the Royal Historical Society. The editor of the volume is the Rev. A. T. S. Goodrick.

The Commission for the Modern History of Austria has published two volumes dealing with the central administration of Austria from the time of Maximilian I. to 1749. The first volume contains a *Geschichtliche Uebersicht* (Vienna, A. Holzhausen, 1907, pp. xii, 288); the second is made up of *Aktenstücke*, 1491-1681 (1907, pp. viii, 664). Both volumes were begun by T. Fellner and completed after his death by H. Kretschmayr.

Der Staatliche Exporthandel Oesterreichs von Leopold I. bis Maria Theresia (Vienna, Braumüller, 1907), by Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, is a detailed account, based upon an examination of the archives of Vienna and Grätz, of the development of the Austrian export trade from 1658 to 1740, with especial reference to the production of mercury and copper.

Le Compromis de 1868 entre la Hongrie et la Croatie et celui de 1867 entre l'Autriche et la Hongrie is an historical and critical study by G. Horn, editor of the *Nouvelle Revue Pratique de Droit International Privé* (Paris, Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1907, pp. 256).

R. Wackernagel, archivist of Basel, is writing a *Geschichte der Stadt Basel* (Basel, Helbing and Lichtenhahn) which is everywhere drawn directly from the sources and is of much general as well as local interest. The first volume comes down to the year 1450 (1907, pp. xv, 646, with a plan of the city in the Middle Ages).

Documentary publications: F. Novák, *Acta Innocentii VI., 1352-1362* [*Monumenta Vaticana Res Gestas Bohemicas Illustrantia*, II.] (Prague, F. Řivnác, 1907, pp. li, 655); F. W. Battenberg, *Beichtbüchlein des Magisters Johannes Wolff (Lupf), ersten Pfarrers an der St. Peterskirche zu Frankfurt a. M. 1453-1468* (Giessen, Töpelmann, 1907, pp. xi, 263); A. Kern, *Deutsche Hofordnungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, II. (Berlin, Weidmann, 1907, pp. xvi, 263); W. Friedensburg, *Legation des Kardinals Sfondrato, 1547-1548* [Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, 1533-1559, X., in the series conducted by the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome] (Berlin, A. Barth, 1907, pp. xlviii, 734); A. Veress, *Carrillo Alfonz, Jezsuita-alya Levelezése és Iratái, 1591-1618* [*Monumenta Hungariae Historica*], 370 letters and papers by Alfonso Carrillo, a Spanish Jesuit, collected from thirty-two archives of Europe, principally from the Vatican, and written in Latin, Italian, and Spanish (Budapest, Académie, 1906, pp. lii, 739); Rudolf Graf Khevenhüller Metsch and H. Schlitter, *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller Metsch, Obersthofmeisters der Kaiserin (1742-1776)* [Society for the Modern History of Austria] (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1907, pp. 310).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Steinacker, *Über Stand und Aufgaben der Ungarischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVIII. 2); A. Karll, *Hamburger Verkehrsweisen bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, V. 3); A. Nägle, *Hat Kaiser Maximilian I. im Jahre 1507 Papst werden wollen?* II. (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 2); H. Barge, *Luther und Karlstadt in Wittenberg* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIX. 2); B. Duhr, *Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens aus Münchener Archiven und Bibliotheken*, III. (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 2); C. Varrentrapp, *Rankes Historisch-politische Zeitschrift und das Berliner Politische Wochenblatt* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIX. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

An interesting endeavor to make a medieval Dutch city live again by learned description is *Een Bezoek aan een Nederlandsche Stad in*

de Veertiende Eeuw (Deventer), by Dr. F. Buitenrust Hettema and Mr. A. Telting of the Royal Archives of the Netherlands (Hague, Nijhoff, pp. 193).

The task of classifying and indexing the 7,000 volumes of records left by the Dutch administration in Ceylon, has been entrusted to Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, archivist to the Ceylon government.

Under the editorship of M. Heeres the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal- ende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië has begun the publication of a *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, which will be of great importance for the study of the history of Dutch expansion in the East Indies. A complete collection of the contracts and treaties concluded by the Dutch in the East Indies up to 1811 is intended. The first of the four volumes extends from 1596 to 1650.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The first volume of *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Öresund, 1497-1660* (Copenhagen, Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1906) by Nina Ellinger Bang, includes statistical tables regarding the size, direction of voyage, freight (ballast or cargo), and month of sailing of more than 400,000 ships that passed through the Sound from 1497 to 1660. The preface, of which there is a French translation, contains a history of the accounts of the payment of Sound dues.

The house of Picard has published an authorized French translation with a preface by G. Schlumberger of an *Essai sur la Civilisation Byzantine* (Paris, 1907, pp. 394), by Professor D. C. Hesseling of Leyden.

The latest volume in the series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*, now being edited by Professor Lamprecht, is the second volume of Professor R. F. Kaindl's *Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpathenländern* (Gotha, Perthes, pp. xii, 421), covering the history of the Germans in Hungary and Transylvania to 1763 and in Wallachia and Moldavia to 1774.

A contribution to the diplomatic history of the Roumanians is made by M. Alexandre A. C. Sturdza in the sumptuous volume *Règne de Michel Sturdza, Prince Régnant de Moldavie, 1834-1849* (Paris, Plon, 1907, pp. 450), which includes many documents that throw light on the history of the Eastern Question during that period, and numerous portraits.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Mr. Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution began work in Paris in July upon the preparation of a guide to the materials for American history in Parisian archives. Professor Herbert E. Bolton at the same time began the preparation of a similar volume in Mexico.

Professor W. H. Allison, devoting the summer to his searches of the archives of religious denominations and societies and of denominational seminaries and colleges, has nearly completed his inventory of what they contain for American religious history. Mr. Pérez's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Cuban Archives* has appeared, and is noticed on another page. Professor Shepherd's volume for Spain is in the press. When composition had already begun upon the first volume of Professor Andrews's *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States to 1783 in London Archives*, etc., word was received that the authorities of the Public Record Office had entered upon a total rearrangement of the Colonial Office Papers, naturally the largest element in that volume. As this process of rearrangement will not be completed in less than a year, progress upon the volume is for the present suspended; the second volume however may be issued earlier. Dr. Marcus W. Jernegan, formerly of the University of Chicago, will be a member of the staff of the Department of Historical Research during the coming academic year, during Mr. Leland's absence.

Dr. E. C. Richardson's bibliography of writings on American history issued in 1902, and Professor McLaughlin's volume for 1903 published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, have not, it is familiar, been followed by volumes covering the books, pamphlets, and articles produced in subsequent years. Arrangements have now been perfected, however, whereby a volume for 1906, prepared on Mr. McLaughlin's plan under the supervision of J. F. Jameson, will be issued early in 1908, to be followed as promptly as is practicable by similar volumes for 1907 and subsequent years. A group of historical societies and individual guarantors has agreed to sustain the project for five years.

In the series of "Original Narratives of Early American History" the fourth volume, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, edited by Mr. W. L. Grant, appeared in June, the fifth, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, edited by President L. G. Tyler, late in September. The sixth, Bradford's *History of Plimmoth Plantation*, edited by Hon. W. T. Davis of Plymouth, is expected to appear in November. The manuscript of Dr. Hosmer's edition of Winthrop (the seventh and eighth volumes of the series) is completed. The ninth will be *Narratives of New Netherland*, edited by Mr. A. J. H. van Laer of Albany, archivist of the state of New York; the tenth, Captain Edward Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England*, edited by J. F. Jameson.

The American Antiquarian Society has entrusted to Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, the editorial preparation of its proposed volumes of royal proclamations respecting America.

The Library of Congress has put forth a third issue of its list of books (pp. 157), partly historical, on immigration into the United States. Professor John R. Commons's *Races and Immigrants in America* (Mac-

millan) should be mentioned as one of the latest important books on the subject.

Volume I. (A to E) of Dr. T. L. Bradford's *Bibliographer's Manual of American History*, edited and revised by Mr. Stan. V. Henkels, is now out. The *Manual* is to consist of five volumes and will contain "an account of all state, territory, town and county histories relating to the United States, with verbatim copies of their titles, and useful bibliographical notes, together with the prices at which they have been sold for the last forty years, with index by title and by states".

The seventh volume of the *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 151-175 (Boston, Directors of the Old South Work, 1907, pp. 472) contains Commodore Perry's official report of his landing in Japan, the Massachusetts "Body of Liberties", the New England Confederation, *A Relation of the Successful Beginnings of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation*, Penn's letter descriptive of Pennsylvania (1683), the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina", and other interesting documents and extracts.

Among the papers and addresses presented at the fifteenth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, held at Newport, Rhode Island, on July 4 and 5, were the following: Dr. Cyrus Adler, "A Contemporary Memorial relating to Damages to Spanish Interests in America done by Jews of Holland (1634)"; Edmund H. Abrahams, "A few Facts relative to the Sheftall Family of Georgia"; Albert M. Friedenberg, "The Influence of the German Revolutionary Movements of 1848-1849 on the Jews of America"; Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, "Sectarianism in the State Constitutions of the United States"; Hon. David E. Heineman, "Notes on Early Jewish Wayfarers in the Northwest"; Leon Hühner, "Some Additional Notes on the History of the Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times", "Aaron Lopez, a Merchant Prince of Colonial Rhode Island", and "Some Jewish Associates of John Brown"; Samuel Oppenheim, "The First Settlement of the Jews at Newport".

The American Catholic Historical Society has secured from the archiepiscopal archives in Quebec copies of all letters which might throw light on the development of Catholic activity during the early days of the church in the United States. Some account of these archives is given by the archivist, the Abbé Lionel St. George Lindsay, in the *Records* of the society for March, and a selection from them, the correspondence between Bishop Plessis of Quebec and Bishop Flaget of Bardstown, Kentucky (1811 to 1833), is there printed.

The two most recent issues of the "Johns Hopkins University Studies" are both valuable historical contributions. In *The Monroe Mission to France, 1794-1796* (pp. 104), Professor Beverly W. Bond, jr., has brought to bear upon his subject much material from the diplomatic archives of the Department of State and from the Monroe Papers in the Library of Congress. The other issue is part II. of Professor Ber-

nard C. Steiner's *Maryland During the English Civil Wars* (pp. 118), part 1. of which was published during the past year. The monograph closes with an account of the assembly of 1649 and its famous act "concerning religion".

Professor Elmer C. Griffith of William Jewell College has just brought out (Chicago, Scott, Foresman, and Company, pp. 124) an able and thorough study of *The Rise and Development of the Gerrymander*. He shows that, far from having been invented in 1812, the practice is nearly as old in America as popular election by districts, and is represented by more than a dozen earlier instances. He traces its history, and the history of efforts to prevent it, to 1840, and rightly dwells upon its vast importance as a corrupter of American politics.

The College Curriculum in the United States, by Dr. Louis Franklin Snow (Macmillan, pp. 186), is a careful and intelligent historical study of the development of the college curriculum from the founding of Harvard to the present day.

The *Magazine of History* for May contains the fourth paper of A. Franklin Ross on "The History of Lotteries in New York", and the second paper of the late General Wager Swayne on "The Fruition of the Ordinance of 1787". Other articles of interest are: "The *Sassacus* and the *Albemarle*", by Edgar Holden, M.D., U. S. N., and "The Moravians at Onondaga, N. Y.", by Rev. W. M. Beauchamp. Among the original documents is a letter of Colonel Israel Keith, dated September 26, 1776, describing the retreat after the battle of Long Island. The June number concludes Mr. Ross's study, and prints an interesting collection of papers relating to St. Clair's defeat, lately obtained by Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit. They were found by Indians on the body of General Richard Butler and preserved among the Wyandottes till now.

The publisher of the *Magazine of History*, Mr. William Abbatt, announces that he will issue, probably in June and December of each year, an extra number of the *Magazine*, each consisting of one or more scarce items of Americana. The first of these numbers is to comprise two pamphlets by the late George H. Moore, entitled "Washington as an Angler", and "Historical Notes on the Employment of Negroes in the American Army of the Revolution".

The July issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* is devoted to "American Colonial Policy and Administration". Of the numerous papers there printed the majority relate to conditions and institutions in the Philippines. Two may be mentioned as possessing historical interest, the annual address delivered by Senator Albert J. Beveridge on "The Development of a Colonial Policy for the United States", and the address of Mr. James Bryce, the British ambassador, entitled "Some Difficulties in Colonial Government encountered by Great Britain and how they have been met".

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

Under the title *The Call of the West* (Scribner) Mr. Sidney Lee presents America in the process of revelation to the mind of the Englishman of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Since our last issue the Burrows Brothers Company has brought out the first volume (pp. xv, 655) of the *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, which Father Thomas Hughes, S. J., has for a dozen years been preparing. The second volume will consist of accompanying documents for the province and period (Maryland to 1645) embraced in the first or narrative volume. As the work is one of the great series commanded by the late general of the Jesuits, intended to cover the history of the Society in each of its general assistancies (of which volume I. of Father Astrain's *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* has already appeared), its learned author has had the fullest opportunities for examination of all Jesuit archives.

The New England Society of Brooklyn proposes to issue a volume containing all the various narratives of English voyages to the New England coast between 1600 and 1620, including the writings of Captain John Smith relating to New England.

During the autumn the Macmillan Company will publish *A Century of Colonial History, 1660-1760*, the second volume of Professor Edward Channing's *History of the United States*.

Volume III. of E. M. Avery's *History of the United States and its People* has come from the press of the Burrows Brothers Company.

A series of reprints, in limited editions, called the "Indian Captivities Series" is being undertaken by the H. R. Huntting Company (Springfield, Mass.). The first issue gives us *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson*, reproduced from the third edition, published in 1814 at Windsor, Vermont. The volume has a historical introduction by Mr. Horace W. Bailey.

It is announced that the Macmillan Company are preparing to publish a work on *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, by Dr. George L. Beer of Columbia University.

It is announced that Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company will shortly issue the third part of Sir George Trevelyan's *The American Revolution*, covering the period of Saratoga, Brandywine, and Valley Forge.

The latest history of the American Revolution, two volumes in extent, published in London by Messrs. Brown, Langham, and Company, is entitled *England and America, 1763-1783: the History of a Reaction*, by Miss Mary A. M. Marks.

Professor Justin H. Smith of Dartmouth College has brought out a history in two volumes of the American efforts to secure Canada at the time of the Revolution, *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony* (Putnam).

Mr. Owen Wister has written a book entitled *The Seven Ages of Washington*, aiming to condense "within the smallest reasonable space a comprehensive estimate of Washington's life, character and significance". It will be published by the Macmillan Company during the autumn.

George H. Richmond and Son of New York have published *Fifty-Five Letters of George Washington to Benjamin Lincoln, 1777-1799*, "briefly described, with foreword", by A. J. Bowden.

A recent number of the *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware* relates to the "Life, Character and Public Services of Commodore Jacob Jones".

The correspondence of John McLean, postmaster-general 1823-1829, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court 1830-1861, has been acquired by the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

Professor Justin H. Smith of Dartmouth College is engaged upon an elaborate history of the war between the United States and Mexico. He would feel greatly obliged for any information about manuscripts or out-of-the-way published material bearing upon the subject, and may be addressed at 270 Beacon street, Boston.

McClure, Phillips, and Company will shortly publish in two illustrated volumes the *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, which have appeared serially in *McClure's Magazine*.

A Correct History of the John Brown Invasion at Harper's Ferry is the title of a work compiled by the late Captain John H. Zittle, said to have been an eye-witness to many of the occurrences, and edited by his widow. The book bears the imprint of the Mail Publishing Company of Hagerstown, Maryland.

Messrs. George W. Jacobs and Company have added to their "American Crisis Biographies" *Judah P. Benjamin*, by Pierce Butler.

A recent volume of the *Papers of the Military Society of Massachusetts* deals with the Shenandoah and Appomattox campaigns. The several papers in the volume are written mainly by officers who participated in those campaigns.

Mr. William J. Lauck's *The Causes of the Panic of 1893* (Boston, Houghton) is a conscientious and useful essay which has won the prize offered by Messrs. Hart, Schaffner, and Marx.

Captain H. H. Sargent, U. S. A., has just published (Chicago, McClurg) a history of *The Campaign of Santiago de Cuba* in three volumes.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Legislature of Maine at its last session established the office of State Historian, and Governor Cobb gave the appointment to the Rev. Henry S. Burrage of Togus, a member of the Maine Historical Society, and the author of a number of historical works. Little has hitherto been done in collecting and arranging the archives of the state, or the analogous materials in Europe and Massachusetts for the period before 1820, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Burrage will call the attention of the Legislature to the important work that should be done in this direction.

On August 29 the Maine Historical Society celebrated at Popham Beach the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Popham colony at the mouth of the Kennebec river. Addresses were delivered by Hon. James P. Baxter, president of the Maine Historical Society, and others, followed by the unveiling of a memorial on the site of the fort erected by the colonists, with the inscription: "The first English Colony on the shores of New England was founded here August 29th, 1607."

The second part, New Hampshire, of Miss A. R. Hasse's *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States*, has been brought out by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The full text of the instructions issued to Edward Cranfield, lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, in 1682, has been discovered in the archives at London and a copy has been received by the editor of the *New Hampshire State Papers*. Neither the original nor any complete copy had hitherto been known for more than two hundred years, and the text now discovered puts a new light upon many matters of the early constitutional history of New Hampshire. The evidence that the laws enacted in the presidency of John Cutt were in fact repealed, is particularly novel and important.

Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin, and Company have recently issued *Holder-ness; an Account of the Beginnings of a New Hampshire Town*, by George Hodges.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has just published the fourteenth volume of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay*, containing resolves, orders, votes, etc., for the years 1747-1753.

Historical Sketch of the Finances and Financial Policy of Massachusetts, from 1780 to 1905, by Charles Jesse Bullock, is a recent number of the Publications of the American Economic Association.

Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin, and Company publish this autumn a volume on *The Life and Times of Stephen Higginson* by Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and a *Life of William Pitt Fessenden* by General Francis Fessenden.

The thirty-seventh record volume issued by the city of Boston embraces the records of town meetings from 1814 to 1822.

The July number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains additional installments of the Revolutionary letters written to Colonel Timothy Pickering, and of the Salem town records.

The address by Daniel Davenport on the two-hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town of New Milford, Connecticut (June 17), has been issued in a neat pamphlet of twenty pages. The author points out the conditions, principally the "need for more land", which induced the planting of this settlement in a region "as remote and inaccessible to the rest of the Colony as were Indiana and Illinois to our fathers in the middle of the last century".

The governor of New York has appointed to the office of state historian Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, heretofore of the Lenox Library, a scholar of extensive repute for precisely those qualities and acquirements which the office demands. In his hands it is certain to be made a means of great improvement to the documentation of New York history. We understand that his first large undertaking will be a series comprising the *Minutes of the Executive Council of New York*, from 1668, together with such original petitions, correspondence, and other documents as are necessary to explain the council's transactions. An index to the volumes of *Public Papers of George Clinton* is in preparation.

Mr. Paltsits is desirous of procuring the following publications of his department, issued by his predecessor, which are out of print and needed to make up complete sets. Libraries or individuals having duplicates to spare, are requested to communicate with him (Albany, New York), in order that he may arrange for their transmission and acknowledgment. Only perfect copies are desired, and only the volumes specified: *Colonial Series*, vol. I. (1896); *Clinton Papers*, vols. I. (1899); II. (1900); III. (1900); V. (1901); *Tompkins Papers*, vol. I. (1898); *Ecclesiastical Records*, vols. I. and II. (1901); *New York and the War with Spain* (1903).

The Buffalo Historical Society has in press volumes X. and XI. of its series of *Publications*, containing the speeches, miscellaneous writings and correspondence of Millard Fillmore. Of marked interest are numerous letters, written by Mr. Fillmore to Thurlow Weed regarding political issues, especially in New York state. These letters and many others secured for the collection have never been published. The editor desires to learn of any person or institution possessing Fillmore manuscripts. Communications should be addressed to the secretary of the society, Historical Building, Buffalo.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* for July contains an extended article by Mr. Sydney G. Fisher examining "The Twenty-eight Charges

against the King in the Declaration of Independence", a journal kept in 1768 at Fort Chartres and on a voyage thence to New Orleans by John Jennings, and further extracts from the papers of General Persifor Frazer and from General Washington's household account-books. The society has received a notable addition to its materials for the history of the first Bank of the United States.

The *German American Annals* for May-June and July-August, 1907, contain the first installments of a valuable and most scholarly "Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius" by Professor Marion D. Learned of the University of Pennsylvania.

The May issue of the *Publications of the Southern History Association* contains portions of the correspondence of T. R. R. Cobb, 1860-1862, principally relating to secession; and portions of the correspondence of Francis Marion with Nathaniel Greene. The former is continued in the July number.

Origin and Government of the District of Columbia (pp. 224), has been issued from the office of the Superintendent of Documents.

The June issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains several articles of interest, among which may be mentioned "The Battle of North Point", by Captain Frederick M. Colston; "The Parish Records of Maryland", by Henry F. Thomson; "New Light on some Maryland Loyalists", by Professor Bernard C. Steiner; and "Maryland's Part in the Expedition against Carthagen", by Clayton C. Hall. There is also a second installment of the correspondence of Governor Eden, and three documents relating to William Clayborne and Kent Island.

The July number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is constituted mainly of continued articles: "Journals of the Council of Virginia in Executive Sessions, 1737-1763"; "Virginia Legislative Papers"; "Virginia Colonial Records" (miscellaneous, 1621-1623, and a few relating to the servants' plot of 1663); "Revolutionary Army Orders", 1778-1779; also additional papers concerning Nathaniel Bacon, the rebel.

Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, "an inquiry into the origin of the higher planting class, together with an account of the habits, customs, and diversions of the people" (pp. 268), by Philip Alexander Bruce, has been brought out by the Bell Book and Stationery Company of Richmond.

The Virginia Historical Society has completed a manuscript index to a volume containing the minutes of the General Court of Virginia from 1670 to 1676.

Mr. Thomas Nelson Page gathers together a number of essays on the early life and history of Virginia under the title *The Old Dominion: her Making and her Manners* (Scribners).

The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, a monograph by J. W. Wayland, has been privately printed at Charlottesville, Virginia (pp. 272).

The North Carolina Historical Commission, recently re-organized by the election of Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, chairman, and Mr. R. D. W. Connor of Raleigh, secretary, has in press a volume entitled: *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905*, compiled and edited by W. J. Peele and Clarence H. Poe, and a *Documentary History of Public Education in North Carolina from 1800 to 1840*, compiled and edited by Charles L. Coon. Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton, associate professor of history in the University of North Carolina, is editing for the commission the private letters of Governor Jonathan Worth, governor of North Carolina from 1866 to 1868. The commission has caused to be copied the records of St. Paul's vestry, Edenton, N. C., from January 3, 1714/5 to October 15, 1776, and is proceeding with the copying of the executive letter-books of the governors of North Carolina. Those of Governors Spaight, Ashe, Davie, Williams, Turner, and Stone, 1792-1810, have been copied.

The Historical Commission of South Carolina has printed the *Journal of the General Assembly* for the period March 26-April 11, 1776, edited by Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr. (pp. 89).

The *South Carolina Historical Magazine* for July contains letters of Lafayette to Henry Laurens, 1778, a most interesting statement by Laurens explanatory of his signature to the Association of June, 1775, and a curious correspondence of the Brailsford family, ca. 1727.

The Georgia Historical Society has published as volume VI. of its *Collections* "The Letters of Hon. James Habersham, 1756-1775". The edition is a limited one and for the exclusive use of members of the society.

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, has undertaken the preparation and publication of the writings and speeches of Jefferson Davis, and is actively collecting materials for the purpose. At the same time Professor Walter L. Fleming, now of Louisiana State University, is engaged in writing a biography of Davis, and would be glad to be informed respecting details of his career not already matters of common knowledge, and respecting letters, diaries, and other documentary materials relating to his life. Dr. Rowland may be addressed at Jackson, Mississippi, Professor Fleming at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Dr. P. Heinrich has just published in Paris (Guilmoto, pp. lxxx, 298) *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717-1731*; and also (the same publisher, pp. 80) a brief monograph entitled *L'Abbé Prévost et la Louisiane*, in which he discusses the historical value of *Manon Lescaut*.

The *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* for July contains the second installment of Mr. James Newton Baskett's paper on the route of Cabeza de Vaca, a valuable account of the Spanish mission records at San Antonio, by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, and "A Glimpse of Albert Sidney Johnston through the Smoke of Shiloh".

The *Quarterly Publication* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio continues in the January-March issue the publication of the Torrence Papers begun in the July-September number. In the April-June issue are printed selections from the "Gallipolis Papers", which are in the possession of the society. This selection of the papers is arranged and edited by Theodore T. Belote of the University of Cincinnati, who has in preparation a monograph on "The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis".

A carefully prepared paper on "The Western Indians in the Revolution", by Wallace Notestein, which was awarded (1905) the annual prize offered by the Ohio Sons of the Revolution for an historical essay by an Ohioan, appears in the July issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. Another article of interest is by Benjamin F. Prince on "The Rescue Case of 1857", the case of Addison White, a fugitive slave from Kentucky. The *Quarterly* also prints three journals of Rev. James Smith, who made a tour from Powhatan county, Virginia, into Kentucky in 1783, into Kentucky and the Northwest Territory in 1795 and 1797. A sketch of Mr. Smith, by Josiah Morrow, accompanies the journals.

Among the numerous papers printed in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* for the year 1906 (Springfield, 1907, pp. xvii, 437) we note the following: "The Earliest Courts of the Illinois Country", by George A. Dupuy; "Negro Servitude in Illinois", by N. Dwight Harris; "Bourbonnais; or the Early French Settlement in Kankakee County", by Charles B. Campbell; "The Mormon Settlement in Illinois", by Orville F. Berry; "The Icarian Community of Nauvoo, Illinois", by Mrs. I. G. Miller; "The Armament of Fort Chartres", by Dr. J. F. Snyder; "The Genesis of the Republican Party in Illinois", by Paul Selby; "A Study of the Development of Opinion in the East with regard to Lincoln (before 1860)", by Lucia A. Stevens. The volume contains also the paper, mentioned in these pages in July, on "The Finding of the Kaskaskia Records", by Professor Clarence W. Alvord. Under Mr. Alvord's editorship the State Historical Library has also issued, as volume II. of *Illinois Historical Collections* (pp. clvi, 663), the Cahokia records of the period 1778-1790.

The Minnesota Historical Society has begun the printing of volume XII. of its *Collections*, comprising papers and addresses read before the society in the last two years. It will also shortly publish a thirteenth volume, *Lives of the Governors of Minnesota*, territorial and state, by

General James H. Baker, who has personally known them all. Other works in preparation are *The Archæology of Minnesota*, by Professor N. H. Winchell, dealing with aboriginal mounds and other remains; a reference-book of Minnesota biography; one of Minnesota geographic names, giving their origin, date, and meaning; and a life of Governor Alexander Ramsey.

A general gathering of persons interested in local historical work will take place at Cincinnati on November 29 and 30. The programme of this "Central Ohio Valley History Conference" will make provision for the interests of the local historical societies, of the teachers of history, and of the patriotic societies. The secretary of the committee of arrangements is Dr. Frank P. Goodwin, 3435 Observatory Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The July number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains an article of some length by Professor F. I. Herriott on "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln". One section of the article is devoted to an examination of the question whether Iowa's delegates were (as asserted in a recent work) "on the trade".

The State Historical Society of North Dakota contemplates the publication of the log-book of Captain C. J. Atkins, pilot on the Missouri River, 1863-1868.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for March, the last issue we have received, is chiefly marked by a valuable article by T. W. Davenport, "Recollections of an Indian Agent" (1862-1863). It also contains a reprint of Floyd's report of January, 1821, on the Oregon settlements and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River.

An index to the first ten volumes of the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* (1896-1905), prepared by H. H. Langton, M.A., librarian of the University of Toronto, has appeared from the press of Morang and Company. The volume consists of three parts—an index of authors (pp. 94), an index of subjects (pp. 92), and an index of periodicals and societies' publications (pp. 10).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. B. Hart, *Growth of American Theories of Popular Government* (American Political Science Review, August); R. D. W. Connor, *The Settlement of Cape Fear* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); T. J. Middleton, *Andrew Johnson and the Homestead Law* (Sewanee Review, July); F. T. Hill, *Decisive Battles of the Law: Dred Scott vs. Sanford* (Harper's, July); Carl Schurz, *The Battle of Gettysburg* (McClure's, July); Carl Schurz, *The Battle of Missionary Ridge* (McClure's, September); W. H. Crook, *Lincoln's Last Day* (Harper's, September); J. Moncure, *John M. Daniel, the Editor of the Examiner* (Sewanee Review, July).

The
American Historical Review

THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION,¹ I.

THE problem of the origin of the English Constitution is the problem of ascertaining how, and, if possible, where the constitutional development of that country branched off the line of growth common to medieval monarchies. At some point of time England entered a road new in history, trodden by no other people and leading to a result never arrived at elsewhere—full and free national self-government, under the forms of a monarchy and the theory of an unlimited kingship. From a constitutional beginning practically identical, France came out of the Middle Ages with an absolute, and England with a limited monarchy. To find the how and when of this divergence is to fix the origin of the English constitution.

It is impossible to place the date earlier than 1215. England to the end of John's reign was a feudal state. In the general constitution and in the individual institutions by which the constitution was operated, there had been as yet no essential departure from that type as seen in all the feudal countries. One great difference of course existed—the powerful monarchy, the close centralization of the Anglo-Norman state—but while this difference strongly affected the results of government, it had affected methods and machinery scarcely at all. In two directions we may say that it had. Looking from above it had produced a more logical and ideal development of the feudal system, as in the financial rights of the sovereign, relief, wardship and marriage, in the reality of

¹ I publish here a preliminary outline which I hope to expand in time into a detailed account of the origin of the English constitution. I use the word "constitution" in this title not in the sense of the whole body of institutions which make up the machinery of the state, but in the sense which it bears in some uses of the modern phrase "constitutional government", the limited monarchy, the distinguishing feature which made the English a constitution of a new type.

feudal service from the great baron, and of the service desired from the church in the feudal organization; in the other direction, there had resulted a less complete partition of political powers than was natural to feudalism, a difference which is seen most easily, but not alone, in the imperfect development of private jurisdictions in England. These characteristics all mean a stronger kingship.

Nor had the strong monarchy as yet begun the task of transforming the feudal into a modern organization, at least not in such a way as to produce immediate results. In two important matters innovations had been made, but of so slight a character by that date as scarcely to seem innovations—in the judicial system and in taxation. But again, if completely carried out as begun, both these changes would have had for their result to strengthen the sovereign still further. As a matter of fact this tendency to increased power John used to as full advantage as was possible for that time. I believe that the tremendous power which he exercised over a reluctant baronage and a hostile but cowering church, even until after the battle of Bouvines, though it had begun to weaken before that date, has never been emphasized enough. If one considers the situation carefully, especially after the ineffective interdict and excommunication, it seems impossible to state too strongly the utter powerlessness of every element in the state as against the king. I doubt if there is to be found a like instance of arbitrary power in medieval history in the case of a sovereign so nearly dependent on himself alone. To be sure John had been forced to yield in 1213, but he had yielded so suddenly and with such consummate skill in adapting what he did to the one real necessity of the case and no more, that his hold upon the kingdom was for the time being only slightly loosened.² But whatever one may think of John's position, the situation on the eve of 1215 promised a very different outcome of English history from that which actually occurred. It is impossible to find in it any reasons for suspecting that England had departed, or was about to depart, in any essential matter, from the usual development of a feudal constitution, least of all in the direction of a limited monarchy.

If now we turn to the time following 1215 we are confronted with a similar condition of things. It is a hundred and fifty years

² My argument in volume II. of Hunt and Poole's *The Political History of England*, p. 424, for the view that John's act of homage was of his own policy, and not demanded by the pope, has been questioned. This view still seems to me decidedly the more probable. It is less important, however, to determine what one shall believe about a question which must always be a matter of opinion, than to see how indispensable the act was to John's security, and that nothing less would have averted the French invasion.

after that date before we can find any institution forming a permanent part of the constitution, not merely a temporary experiment, of which we can say that it had for its object to secure the operation of a limited monarchy. It is generations of time in other words before we can detect any essential departure from the type of the continental state which we may be certain is in the direction of a limited monarchy.³ All the constitutions which grew out of the feudal, including the English, were alike in their general features so far as the machinery of government was concerned. In all alike the *curia regis*, the great mother of institutions, gave birth to practically the same progeny, growing up to closely similar results. Peculiarities there were in each state, differences of detail, of form rather than of method or character; but England differs no more widely from what may be called the normal type than do other states, probably less than does Germany. Some of the English differences may be thought to be very essential elements of constitutional government, some details of the judicial system, some features of local government, the composition and organization of Parliament, and they certainly were of great assistance in the making of the constitution, but it did not come from them. All such peculiarities of the English constitution taken together would never have produced a limited monarchy. It is indeed true that the constitution was practically completed, all its great principles were established, before institutions which may be said to be peculiar to itself had come into existence. In fact the final constitution, to the present time, has consisted less in institutions that are peculiar to itself than in the fact that institutions common in their general form to many states have been used for purposes, to embody and protect ideas, not found elsewhere, and have been by degrees in consequence of such uses somewhat transformed in character. It was not in the development of the machinery of government that the difference between the French and English constitution was brought about. It is elsewhere than in institutions proper that we must look for the cause of the peculiar result. Were it not for the fact that we are often satisfied with explaining this difference by calling attention to such things as the jury, the survival of election, the composition of the House of Commons and the peculiar characteristics of the English peerage, we might have spared ourselves even so brief an introduction as this because

³ The process of impeachment is the first thing, I think, of which exactly this may be said, though of course by the end of the reign of Edward III. Parliament had made great progress along the line described below.

institutions are always results. The idea goes before the form. The thing in its reality is already in existence, or it is rapidly coming into existence, before it takes on the guise of an institution.

It is to the realm of ideas then, that we must look to find the peculiar influence in English history which explains its peculiar result. There must have been present during the formative centuries, the thirteenth and fourteenth, some guiding principle, actively influencing affairs from time to time and producing that transformation of constitutional ideals and uses which made the English unique among governments at the close of the Middle Ages and in modern times the model of most states.

It is easy to understand upon what point in the constitution as it existed such an idea must bear; against what danger it must strive; what opposing tendency it must overcome. In England, as things had shaped themselves, there was only one rival of the constitution that was to be formed, the unlimited power of the king.⁴ The one danger was that the king should retain over the modern institutions into which feudalism was changing the same absolute control under which he had held the feudal machinery. A formative idea, shaping the English constitution into a limited monarchy, must at the very start oppose the ideal of an absolute king, must proclaim that there was some limitation on his arbitrary will, and must set up limitations of such a sort as to admit of easy and constant enlargement. The tyranny of John could have been transformed into the constitutional monarchy of the Lancastrian age in no other way. A baronage determined to protect its privileges, an ambitious House of Commons, a third estate unusually influential in public affairs, could have made no such constitution except under the guidance of some general principle, by which all classes could work, in every generation alike, and which would grow consistently and continuously as the enlarging interests of men demanded.

This guiding and creative principle is to be found in the idea that there existed a body of understood, more or less definitely formulated rights which the king was bound to observe and which those who at any point of time formed the operative force of the nation had the right to force him to observe if he showed himself disposed not to do so. This principle is imperfectly stated unless

⁴ It may perhaps be thought that the establishment of such an oligarchy as that threatened by the Provisions of Oxford, presents a third possibility, but not, I think, in the actual situation in England. The baronage was too weak, between the king on one side and the third estate on the other, to give rise to any real danger.

both parts are included in it. The second half, the right of coercion, was as essential a part of it as the first, more so, if that were possible, for without this right and its successful exercise the idea of a body of law above the king would probably have disappeared leaving behind it no practical result. If this is true, it follows that the real line of the early development of the constitution, of the events which by degrees called it into existence, is again not the development of Parliament, but the line of the enforcement of this right of coercion. The history of Parliament is the history of the independent and unintended formation of the institution which finally, when the idea had become firmly established, was to assume its guardianship and enforcement; but the history of Parliamentary origins and growth is not the history of the origin of the limited monarchy.

I have said that for generations this idea was embodied in no peculiar institutions, and this is true. Men devised no successful machinery to give it permanent expression. But I do not mean to say that no attempt was made to create such machinery. There was in fact much experimenting. From time to time institutions were invented, and machinery set up with the conscious purpose of enforcing this principle, and with more or less definite hope of permanence. But nothing of the sort was really successful or lasted beyond the mere occasion which called it into being. There was, to be sure, a general likeness in all these early attempts. The cases under John, Henry III., Edward II., Richard II. and Henry IV. have a general similarity of method and character. The vesting of royal powers in a commission, or the transferring of the responsibility of royal officers to Parliament were, one or both, typical features of all the cases. But open assumption of the royal power, or of any royal prerogative, by Parliament, or by any commission in name or form a creature of Parliament, was not to be the way of the constitution.

This early experimenting, of which the Provisions of Oxford is the most typical example, was all in the wrong direction, doomed to and deserving failure. And it possessed in no single instance any element of permanence. Each case grew out of a special situation and lasted only so long as the situation continued. Nor is there to be found any line of institutional connection between the cases.⁵ On every new occasion when it was necessary to apply the fundamental principle, a method was devised anew and, whenever

⁵ The demands for the confirmation of Magna Carta do form a continuous line of connection, but a line not of institutions. They express rather the idea which lay behind all the experiments. I shall have something to say of these demands in my second article.

any line of connection between two cases can be made out, it is at best only one of precedent and remembrance, and not of the continuous growth of an institution. Even precedent does not accumulate. No advancement is apparent. No later case builds on its predecessors, or goes on to improve what had been before into a more perfect or lasting instrument for controlling the king. The instances are individual, disconnected and unprogressive, but they must not be taken therefore to prove that in the meantime the fundamental principle had fallen out of sight.

But while this abortive experimenting had been going forward, there went on a quite independent line of evolution which is characterized by all that these attempts lack. It is continuous, cumulative and progressive. At first it had nothing to do with the coercion of the king, gradually more, and from the end of the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century it absorbed into itself the line of experiments which before had been without permanent result, and became the sole guardian of the interests of the nation as against the king. This is the evolution of Parliament, or to distinguish and to name that which really evolved and which brought about the great result, it is the evolution of the House of Commons. That evolution, so far as we are concerned with it, however, did not consist in any perfection of Parliament as an institution. The constitutional result was not reached because there were two houses instead of three, nor because the minor nobility united with the burgesses to form the House of Commons, nor because of the growing definiteness of constitution and organization of Parliament as the fourteenth century went on. Improvement of machinery assisted the process, but only by rendering it easier and more likely to be continuous.

What made Parliament finally the embodiment of the fundamental principle of the constitution was the fact that through the whole fourteenth century it had been steadily enlarging the body of law which the king must observe, and in most important particulars. Beginning with and assuming control of the specific principle that there should be no taxation without consent, Parliament gradually made clear its bearing and enlarged its scope to include all sources of revenue except those of the feudal suzerain, and indeed encroached most seriously on these in the matter of tallage. From this vantage ground it reached forward to the assertion, not yet fully understood in all its bearings, that the king's expenditure of his revenue should be limited by the specifications of the grant. During the same time in a different direction, Parlia-

ment was making another addition to the law which the king must obey, more difficult and also more significant and decisive, because wholly new. This was the establishment of the principle that the House of Commons must be consulted and consent to every new act having the force of law. In demanding that its consent should always be obtained to taxation, Parliament was only assuming to itself the exercise of a right of the individual vassal which the feudal law had clearly and everywhere recognized and which the Great Council, as standing for the class, had assumed before the existence of Parliament. As the feudal income broadened out to meet the exigencies of the modern state, Parliament insisted that the principle of consent should broaden also to cover all forms of taxation. This was a logical demand, and even a king like Edward I. found that it had been so strongly fortified by the earlier events of the thirteenth century that it was not possible to resist it, and he was forced against his will to restore it to the Great Charter. But in assuming an exclusive right to make new laws, the Parliament of the fourteenth century was taking a position in which it could find no support in the old feudal constitution and which was an enlargement of the law above the king almost revolutionary in character. It is likely that no such assumption could have been made, and clearly it could not have been established but for the progress which Parliament had made in the matter of taxation. There had been very little that may be called new legislation in the feudal age, but what there had been was the act of king and *curia*. In this, as in other respects, there had been no distinction between the great and the small *curia*, and in this, as in other respects, the functions of the old *curia regis* descended along the line of the Council as legitimately as along that of the House of Lords.⁶ For Parliament to assert that an act of legislative character by the king and the upper house, or by the king and the Council,

⁶ See my article on the *Descendants of the Curia Regis* in the last number of this journal. It is to be said in modification of the text that some distinction did exist between the two bodies in practice, but it was like that which existed between them in the judicial function of the *curia*. It was based on the importance of the case or of the parties concerned. It was a distinction of fitness, of convenience, determined by the specific occasion, and not growing out of a difference of function or of right. In other words it was not a distinction of an institutional nature. Probably to complete the explanation of this advance there should be taken into account the rapid dying out of political feudalism, and indeed of the most fundamental feudal distinctions, which accompanied the early stages of Parliamentary history. Had the feudal point of view been retained, even no more perfectly than in the first half of the reign of Henry III., it is likely that the development would have taken the more normal form of a co-ordinate, rather than a supreme legislative right in Parliament.

must not have the same force as a statute, was to go counter to all precedents not merely of feudalism at its height, but of the thirteenth century as well. But this it did assert and in the end, so far as the main point was concerned, the king yielded.

But it was not alone, though chiefly, by enlarging the law which binds the king that Parliament was becoming the guardian and creator of the constitution. In beginning to audit the treasurer's accounts in the reign of Edward III., in the party struggles of the close of that reign and the first years of the reign of Richard II., in the application of old principles and forms to the new use of impeachment, in the coercion of Richard in the first part of his reign, and in the successful revolution at its close, Parliament was advancing by other steps than the making of new law to stand in the balance over against the king, and to assume the direction of constitutional growth. This is the period, the last part of the fourteenth century, when, as I think, the two lines of development which had been going on really apart, the natural development of Parliament and the line of experimenting in methods of coercing the king, really coalesce into one, and henceforward the natural development of Parliament and its powers is at the same time the natural development of the limited monarchy. The Lancastrian period, startlingly and prematurely modern, is an age when the idea and practice of Parliamentary leadership grew familiar and came to seem the natural and traditional order of things, not with all the fullness of understanding of later times, it needed the struggles of the seventeenth century to produce that, but clearly enough to insure their permanence. As compared with this result, we cannot say that the establishment of freedom of debate and the other privileges of Parliament, or of the control of elections, are essential enlargements of the law to which the king was subject.⁷ The age which followed the Lancastrian was one of suspended activity, or of reaction, or more accurately it was one during which Parliament gained the same degree of control over the ecclesiastical organization of the state which it had already acquired over the political. At its beginning the answer of a Yorkist House of Lords to Richard of York's claim to the throne is a constitutional landmark of the utmost significance, and in many ways it might be shown that the English constitution of 1460 was of a type new to the world. Into the details of these later times we do not need to go for our present purpose.

⁷ The practical importance, however, of a case arising under these rights, the case of Goodwin and Fortescue, at the beginning of the reign of James I. should not be overlooked. It brought the king face to face with the constitution, and taught him the existence of a body of law which he could not contravene.

We now return to our original problem but in more specific form: how and when did there enter English history the principle that there is a body of law above the king which he may be compelled to obey if he is unwilling to do so? Continued study of this question leads me only to a restatement of my earlier opinion,⁸ that it was the work of Magna Carta to transfer this principle from the feudal to the modern state, and that in this fact we have the explanation of the influence and significance of the Great Charter in English history.⁹

That there was in the feudal system of things a body of law, of recognized right, which the highest suzerain, the lord paramount of the realm, could not violate, hardly needs, I think, to be proved to anyone familiar with feudal law. Underlying all of

⁸ See vol. V. of the REVIEW (1900), p. 650; and *The Political History of England*, II. 439 (1905).

⁹ It has been suggested that in this opinion I have followed Professor Maitland. In one sense this is true. My publication did follow his; see Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, first ed. (1895), I. 152. But, what I understand the suggestion to mean, that my view of the Charter was derived from his, is certainly not the case. I have been very glad to find myself reaching the same result as so distinguished a scholar, and the fact has undoubtedly given me greater confidence in my conclusions, but those conclusions were entirely independent, reached by a different road and resting on a different body of fact. My original approach to Magna Carta was not through English history or law, quite the reverse; nor did I reach my present understanding by an analysis of it as primarily an English document. I came to the study of it directly from the study of continental feudal institutions and law with which I had occupied what leisure I found for some years. Called upon for class-room purposes to read the document carefully for the first time since my special interest in feudalism had begun, I remember clearly the astonishment with which I recognized the fact that it was practically pure feudal law both in its details and in its underlying principle. There speedily followed the conclusions that England must have been a thoroughly feudal state, as I had not before supposed it to be, and that in the fundamental principle of feudal law, which is also the fundamental principle of Magna Carta, we have the explanation of the influence of that document in English history and the key to the origin of the constitution. It was this conclusion which turned all my interest to the study of early English history to which up to that time I had given no attention, and it was reached before I had read the *History of English Law*, or to my present recollection any other of Professor Maitland's writings. It led me to their study. His conclusion appears to me to rest on an analysis of Magna Carta itself, and I do not understand that he ever fully appreciated its relation to feudal law in general, or developed in his thought, as he could hardly have failed to do if he had given attention to the point, the relation of the fundamental principle of Magna Carta to the origin of the constitution. I have stated these facts so fully not from personal reasons merely, but because it seems to me one method of asserting with emphasis that I believe it to be indispensably necessary, if one would understand the origin of the English constitution, to understand first of all the real meaning of Magna Carta and its relation to the fundamental contract idea of feudal law.

feudalism, practices, law and institutions, was the fact of contract.¹⁰ The feudal relationship was created by a contract; it could be created in no other way. The fact that the terms of that contract were often, probably usually, unwritten is of no importance. Homage, fealty and investiture were the well-understood forms of making such a contract, and the custom of the locality defined clearly to both parties its terms, if no special variation from the ordinary in a given case required special definition. Now this fundamental contract of feudalism was everywhere regarded as contract always is: it bound both parties alike, not to quite the same things, but equally. It requires no long study of any feudal code to see that it all rests back on a contract, and a contract binding the sovereign as truly as the lowest vassal. So far as this principle relates to the ownership of land it is of no importance, for private property and royal grants must be to a degree secure in any régime. It was the peculiarity of the feudal system that it brought under the operation of this same principle public relationships and duties and nearly the whole body of public law.¹¹ The vassal class, those who entered into the feudal relationship and who formed, while feudalism was at its height, practically the whole operative force of the state, bound themselves by the initial contract to certain public duties, financial, military, legislative and judicial, and to no more. We are here especially concerned with this fact from the suzerain's side. Of the services by which public business was carried on, he could demand of the individual vassal only those which the particular contract specified. The

¹⁰ No one, I am sure, will suppose that in declaring *Magna Carta* to rest for its justification on the fundamental contract of feudalism, I am asserting that it was itself a contract between the nation and the king. Such an interpretation of the Charter appears to me wholly wrong. It assumes the existence in 1215 of a nation in the later sense, long before such a thing had come into being, and it assumes the existence of a political idea and theory even more impossible to the time. In saying that, as a statement of what the king is bound to do or not to do, it rests on the fundamental contract of feudalism, I am saying merely that it is a statement of feudal law. It was not *Magna Carta* but the circumstances of the future which gave to the fact that there was a body of law above the king creative power in English history. *Magna Carta* emphasized the fact and made the suggestion of the right of enforcement, in a way never forgotten, but this was all it did. Nor did feudal law furnish, except in a few particulars and these much transformed, the body of law by which the king was bound. The great work of *Magna Carta* was not done by its specific provisions; the secret of its influence is to be found in its underlying idea.

¹¹ Not quite all: see note 15 below. The definition of feudalism, that it is a system of things in which private law has usurped the place of public, is probably well known, but to me at least it does not seem that the bearings of this fact on English constitutional history have been seen as clearly as they should be, nor its consequences followed to the end.

only point of vagueness in that contract was the obligation assumed by the vassal to serve his lord with honor and loyalty. There was nothing about this, however, which allowed the king to demand of the vassal without his consent further money payments than those specified, or more military service, or in different conditions of time or place, or to infringe his rights of private jurisdiction, or to subject him to a different mode of trial from the usual feudal, much less to punish him without trial no matter what he had done. In these particulars and others like them every feudal sovereign was a limited monarch, and the history of every feudal state gives evidence of the enforcement of these limitations against the king. This was just as true of the strong Norman kings as of any others,¹² though they were the most powerful of all feudal sovereigns, and every reign up to Magna Carta shows the existence and effectiveness of these checks.¹³ Everyone of them in some way recognized the fact that there was a body of law which he must observe. Particularly is this the meaning of the charter of Henry I. Like Magna Carta it contains very little that is new, but it rests on the fact that William Rufus had been doing things which he had no right to do and which the barons had the right to bind his successor in terms not to do.

If now we turn to Magna Carta we find in the first place that the conditions which called it into existence were precisely of a sort to demand the enforcement of this fundamental principle of feudalism. Looked at from the point of view of the feudal baron, John had been during the greater part of his reign constantly violating the feudal contract. To enumerate the particulars would be to name the larger part of the clauses of the Great Charter,¹⁴ but two particulars seem to have stood out to that time as especially wide-reaching in their consequences: John's financial methods and his disregard of judicial rights. Of course in neither of these respects was John an innovator; he was only following in the way opened by his father and brother. But circumstances had

¹² Plehn, *Matheus Parisiensis*, p. 1, notes this fact, but does not state quite accurately the reason for it.

¹³ Interesting instances of this fact in the case of the stronger kings are to be found in the failure of the demands of William II. regarding Anselm in the meeting of the *curia regis* at Rockingham in 1095, of the request of Henry II. for a change in the object of the "sheriff's aid" at Woodstock in 1163 and of the request of Richard I. for the feudal service in an unusual form at Oxford in 1197.

¹⁴ Magna Carta does not state all the points of which the barons had earlier complained. It is discreetly silent on the subject of military service in France, for instance, which they had asserted the king wrongfully required. In this they were not right, and it is some evidence of the justice and exact legality of the Charter that it does not put forward such a claim.

forced him to go forward in taxation farther than any one before him and, if this was not so true of the judicial system, the barons were now able to understand more clearly the result for themselves of the judicial changes, and also they might naturally connect with them, as showing their logical tendency, John's habit of arbitrary punishment without judicial process.

As we look at the issue between the barons and the king with our understanding of later times, our sympathies may perhaps be mixed. It is easy enough for us to see that John was at work in the way of the future. The changes which he was striving to make were inevitable and necessary. The transformation which he was helping to carry through was the transformation of the medieval machinery of government into the modern. To this extent we may sympathize with him. But John was carrying forward this work decidedly under the influence of the tendency which seems to have been common in decaying feudalism, the tendency towards absolutism. If also we look at the matter strictly from the feudal point of view, it is impossible not to say that the barons were right. John's acts may have been steps towards a better future; but some of his methods of raising money he had no legal right to employ, the interference with private jurisdiction by the writ *Praecipe* was without justification,¹⁵ and the trial by their peers repeatedly demanded by victims of his tyranny, he could not justly refuse. In every particular touched upon in Magna Carta so far as it was a part of the old feudal law, the barons were wholly within their rights.¹⁶ They were stating law by which the king was already bound, as in his heart he must have admitted.¹⁷

¹⁵ That is, without justification in feudal law. In issuing the writ the king acted on his general right to make justice prevail, and to demand obedience to his writs. See Brunner, *Schwurgericht*, p. 405; Flach, *Origines de l'Ancienne France*, III. 366, n. 3. In other words he found his authority in an older ideal of his office which had survived in some particulars and which, wherever acted on in practice, was the source of inconsistencies and contradictions in the feudal world. In this case the fact should not be overlooked that the king used it to deprive his vassal of a property right, a source of income, which the feudal law affirmed to be his as truly as his domain manors. That the political system from which the right was drawn was not merely older but sounder and more permanent, has nothing to do with the case. By the system which was then ruling such matters and which had ruled them for generations, the act was unquestionably illegal.

¹⁶ It will be noticed that some clauses, for example, clause 25, are not included under this statement.

¹⁷ As soon as he was able John denounced the Charter and procured its annulling by the pope. From the precedents established by his father and brother he was right enough in doing so, but to justify himself by a real and not a usurped right, he must fall back on that older conception of the kingly office,

But here was the practical problem. The barons knew well enough that legal right, as the law then stood, was on their side, but how was it to be enforced, how to be secured for the future against such a king? None of his predecessors had been stronger than he, none indeed had given such an exhibition of strength, had seemed so unshakable, or had held an unwilling nation in such a grip of iron. If defeat abroad and combination at home at last placed him at a disadvantage, how was the recovery of his tyranny to be prevented? How was the law to be made secure against his arbitrary will when the combination was broken up and his strength restored? This, the one urgent problem of the time, gives us the explanation of Magna Carta; how to deal with a king who persistently refused to obey the law which he was rightfully bound to obey and whose promises could not be trusted, how to deal with him in such form as not merely to secure incontestable recognition of the fact that he was bound to obey the law, but also an accepted, legal and orderly means of forcing him to obey if he should break his promises.

This is the explanation of Magna Carta so far as that is given by the historical situation which produced it. The written document gives us the same result. It was suggested of course by the charter of Henry I., and when the archbishop produced a copy of that charter its special fitness for the occasion must have been

not recognized by the feudal law, to which I have referred in note 15. In that conception of king and state there was in truth no room for the principle on which the barons acted, but it was a conception which had had small share in the world, outside infrequent books of scholars, for more than two centuries. It may be said that the right to control the sovereign by force was merely an application of the general right of revolution which exists under any government, or that it was due in successive cases to the action of underlying economic and social causes whose operation may be stated in abstract terms. See my *Civilization During the Middle Ages*, p. 99, n. 1, and cf. *Polit. Sc. Quart.*, XXI. 535. Such statements contain some degree of truth, and in the final narrative of human history they will be allowed due weight, but to the present-day work of the political historian they offer nothing of value. They are either equally true of all cases whatever their special form, or they deal with influences acting in so removed a degree, through secondary or tertiary agents, that they tell us nothing of what actually occurred, or of what the actors in events believed. Nor do such generalizations ever take account of the external forms of the body of institutions, which condition to some extent, and in their forms record, advance or decline. Whatever may be the business of the student of political science, or of the sociologist, it is the business of the historian, in the present stage of knowledge, not to deal with hidden causes, or with abstractions, but to find out what actually occurred and to describe as accurately as possible the immediately accompanying forms and ideas and the process of change. Nor personally do I believe that it is of value in any science to seek for ultimate causes until the phenomena are accurately known.

clearly seen. Once more as by the earlier king, the law had been violated, and once more it was necessary to secure a pledge that those violations should cease. This gives us the body, the greater part, of the Charter. But in one point the case differed from that of Henry I. and in one point the Great Charter goes beyond the earlier one. The king from whom the pledge was demanded was the king who had violated the law. If the charter of Henry I. had been forced from William Rufus by insurgent barons, it probably would not have stopped where it did. Then, as in 1215, the difficult question would have forced itself forward how to compel the king to keep his pledge if he should again violate the law. To this question the barons of John found an answer where they found the right to proceed originally against the king, and to make the specific demands which they embodied in the Charter.

We should be led, I believe, to the same explanation of *Magna Carta* as a document, if we knew nothing of the charter of Henry I. The key to its meaning and to the right on which the barons founded it, is clause 61. Of that clause there are two questions to be asked: first, exactly what was it intended to do; and second, on what ground of right did it rest. In the first place the general purpose of the clause lies plainly on the surface. It was to compel the king to keep the engagements he had entered into in the Charter. John had agreed to be bound by certain statements of law, mostly old, some new, embodied in the earlier clauses. In ordinary cases this would be enough. The king's promise in the form of a legal grant would be all that would be asked for. It is clear that John's promise was not trusted. The question how he could be forced to keep it would arise as soon as men began to consider the drawing up of a charter at all. It is possible that it was this question which led to the withdrawal of the northern barons, recorded by the Barnwell chronicler.¹⁸ Their spirit was such that they may very likely have said: it is utterly useless to try to bind the king with any sort of agreement; the experiment is not worth making. At any rate in the case of John the question of compelling him to keep his promise would be as immediate and pressing as any arising about the Charter. It is clear that in this difficulty the final appeal against the king would be to that which had originally forced the Charter from him—to insurrection. But obviously also this should be only a final appeal. The thing to be done was to devise some method of enforcing the provisions of the Charter, when the king proved unwilling, which would

¹⁸ *Walter of Coventry*, II. 222.

secure the rights granted, to which the king would agree, and which would involve insurrection only as a last resort. That is the specific object of the clause—to set up machinery which will take hold of abuses when the king refuses to reform them, enforce and protect the rights of the persons interested, and do so as recognized machinery of the state without a resort to force. The real nature and purpose of the clause is to be seen from the way it would have worked in practice. To four barons of the twenty-five, the individual was to bring his complaint of some wrong which he could not get corrected. Plainly then the four must decide whether the case was one of real abuse and one intended by the Charter to fall within their supervision. That is to say the clause conferred upon them a judicial function, which was really a prerogative of the king's, to determine whether the law had been violated or not in a given case, and to grant redress. If the four found an abuse, they carried the case to the twenty-five, when of course their decision was subject to review. If the twenty-five, or a majority of them, agreed with the four, they called the attention of the king to the abuse and required him to redress it within forty days. This is all the king had to do with the case. He had no voice in the decision. His judicial prerogative of determining violations of the law and initiating their correction was taken away from him, and he was reduced to the function of executing the judgments of a court not his own. This was moreover under the sanction of civil war. If the king still refused redress the last resort was insurrection, which is declared legal, and defined as limited in character, and temporary only. Permanent deposition of the sovereign was carefully excluded. A clumsy arrangement, impossible to operate with success no doubt, but we should never forget that it was the first step ever taken in history towards what we know as a limited monarchy, towards the creation of a body of constitutional law which the king must obey under sanction of insurrection. Considering that the men of 1215 had no precedent to go upon, no model of any such machinery to follow, no literary expression of such ideas, or theorizing about such procedure, they did very well. The scheme was conceivably workable, practice would no doubt have disclosed fatal defects, but practice was exactly what nobody had as yet. The character of the scheme however is clear. It was a method which it was hoped would secure the enforcement of the Charter by putting into operation through others a function naturally belonging to the king but which he refused to exercise for the ends of justice, under the

ultimate sanction of war. As I have said of the plan in general, it was not finally to be the way of the constitution. Transfer to others of the king's prerogatives, definite formulation of sanctions, legalization of insurrection, these were not to be in the end constitutional. But until Parliament had come into existence and had so far developed that it could begin to exercise in reality prerogatives to which it laid no claim in theory, until it could begin the long process of transferring the real sovereignty of the state to itself, expedients of this kind were the only possible means of enforcing law and limitations upon the king, and it was in them that the constitution had its origin.

Of the second question, on what ground of right did clause 61 rest, the answer is equally plain and has already been made. The clause rested on the same ground of right as the insurrection which had forced the Charter from the king. In the machinery of the court of twenty-five and in the modified and temporary right of insurrection which it recognized, the clause falls within the limits of the larger right. None of the insurgent barons would have admitted for a moment that he was guilty of treason, nor could the king, with due regard to the law, have proved him to be by the mere fact of insurrection.¹⁹ It would be necessary for him to prove that there was no legal ground for the *diffidatio* which had been served upon him. There are indications which seem to imply that between 1210 and 1215 there was some feeling about in the minds of those who were preparing to oppose the king's tyranny for some legal ground of action against him. The theory of the old elective monarchy, which had been perhaps revived by the question of Arthur's title, seems to have been thought of. This probably accounts for the tradition about Archbishop Hubert's

¹⁹ Feudal law may be said, indeed, to have recognized with peculiar clearness the right of the vassal to make war on his suzerain when that suzerain was the lord paramount, because there was in that case no higher authority to which appeal could be made. It will be noticed also that deposition was the only form which the extreme penalty could take, which in the case of the mesne lord was confiscation, *i. e.*, the raising of the rear fief to be an immediate fief. See the references in *The Political History of England*, II. 439, n. 1. One of the most interesting statements of this right is that in the *Etabl. de S. Louis* (ed. Viollet), II. 75 (book I., c. LIII.), because it covers the duty of the rear vassal. The lord says to his liege man: "Come with me because I wish to make war on the king, my seignior, *qui m'a veé le jugement de sa cort.*" The man answers that he will go to the king and find out if the fact is as stated. If it is, he returns to his lord. *Et se il ne s'an voloit aler o lui, il en perdroit son fié par droit.* It will be noticed that the case supposed in the passage as calling the right into action is one of the chief grounds of complaint against John. The point with regard to treason, as a result in his case of the reverse process, the king's *diffidatio* of him, is clearly made in 1233 by Richard Marshal in argument with the king's representative. *Matt. Par.*, III. 257-258, and *cf.* 274-275. See also the case of the Earl of Albemarle in the annals of Dunstable, *Ann. Mon.*, III. 64.

speech at the coronation of John, which Louis adapted to his own use in his manifesto of 1216, and which Matthew Paris recorded, probably more nearly in its original form. The coronation oath seems also to have suggested itself as a means of control, and this fact may possibly account for the form of oath which was demanded of John after the removal of the papal censures in 1213.²⁰ But however it may have been with regard to such speculations, when the time for action came they were all fortunately dropped, and the baronage in insisting upon the king's feudal obligations fell back upon the natural and simpler feudal right of appeal, the *diffidatio* and its accompanying right of insurrection. This feudal principle accounts fully for the clause, and it is the only source from which its justification can have come. Had the barons acted on any other ground of right existing at the time, like election or the coronation oath, the clause must have taken another form.

The body of Magna Carta and clause 61 constitute together the first inclination of the constitution towards a limited monarchy and mark the point of time before which no tendency in that direction can be found, the one as insisting that there is a body of law which the king is bound to observe, the other as affirming that the community of the ruled has the right to set up machinery to enforce the king's obligation, and, if this proves insufficient, to levy war upon him. It is a beginning only, as yet incomplete. The body of law contains very little of that to which the king was subject in 1460; the machinery of enforcing it is less elaborate and perfected than that of 1258 or 1310; the method of protection is quite different from that of the seventeenth century. But it contains in germ all that followed; from it the whole constitution unfolded. Now this beginning is in the feudal system. Before 1215 in the history of English institutions, general as distinguished from local, lies nothing but the feudal system, modified only in the direction of a more absolute monarchy. The two fundamental principles of the constitution which Magna Carta declared were both fundamental principles of feudalism and were drawn directly from it in 1215. The origin of the English limited monarchy is to be sought not in the primitive German state, nor in the idea of an elective monarchy or a coronation oath, nor in the survival of institutions of local freedom to exert increasing influence on the central government. Though all these were contributory, combined they could not alone have produced the result. The principle which moulds and shapes all elements into the great result came from feudalism.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

²⁰ Roger of Wendover (ed. Coxe), III. 260; (ed. Hewlett), II. 81.

THE GREEK RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

THE history of culture in Italian cities of the fifteenth century has long been considered a fascinating record of vivid, brilliant personalities who displayed a delightful enthusiasm for pictures, statues and cathedrals, antique coins, strange manuscripts and Ciceronian rhetoric. The causes of the rapid development of artistic and historical feeling that gave the period its peculiar character have never been altogether determined. But writers of reputation have occasionally ventured the opinion that the revival of the study of the classical literatures, in particular of the Greek language and the Greek writers, which marked the opening of the century, supplied the needed stimulus to the Italian intellect and set it free forever from the bondage of medieval ignorance and superstition; in short, that out of the revival of Greek grew the Italian Renaissance. The revival itself, they tell us, was due largely to the influence of Petrarch, "the first modern man". He it was who scorned scholasticism, and found his comfort in the Latin classics and set his contemporaries and successors to inquiring how a knowledge of the Greek tongue could be regained. It is the purpose of this paper to present a few considerations bearing upon this theory and to inquire whether the much-vaunted recovery of Greek in the fifteenth century had in fact the significance and value which are currently ascribed to it.

In the beginning one may be saved from the danger of regarding the fifteenth-century movement as unprecedented and unique by a hasty preliminary glance at the work accomplished in a similar direction by the schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. During those centuries, it is enough to remember, Latin translations of Euclid, Ptolemy, two or three dialogues of Plato and almost the whole of Aristotle were introduced into western Europe and widely and seriously studied. The effect of the influx of new learning was to enrich and broaden immediately the scientific and philosophical courses of the schools and to quicken and educate thought along many lines. Both Plato and Aristotle soon had disciples who applied the methods of reasoning and the knowledge gained from their works to discussions of religion and dogma.

Roger Bacon composed a Greek grammar on a comprehensive plan to enable Latins to undertake the study of Greek authors in the original and to read books which had not yet been translated.

In the end further progress was checked by the forces of conservatism and reaction. The dialogues of Plato were not included among prescribed university text-books and became again less known and less influential. The works of Aristotle were re-edited and re-interpreted by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas in such a form as to furnish a solid, scientific foundation for a vast system of Catholic theology. Heretical free-thinking was suppressed at certain critical junctures by the church courts and counteracted in general by the able and orthodox teaching of the Mendicant friars. The policy of Roger Bacon's superiors kept him unknown and unheard during his lifetime and at his death his grammar as a potential factor in the situation perished with him. The process of translating from the Greek stopped. The leadership both in original thought and in the revival of classical learning passed for the time being from France to Italy. But a large and important portion of Greek philosophy and science had actually been appropriated by the thirteenth century and the way had thereby been made easier for the recovery of more in the fifteenth.

For various reasons north Italy toward the end of the fourteenth century seemed peculiarly adapted to become the seat of another classical renaissance, though of one somewhat different in character and results from that which had already run its course. For some time past Tuscan architects, sculptors and painters had been winning a name for excellence and had been taking models not only from Gothic workmanship of the North but also from ancient monuments preserved above ground in the cities of the peninsula. John of Pisa, for example, had introduced a copy of a Roman Venus among the figures about the foot of the pulpit of the Pisan cathedral. Giotto had borrowed designs of ornamentation from the columns of Trajan. Notice was being attracted to the remnants of antique art that were not buried in stone walls or under dust and mire or so disfigured and broken as to be unrecognizable.

On the other hand Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and their followers were arousing in their countrymen a sense of the beauty and refinement that might be found in literature and were reminding them again of the existence of venerable treasures that had long been neglected by the western world. Outwardly the church still kept its undisputed prestige but in Italy at least it ruled with a lax and lenient hand. Academic radicalism or even downright

paganism of thought need fear now no serious interference and might actually receive encouragement from tolerant ecclesiastical patrons of letters. Finally the Italian merchant, having attained to a state of political independence and great social prosperity, possessed the leisure and the wealth to encourage scholarship and was in an unusually patriotic and ambitious mood. Both patriotism and ambition disposed him to find pleasure in recalling memories of the ancient past. A special heritage of glory descended, as he felt, directly upon himself from those mighty Romans whom he loved to call his ancestors.

The student of the thirteenth century had felt profound reverence for the wisdom of the ancients but Petrarch was perhaps in fact the first man of eminence to call attention to certain esthetic and moral differences in style and point of view between them and medieval writers. He discerned in the classics a latitude of opinion and a broad, philosophic code of ethics together with a grace of expression and euphony of diction that seemed wanting in his contemporaries. Observing that his favorite authors, Cicero and Vergil, alluded continually to Greek works unattainable to him as the sources of their inspiration, he attempted to learn Greek from a Byzantine envoy at Avignon but failed to master much beyond the alphabet. Nevertheless he succeeded in turning the thoughts of his literary successors in Italy toward the subjects which had possessed so powerful an attraction for him and in setting up certain new standards of literary excellence that were to prevail for generations afterward.

Two months after Petrarch's death Coluccio Salutato, a rising young Florentine, composed a letter of eulogy upon his learning and employed therein a phrase which was shortly to become famous. Speaking of Petrarch's zeal for Greek and Latin letters Salutato called them, "*studia humanitatis*". In a letter written some time later he took occasion to explain the phrase, stating that he had found the word *humanitas* used by Cicero and other Romans to denote at the same time affability and courtesy of disposition and culture and refinement of mind, that is, the qualities which especially distinguish man from brute.¹ By the opening of the fifteenth century the term was in common circulation, applied to the study of antiquity from the esthetic or literary point of view as differentiated from the study of law, theology or any other technical or professional subject. The "*studia humanitatis*", it was declared, taught one by both precept and example the most important lessons,

¹ Salutato, *Epistolae* (ed. Novati), vol. I., p. 179; vol. III., pp. 534-536.

how to be high-minded and to be eloquent, how to lead an admirable life guided by motives of patriotism and honor, and how to express oneself with harmony, persuasiveness and elegance, avoiding alike clownishness of demeanor and barbarisms of language, proving oneself in every act and sentence the enlightened and fastidious gentleman and scholar.² Such an ideal of deportment was essentially aristocratic and artificial but it appealed to the growing appreciation of the value of form and decorum in human undertakings.

An illustration of a purely humanistic mode of judgment is furnished by the well-known letter of Poggio Bracciolini on the trial and execution of Jerome of Prague. The ecclesiastical arguments Poggio refuses to rehearse nor on the other hand does he allude to the practical problems suggested by the reformer's fate. Instead he devotes pages to applauding the sonorousness of Jerome's speech, the effectiveness of his gestures and the learning with which he quoted the classics and the fathers. He deplores the loss of such an ornament to the literary profession. "I admit", he remarks, "that I have never seen any one plead a case, in particular a case involving life and death, with an eloquence so like that of the ancients whom we all so deeply admire. It was marvelous to behold the fluency, the grace, the persuasiveness, the dignity of mien, the clearness of voice and the courage with which he replied to his adversaries and argued his cause to the last. One must regret that so noble and lofty a mind was beguiled into heresy, if indeed the accusations brought against him are well grounded. For I am no judge in such matters; I acquiesce in the decisions of those who are wiser than I. . . . He spoke like an orator, yet he was composed. He showed indignation and stirred the onlookers to pity, yet he neither aimed nor desired to take advantage of their emotion. He stood cool, fearless, not only despising death but even seeking it. You would have pronounced him a second Cato."³

The passage tempts one to contrast for an instant the spirit of the fifteenth-century humanist with that of the thirteenth-century student of Aristotle. The latter would undoubtedly have been im-

² For an eloquent exposition of this theory, see Leonardo Bruni's letter to a young friend who was hesitating between "studia humanitatis" and civil law, *Epistolae* (ed. Mehus), vol. II., pp. 49-51.

³ Poggio, *Epistolae* (ed. de Tonellis), vol. I., pp. 11-19. An English rendering of the letter is in Whitcomb's *Source-Book of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 40-47. Compare with this Vittorino da Feltre's defence of the reliability of the historian Livy on the ground that a sound Latinist, an elegant narrator and a Paduan could not possibly be untrustworthy. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre*, p. 218.

pressed also by Jerome's erudition and spirited demeanor, but would have been still more concerned to follow the logical intricacies of the debate. The former is indifferent to logic; he hardly reasons at all; he ignores for the most part all elements in the situation but those of sentiment and taste.

It has seemed worth while to dwell at some length upon the peculiar standpoint of the humanist and his conception of the quality and aim of his pursuits, because without some understanding of his feeling on these matters it is impossible to comprehend the nature of the Greek Renaissance. It is only necessary to add that the generation which followed after Petrarch spoke like him somewhat slightly of the training afforded by scholastic philosophy and, above all else, revered and imitated the manner and style of Cicero. Like Petrarch also they desired to make further acquaintance with the Greeks whom Cicero acknowledged as his superiors. If Cicero were eloquent and uplifting, Demosthenes and Plato must be more eloquent and uplifting. The most promising pupil of Petrarch left his master twice to travel through Italy on a vain quest for some one to teach him Greek.

The events which actually ushered in the Greek Renaissance are related now in most histories and may be passed over rapidly here. In 1395 Manuel Chrysoloras, a Byzantine of family and influence and scholarly reputation, who had made himself pleasantly known during a short residence as imperial envoy in Venice, was invited to teach Greek in the University of Florence. For twenty years thereafter he spent at intervals considerable time in Italy, whether as teacher of Greek in Florence or Pavia or as representative from Constantinople at the papal court. He was apparently possessed of a fund of genuine learning in his own literature, an enthusiasm for imparting knowledge and an urbanity of manner and kindness of disposition that fitted him well to be the apostle of a forgotten culture. The most successful Hellenists of the first quarter of the fifteenth century were his pupils. There seems to have been something even impressive about his personality. Amid all the caustic and supercilious criticism that fills the literary correspondence of those years his is almost the only name that is invariably mentioned without a derogatory remark, with only respect and affection.⁴

Chrysoloras was followed to Italy by others of his countrymen whose numbers increased especially during the twenty years between

⁴ For some of the many warm allusions to Chrysoloras, see Traversari, *Epistolae* (ed. Mehus), vol. I., p. ccclxiii; P. P. Vergerio, *Epistolae* (ed. Luciani), pp. 218-219; Poggio, *Epistolae*, vol. I., pp. 23-24.

the meeting of the Council of Ferrara-Florence and the completion of the Mohammedan conquest of the Eastern Empire. They hoped of course to find comfortable employment, as he had done, as teachers or copyists or translators of Greek works into Latin. Some few were in fact liberally treated and in time were able to exert considerable influence in Italian circles. Bessarion was elevated to the cardinalate and even discussed as a candidate for election to the papacy. Gemisthus Pletho was entertained as guest at the court of the Medici. The great majority of the refugees, however, losing distinction in western eyes as they became more numerous, dependent upon western bounty for shelter and livelihood, were soon regarded with indifference or active contempt. Their peculiarities of dress were treated as material for diversion by the wits. "I never look at one of those men without laughing", writes a young Italian at the Council of Ferrara who himself was making translations from Lucian, Plutarch and Xenophon. "For some of them I see with beards streaming over their chests, hair thick, rough and unkempt, as we read the Spartans wore theirs under the laws of Lycurgus that they might be more formidable when they met the enemy; others have beards partly trimmed and heads half shaved and painted eyebrows. Some wear caps of various kinds, some turbans with birds' feathers or a gold fastening on top and long sleeved tunics. As the poet says of the Phrygians, 'and their tunics have sleeves and their turbans adornments'. . . . The greater number are so absurd that no one is solemn or morose enough to restrain his mirth when he sees them."⁵

On the other hand the Greeks, proud and irascible in their poverty and exile, were slow to learn a new language or to adapt themselves to new ways and often possessed neither the knowledge of their own literature nor the flexibility of mind to make themselves valuable to western employers. Italians who had learned Greek at home or had studied it, as Guarino and Filelfo did, in the East, were in many cases preferred both as teachers and translators to the Greeks themselves who were considered arrogant and unreliable in temper and who spoke and wrote such halting and imperfect Latin that they could with difficulty be understood. Even men of in-

⁵ Lapi Castelliunculi, *De Curiae Commodis*, extract in Hodus, *De Graecis Illustribus*, p. 31. Compare Bruni, *Epistolae*, vol. I., p. 91. About this time Traversari was writing anxious letters to the pope and Cosimo de Medici, urging that care be taken to have the Greeks treated with respect at Florence, *Epistolae*, vol. II., pp. 58-59, 62, 341-342. For a discussion of this whole phase of the situation see Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*, vol. II., pp. 116-118.

disputable scholarship and merit, such as Gaza or Lascaris, found it incredibly hard to make a respectable living, so stubborn was the prejudice against their race. The most devoted classical enthusiast of the day applied the word, *graeculus* or *semigraecus* to an enemy as one of the bitterest terms of opprobrium in his vocabulary. As relentlessly as ever in the Middle Ages he drew the distinction between the great men of the Hellenic past, whom he was bound to esteem, and their degenerate and schismatical descendants, a distinction obscured only for a season by the personal popularity of Chrysoloras.

Manuscripts of ancient Greek works were brought to Italy in considerable numbers during this same half-century before the downfall of Constantinople. The most noteworthy single importation was, of course, that made by the Sicilian Aurispa in 1423. He landed in Venice with two hundred and thirty-eight volumes of profane authors, a small library in itself, including as it did copies of almost every work that was to be recovered at all. The Medici subscribed money to pay off the debts Aurispa had accumulated on his stock and in course of time some of the finest manuscripts, among them the renowned Laurentian Codex, found the way into their libraries. The advent of Greek copyists made it possible also to reproduce Greek books upon Italian soil. Yet they remained comparatively rare and precious until Greek type was constructed for the printing press toward the end of the century. The humanist-monk Traversari tells the story of a Greek book that was sent him from Venice by the hand of two brothers who were travelling to Florence. The young men, he says, attempted to cross the Po by boat but in the passage the skiff was overturned, the brothers were drowned and their goods sunk in the stream. His friends at Venice were distressed both at the loss of the Greek book and at the sad death of its bearers. Finally, however, they concluded to rescue what they could from the disaster and had the river-bed dragged. The book was found water-soaked and damaged. Traversari would not receive it, the associations with it being too unpleasant, and had it returned to Venice. Still he writes as if the disposition of it were a matter of moment both to himself and to every other scholar.⁶

Thus Italy became equipped with practically all the sources for Greek scholarship that we now possess, exclusive of the material recently uncovered by archaeologists. Here and there small groups of humanists prepared to avail themselves of these facilities with

⁶ Traversari, *Epistolae*, vol. II., p. 355.

great ardor and rejoicing. Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo abandoned the study of civil law. Pier Paolo Vergerio resigned a chair in the University of Padua, many another left his usual occupation, to devote himself to the acquisition of Greek.⁷ Old and young elbowed each other in Chrysoloras's lecture-room. As the first outburst of indiscriminate excitement died down, however, and the hardships of learning the new language without adequate text-book or dictionary began to be appreciated, the attendance naturally fell off, while even of those who persevered through years of application few could at any time with justice be called Greek scholars. Some fifteen or twenty possibly in the first half of the century acquired skill enough to read Greek with any pleasure or to translate with ordinary accuracy. The great majority, like Barbaro, the Venetian patrician, and many a man since his day, were able as students to read Greek with the aid of the teacher but preferred in after life to use a Latin translation.⁸

From the outset, indeed, it was recognized that to make Greek literature widely known, to bring it within reach of the average, cultivated reader, it must be translated into Latin. Chrysoloras had scarcely established himself in Florence before his abler students had begun to practice on translations. In time it was felt that one had hardly a claim to be ranked among the literary élite, if one had not translated at least one of Plutarch's *Lives* or an oration of Demosthenes. Poggio after an absence of some years in the North returned to Italy to find the fad for translating near its height. He did not rest until he had procured enough Greek to enable him to make two worthless but elaborate renderings of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and a part of the *History* of Diodorus Siculus. Having thereby brought himself up to current requirements he apparently rarely thought of his Greek again. Many another humanist who is mentioned as the author of this version or that was in reality no more than an amateur dabbler in the language and his translation nothing but a school exercise or a show-piece designed to attract the notice of a wealthy patron.

Nevertheless the defects in the translating of the time, so flagrant to a modern philologist, were to a large extent inevitable in the total lack of adequate grammars or lexicons. The elementary little catechism on the parts of speech drawn up by Chrysoloras and rewritten by Guarino, the only guide available for the first fifty years, could not carry one far.⁹ The larger works of Gaza and

⁷ Bruni, *Commentarius*, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Scriptt.*, vol. XIX., p. 920; Vergerio, *Epistolae*, pp. 81, 101-102.

⁸ Barbaro, *Epistolae* (ed. Quirino), vol. I., p. dxlvi.

⁹ A copy of Chrysoloras's grammar is in the library of Columbia University.

Lascaris needed supplementing by dictionaries. A native Greek was not always at hand to be consulted in case of perplexity and if within reach was himself often ignorant of usages in the classical period. Furthermore, the translator was commonly without the intellectual training to qualify him to comprehend abstrusities of thought or flights of imagination. Even a preparatory perusal of Cicero or Livy was not calculated to fit one to follow unerringly the reasoning of Aristotle or Thucydides. Above all, the humanist's conception of form and style was enough to prevent him from merging his own individuality loyally in that of the Greek original. For the Greek style was seldom Ciceronian. The Italian seems early to have found it disappointingly bare of ornament or rhetoric of the sort that he had learned in his Latin reading to admire most.

Certainly one discovers almost nowhere in humanistic literature any praise of it that seems at the same time warm, genuine and sincere. It was eulogized of course occasionally in dutiful, general phrases, somewhat as Hamlet is commended to-day in a schoolboy's essay on Shakespeare. Greek literature, we are told, is great because the Romans have always considered it so and because Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Seneca took pattern from it. "In fact every Roman", as Barbaro puts it, "who was born to distinction and fulfilled his destiny, was so accomplished and learned in Greek letters that not only did he know all that was contained in them, but even had whole lines and passages by heart. Thus the Caesars, the consulares, the triumphant generals, the praetors, senators, patricians, knights and others of the same class quoted impromptu from Homer or Sophocles and wrote elegantly in Greek." Are their descendants to fall behind them? But praise like this sounds like punctilious insistence on an obligation to admire and study Greek and almost convinces one that the writer himself took little natural pleasure in it. Greek literature and Greek style must be great because we are always told they are, they keep repeating. But it is labored admiration; one seldom finds a man writing out of a full heart as if he spontaneously and honestly enjoyed them.¹⁰ The word employed to characterize Greek method is *simplicitas* with its rather unfavorable connotation. The Italian translator

¹⁰ For Barbaro's long letter of the conventional, conscientious type on the excellence and importance of Greek literature, see his *Epistolae*, vol. II., pp. 179-190. It is but one illustration out of many that might be given. For one of the exceptional expressions of evidently heartfelt admiration, see Bruni's letter on Plato, *Epistolae*, vol. I., pp. 15-17. But Bruni also sometimes praises from a sense of duty, *ibid.*, pp. 137-138. Compare Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, vol. II., pp. 160-162.

knew that his version would be judged by contemporaries who would never read the original and would applaud his work only as it succeeded in being itself elegant and ornate after the fashion of the Latin rhetoricians. Even fellow-humanists would not be apt to apply the test of fidelity to the Greek but, like Eneas Sylvius, would blame the translator if he presented them with an Aristotle who was not fluent or graceful.¹¹ A Greek book freely translated and embellished, with obscurities omitted and material rearranged to suit prevailing notions of taste and importance, was considered to have passed through a process of refinement and to have been improved by the genius of the Latins.¹²

The versions of Aristotle made in the thirteenth century were exact and literal to a degree, at a sacrifice of all idea of style. As a result they were now considered barbaric and worthless. "I could not endure", says Bruni, "that anyone should hurl a torch upon a painting by Giotto. How then do you suppose I feel when I see the books of Aristotle, more precious than any picture, marred in the flames of such a translation. Am I not distressed? Am I not indignant?"¹³ Aristotle must accordingly be totally retranslated in the style in which it might be imagined he would have written had he fortunately lived in the fifteenth century.

In view of facts like these one must admit that the part played by Greek literature in fifteenth-century Italy was less triumphant than it is ordinarily supposed to have been. The conception of the quality and purpose of the "studia humanitatis" and of the ideals suitable for a gentleman and a scholar had been well formulated after the models furnished by Cicero and the later Romans before the Greek Renaissance began. As in architecture the luxuriant Romano-Corinthian was preferred to the severer Doric, so in literature the inflated rhetoric of the late Republic and the Empire, the passionate periods of Cicero and the pompous sententiousness of Livy and Sallust, were more esteemed than the sobriety, lucidity and balance of the best periods of Greece. An acquaintance with Greek authors in the original or in translation enabled one of course to adorn an oration or a letter with imposing allusions to Themisto-

¹¹ Pius II., *Commentarii* (Rome, 1584), *Lib. X.*, p. 449.

¹² An illustration, which is readily accessible, of the inaccuracy of the translation of a comparatively simple passage by as clever a Greek scholar as Leonardo Bruni is the rendering of a part of the *Symposium*, quoted by Bruni in a letter to Cosimo de Medici, *Epistolae*, vol. VI., pp. 70-76. For one out of many instances of the tone of superiority assumed by Italian scholars when comparing the relative merits of the Greek and Latin tongues, see Lorenzo Valla, *De Linguae Latinae Elegantia* (Paris, 1532), p. 3.

¹³ Bruni, *Epistolae*, vol. I., p. 140.

cles, Pausanias or Alcibiades as well as to Manlius, Hortensius or Cato. It widened the range of one's quotations. But an ability to allude to events of Greek history or to quote from the pages of its literature does not imply that one is affected in the least by the Greek spirit or even comprehends in the least the Greek attitude of mind. The enthusiasm for antiquity, in so far as it was intelligent and unaffected and really influential, was for Roman antiquity rather than Hellenic.

How this might be true even where a Greek author was especially regarded as the source of inspiration and enlightenment is best shown perhaps by the Platonic revival. Plato's works were translated by more than one prominent scholar, academies were founded at Florence and Rome where his doctrines were studied by men inclined to independent thinking and philosophic speculation, extravagant devotion to his image and to his memory was professed by his disciples and a sort of hazy idealism permeating various departments of thought was ascribed to the widespread propagation of his theories. Yet the more one hears of this fifteenth-century Platonism, whether in its intenser forms at Florence or Rome or in its vaguer, more general manifestations in art and literature at large, the more one is assured that it is something that Plato himself would never have countenanced or acknowledged and that not even here can any genuinely Athenian spirit be said to be at work.

Plato was first made popular by the Greek teacher, Gemisthus Pletho, who spent a few years at Florence and invested his discourses with an air of mystery and esotericism most alluring to inquisitive and restless minds. Platonism was with Pletho a cult, explained and interpreted by Plotinus, in short, a form of Neo-Platonism. His more heterodox views he imparted cautiously and stealthily to a few chosen pupils but it seems clear that he hoped ultimately to base upon them a new and popular religion. "I heard him at Florence", says an acquaintance, "when he came to the council of the Greeks, declaring that within a few years one single religion would be accepted heartily and unanimously by the whole world. When I asked him whether that would be Christianity or Mohammedanism, he replied, 'Neither, but something very like paganism.'"¹⁴

Marsiglio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, the lights of the later Florentine academy, were loyal churchmen but they also coupled Plotinus with Plato and then, for lack of any logical method

¹⁴ Schultze, *Georgios Gemistos Plethon*, p. 77, note 3.

of reconciling both with the Scriptures, had recourse to a feeble and confused kind of allegory. Marsiglio Ficino, having finished his translation of the works of Plato, writes to an acquaintance, "In the next place, that eyes might not be dazzled by the sight of this new luminary, I have composed a sort of commentary in eighteen books, in which to the best of my ability I explain the Platonic mysteries, paying more regard to meaning than to exact wording. Thus I remove the poetic veil and show that everywhere the thoughts of Plato are in accord with the divine law. I believe I am not mistaken in saying that Providence has decreed that certain keen intellects, who pay reluctant obedience to the unsupported authority of divine law, will yield now that the reasoning of Plato is brought to the aid of religion."¹⁵ Ancient deities were explained sometimes as types of the angels, again as the souls of the heavens and the planets or as the soul of the world as it moves and generates. The story of creation in the book of Genesis was by main force interpreted to agree with the Neo-Platonic theory of the evolution of the universe. Anything became a symbol or emblem of any other thing and assumed any significance one chose to give it. No serious, consistent system of philosophy was constructed, as had been done by the schoolmen of the thirteenth century upon the foundation of Aristotle. The age did not call for sustained mental labor over abstract problems but was for the most part content to accept the somewhat flimsy and optimistic idealism which came into vogue and which verged usually either on the fantastic or on the mystical or sentimental. The basis for it all, as far as it had a basis in the past, was Roman and Alexandrian rather than Platonic.

Thus even in philosophy the influences from antiquity which helped to shape fifteenth-century thought were derived more directly from the Empire than from Hellas. A knowledge of the Greek tongue remained in the main an accomplishment for professional men of letters, elegant and to that degree desirable. Through the recommendations of Quintilian the study of Greek was introduced into two or three of the best Italian schools and the argument was brought forward that one could understand and appreciate the Latin tongue far better by the help of some knowledge of Greek.¹⁶ But there was no serious effort to determine the Greek point

¹⁵ Marsiglio Ficino, *Opera* (Basle, 1561), vol. I., p. 855. Compare Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus*, *passim*.

¹⁶ For an exceptionally advanced opinion on the value of Greek, see Battista Guarino, *De Ordine Docendi et Studendi*, in Woodward's *Vittorino da Feltre*, pp. 166-167.

of view, which was supposed as a matter of course to have been the same as the Roman, nor to utilize Greek literature save as a storehouse of pedantic quotations and ethical examples. The practical value of Greek in exposing errors of Scriptural interpretation and in waging theological controversy was realized only after the knowledge of it had been carried into northern Europe. Such writing as was produced in Italy, comparable at all in straightforward originality and acumen to the Greek, was prompted by the stress and stir of contemporary life and except in surface embellishments shows little effect of the Greek Renaissance. •

LOUISE ROPES LOOMIS.

JOHN KNOX AS A MAN OF THE WORLD

“WHILE to their life-work Norsemen set out,
Will-lessly wavering, daunted with doubt,
While hearts are shrunk, minds helplessly shivering,
Weak as a willow-wand, wind-swept and quivering,
While about one thing alone they're united,
Namely that greatness be stoned and despited,—
While they seek honour in fleeting and falling,
Then Bishop Nicholas toils in his calling.”

Such an one, toiling, encouraging and energizing, was John Knox; he takes his place as one of those pestilent fellows who disturb their comfort-loving fellow-men with their “Woe unto them that are at ease in Zion!” He stands alongside of masterless and masterful leaders like Hildebrand, or Oliver Cromwell, or John Brown—elemental forces, unpredictable, unaccountable and beyond analysis. John Knox not only lived and was a part of his country's ecclesiastical history, he was also a man who had great purposes in his mind; and that world which he despised, contemned, brow-beat and over-awed, after all held him, enveloped him and conditioned him. Is it not possible to separate out what distinguishes him as a man among men, to see what were his methods of appealing to his kind, and how he looked upon society and the state? For such a purpose we should in succession notice Knox's personality; his literary methods and achievements: his work as a destructive statesman, overturning an older order of things; and his place as a constructive statesman, establishing a new dispensation. For such a survey the obvious materials are John Knox's own works, and from those six bulky volumes is drawn most of what is here written on John Knox as a Man of the World.

I.

Among the many curious things in the life of John Knox not the least is that out of his sixty-seven years, nearly forty-two are buried in as much obscurity as the personal life of his contemporary, William Shakespeare. Of those years we know only three facts: he sprang from a humble family, an origin which stood

much in his way when he became associated with arrogant nobles; he was a student at a university and there he learned the art of controversy; he was in priest's orders and thus always understood the assailable side of the clergy. It seems that he made absolutely no impression on the world until he began his reform work in 1547.

Yet this obscure priest, hardly known except to the fathers of the boys whom he had tutored, became a genuine cosmopolite: a galley-slave in France; royal preacher in England; minister in Frankfort, in Geneva and in Dieppe; charged with treason to the emperor; hated by Queen Elizabeth; yet the associate of the national leaders in Scotland, the friend of the greatest living reformers and a genuine international force. All these influences helped to mould him, yet all of them left him essentially a Scotchman, rude, vigorous, tenacious, unsympathetic and powerful. His relations with courts made him the sturdier champion of the people; his knowledge of tongues and literatures lent sharpness to his words; he was a man of the whole world, yet none the less a citizen of his own country.

Early in his life Knox attracted the attention and the respect of some powerful men: from the great Major he learned his scholastic reasoning; Wishart, the reformer, he loved and for him he would have died; Balnaves was his close friend; both Somerset and Northumberland, successively patrons of the king of England, liked and advanced him; he took the advice of Bullinger, or rather asked it and then followed his own mind; he was the personal friend of Calvin. Nevertheless it must be owned that he never won the enduring personal affection of any other Scottish reformer or potentate. There was no Melancthon for his Luthership, and in his last days his servant Bannatyne seems to have been the only familiar of his house.

Yet after all Knox did have one class of warmly attached and faithful friends: throughout his life women were attracted by him and sought his friendship; Mrs. Bowes of Berwick, whose daughter he married, Mrs. Locke and Mrs. Hickman, "*Merchandis wyffis in Londoun*", hung upon his words as the breath of life. Mrs. Elizabeth Barron, he says, "*Be reasson that she had a trubled conscience, delyted much in the company of the said Johne, becaus that he, according to the grace gevin unto him, opened more fullie the fontane of Goddis mercyes, then did the commoun sorte of teachearis that she had hard befoir.*"

To Mrs. Bowes, his wife's mother, and Mrs. Locke he wrote

many letters, chiefly devoted to general spiritual counsel, with a sprinkling of news and no personal color. To the one queen of his personal acquaintance, he was conspicuously ungallant; and, on one occasion when he was waiting her pleasure in the anteroom, he took the opportunity to draw the ladies in waiting together and to fix their attention upon "that knave Death, that will come whithther we will or not! And when he has laid on his areist, the foull wormes wilbe busye with this flesche, be it never so fayr and so tender." He married twice, both times with young women, but in all his extant writings and letters there is scarce an allusion to either of these spouses, except a reference shortly after his first marriage to "daylie trubles occuring as weill in my domesticall charge, whair-with befoir I haif not bene accustomit". As for his children his only reference to them seems to be in an interview with Queen Mary when he said "I can skarslie weill abyde the tearis of my awin boyes whome my awin hand correctis."

Knox had an unusual facility of alienating his friends. Full of professional pride in his prophetic office, he loved to warn great men of their delinquencies; doubtless he would have thought himself lacking in Christian duty if, when writing to Cecil whom he highly respected and whose good will he was anxious to have, he had omitted to say to him, "For to the suppressing of Christis trewe Evangell, to the erecting of idolatrie, and to the schedding of the blood of Goddis most deare childrein have you, by silence, consented and subscryvit." Cecil apparently accepted this as the small change of correspondence, but not so all of Knox's friends and adherents. The mighty Earl of Arran disliked it when Knox compared him unfavorably with Jehosophat who "Keipit not himself (said he) inclosed in his chalmer, but frequented the multitude". After the marriage of Lord James Stewart, earl of Mar, the preacher said to him in public, "Unto this day the Kirk of God hath receaved comfort by you, and by your laubouris; in the which, yf heirafter ye shalbe found faynter then that ye war befoir, it wilbe said that your Wyeff hath changed your nature." No wonder that relations between the two were so strained that "The said Johne by his letter, gave a discharge to the said Erle of all further intro-missioun or cayr with his effaires." Indeed the great reformer came to the point where he spared nobody, and did not hesitate to explain a crisis in the Reformation, "because that suddandlie the most parte of us declyned from the puritie of Goddis word, and began to follow the world; and so agane to schaik handis with the Devil, and with idolatrie".

If Knox hammered his friends he flayed his enemies, of whom he had a numerous and choice assortment. With them his process was simple; none of your gradations for him, none of your hair-splitting distinctions between Beelzebub and the Bishop of St. Andrews. For instance, he so hated the powerful Hamilton family, which did not permit a plebeian to outdo it in hearty curses, that Archibald Hamilton actually refused to go to church and hear his family called murderers. To Knox, James V. was "that blynded and most vitious man, the Prince". Of Mary Tudor he said, "For after him was rased up, in Goddis hote displeasure, that idolatress Jesabel, mischevous Marie, of the Spanyardis blodde; a cruel persectrix of Goddis people, as the actes of hir unhappy regne can sufficiently witnesse." Mary, Queen of Scots, he came to hate with the ferocity which most men would save for a Lucretia Borgia; and after her marriage with Darnley, he publicly said, "And how did Ahab visite God againe for his great benefit received? Did he remove his idolatrie? did he correct his idolatrous wife Jezabel? . . . But what was the ende hereof? The last visitation of God was, that dogges licked the blood of the one, and did eate the flesh of the other."

Besides these personal and pet abhorrences, he had a comprehensive ill opinion of all Catholics. "In the name of the Lorde Jesus", he wrote in 1559, "I require of you, that no dumme dogg, no poisoned and pestilent Papist, none who before hath persecuted God's children, or obstinately mainteined idolatrie, be placed above the people of God, to infect and poison." And for those who persisted in going to mass he made the cruel decree, "Yea, that the same man or men, that go aboute to destroy God's true religion once established, and to erect idolatrie, which God detesteth, be adjudged to death, according to God's commandment."

Toward the end of his life, these seeds of hatred bore an abundant fruit, and several efforts were made to silence him. He was once driven out of Edinburgh. Kirkaldy of Grange, enraged because Knox, "in his sermon openlie called me a murtherer and a throat cutter", appealed to the Assembly and getting no satisfaction, rumor had it that he "hes sworne him enemie to John Knox, and will slay him". This led to a rallying of Knox's friends who served notice on Kirkaldy of Grange that "the death and lyfe of that our said brother is to us so pretious and deir, as is our owin lyves and deathis". Knox was once summoned before the Council and once before the Church. In his very last hours, Knox gave an extraordinary example of his abilities of resentment. Maitland of

Lethington, secretary to the Session, and once as nearly a friend as Knox ever made in Scotland, protested because Knox from the pulpit called him an atheist; whereupon the grizzled old lion sent him word, "that Johnne Knox remainis the same man, now going to die, that ever he has hard him defoir, quhen he was able of body, and that gif he repentit not, the threateningis be him pronounced sould fall upoun him and that house!"

II.

"King Harry loved a man", and the world loves a fighter. Whatever the unlovable side of John Knox, when the battle of the Scotch Reformation surged, there he was dealing terrific blows with the two weapons in which he had unrivalled skill among his compeers, his pen and his tongue. Measured by the standards of any time he was a strong writer and a stronger speaker. The only time when he ever seems to have distrusted his powers was when he asked the consent of her unwilling relatives to a marriage with Marjorie Bowes. He said of this episode: "God knawis, I did use no rethorick nor collourit speach; but wald haif spokin the treuth, and that in maist simpill maner. I am not a gud oratour in my own caus." To judge from his controversial writings, he knew an infinitude of ancient and patristic writers and statesmen, whose names he rolls under his tongue like a sweet morsel. Joseph, Pharas, Abselom, Moyses, Salamaneser, Nebucadnelzar, Darius, Cyrus, he drives together in the same pamphlet like a flock of sheep. Prophets, priests and kings are marshalled to defend his position, and he is not sparing of his allusions to Kora and Ahab and the rest of the disobedient whose fate pointed such a moral for his countrymen. The Old Testament certainly furnishes a most satisfactory set of unfavorable prognostications for a skilful expounder of a nation's faults. Of the God of the old dispensation, Knox had a conception worthy of Jonathan Edwards—"Ye ought, I say, to be most assuredly persuaded, that the lamentable voices of all these have so beaten the ears of our God, and that the tears, which in anguishe they powred forthe, have so replenished and fylde the bottel which hangeth continually in the eies of the Almightye, that he hath sworne by his owne holynes, that he wil arise in his hote fury, that he will revenge their cause (and that speedely)."

Of languages he knew several, Latin of course, for that was the vernacular of the universities; German very likely, for he lived in Frankfort; French undoubtedly for he spent years in France and Geneva; Greek and Hebrew he attacked after he became a Protes-

tant. With few exceptions, however, all his writings are in English and although its quaint spelling makes it seem uncanny, it had as good a right to be considered standard English in his time as the court dialect of Westminster. Knox's style is one of his just claims to greatness, pungent, direct, and free from those meanders and double hard knots which make the writings of Sir John Eliot or Cotton Mather such a tax upon the reader.

Will you sample Knox's cruets, in which you will find vinegar, pepper, biting mustard and clear vitriol? Take for instance his defiance of Rome: "We are not sent by that Romane Antichriste, whome he calleth Pope, nor yet from his carnal Cardinales, nor dum-horned Bischoppes." Or this letter to Mrs. Locke on the anguish of the Reformation struggle, "For one day of trubles, since my last arrivall in Scotland, hath more pierced my heart than all the torments of the galeyes did the space of 19 moneths; for that torment, for the most part, did tuiche the bodie, but this pearces the soule and inward affectiouns." Or this fine assertion of the power of mind over circumstances, "For this bodie lying in maist panefull handis, amangis the middis of cruell tyrantis, his mercie and gudnes provydit that the hand suld wryt, and beir witness to the confessioun of the heart more abundantlie than ever yet the tounge spoke."

Knox's literary gifts showed themselves in a considerable variety of publications. Leaving out of account for the moment the *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* and the *History of the Reformation*, his most important writings include a series of addresses, letters and appeals, which are to the Scotch Reformation what Luther's *Letter to the Christian German Nobility* was, a successful effort to arouse the nation to a sense of the real nature of the conflict with Rome. Such were his *Letters to the Queen Regent in 1555*, his *Appellation to the Nobility and Estates of Scotland in 1558*, his *Godlie Letter to the Faithful in London*, his *Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England* and his manifestoes *To the French Soldiers* and *To the Scottish Clergy*. This, however, was only a part of his literary activity, for in the first stages of the Reformation, as secretary to the Congregation, he drafted many of their papers, even including the Treaty of Berwick with England in 1560; and he had an important part in the *Confession of Faith* and the *Book of Discipline*, which were an official summary of the results of the Revolution. Nothing but an actual reading of these papers can convey an adequate impression of their vigor, the directness of their address to the

questions which they discuss; and the William Lloyd Garrison-like disregard of any point of view but that of the instant reformer.

Far and away the most renowned of Knox's writings is his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, which was printed in 1558. It is a powerful, reckless and unscrupulous attack upon the title of Mary Tudor, with absolute disregard of the easily predictable effects upon himself and mankind. The succession of Elizabeth to the throne a few months later put the champion of Protestantism into the highly unpleasant position of attacking the title of the leading Protestant sovereign of Europe. Here was the opportunity to admit an error; but in a letter to Elizabeth intended to placate her, the most courteous phrase that he could think of was, "But if, these premisses (as God forbid) neglected, yee shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authoritie upone your owne law, flatter who so list, your felicitie shalbe short. Interpret my rude words in the best part, as written by him who is noemie to your Grace." He would not even take advantage of the admission in his *First Blast* that there might be exceptions, and to the day of Knox's death, Elizabeth disliked him and would have none of his intervention that she could help; and instead of being the bond of connection between the Court of England and the Reformers in Scotland, it soon became evident that he stood in the way. Yet ten years later he still stoutly maintained, "Because I have the testimonie of a good conscience, that in writing that Treatise, against which so manie worldlie men have stormed, and yitt storne, I nather sought myself nor worldlie promotion; and because, as yet, I have neither heard nor seene law nor Scripture to overthrow my grounds."

Vastly more important to literature and to the history of the times is Knox's *History of the Reformation of the Religioun within the Realme of Scotland*. The purpose of this work is set forth in the preface, "It was concluded, that faythfull rehersall should be maid of such persnages as God had maide instrumentis of his glorie, by oppenyng of thame selfis to manifest abuses, superstition, and idolatrie; and, albeit thare be no great nomber, yet ar thei mo then the Collectour wold have looked for at the begynnyng." Among the personages of the book whom God made instruments of his glory, the writer leaves no doubt as to who was the chief; for the *History of the Reformation* is essentially an autobiographical fragment. Dr. Johnson said of his version of the debates of Parliament that "He took care that the Whig dogs did not have the best of it"; and John Knox had an unrivalled op-

portunity to make clear the significance of John Knox in the Scotch Reformation.

Numerous documents and statements are introduced into Knox's text, and his undoubtedly highly trained memory for the exact words of an author or of a conversation enables him to put on record most precious evidences as to the inner workings of the Reformation, though often there is no sufficient material for checking up either the memory of the writer or his evident propensity to believe anything that was to the discredit of his enemies. Yet it is a striking fact that if the manuscript of the *History* had perished before it was committed to print Knox would, outside of his theological work, be little better known to posterity than the Dr. Prynne who preached against Queen Henrietta Maria and lost his ears in consequence. For Knox's genius lay in his public utterances, of which almost none are preserved outside of his own writings. Furthermore, at the very beginning Knox laid down the principle: "With the Pollicey, mynd we to meddill no further than it hath Religioun mixed with it." And the *History* lays curiously little weight on details of governmental organization and public opinion, which seemed to Knox subordinate.

Beside his formal works Knox employed throughout his public life the method of writing letters, and he had a strong and effective epistolary style. Many of these letters were, quite in the modern method, sent to the press almost before they had reached the person to whom they were directed. An excellent example is the letter to the Queen Regent in 1555, which she not inaptly called a "pasquil", and which Knox subsequently republished with additions and elaborate scriptural side-references. He begins with a benediction, writes with more geniality than was common to him, but soon comes to his infallible conclusion: "Oneles in your regiment and using of power, your Grace be founde different from the multitude of Princes and head rulers, that this pre-eminence wherein ye ar placed shall be your dejection to torment and payn everlasting."

In another literary field also, Knox showed distinct aptitude and success; this was in the disputations which were so common in Reformation times and which gave such excellent opportunity for a strong and ready mind like Knox's, who loved controversy and excelled in dialectics. The arguments in several of these disputations have been preserved for us by Knox, especially that of 1547, early in the struggle, with the superior of St. Andrews; in 1561 with Anderson and Leslie; and in 1562, the most elaborate and important of all, with Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel. Of

course in all these jousts, the true knight unhorses his adversary; for what purpose else did John Knox live in the world but to beat down his opponents? "I shall prove plainlye", said one of his opponents, "that Ceremonies are ordeyned by God." To which Knox instantly replied, "Such as God hes ordeyned we allow, and with reverence we use thame. But the questions is of those that God hes not ordeyned, such as in Baptisme, candill, oyle, and the rest of the Papisticall inventionis."

His debate with Kennedy is delightfully rugged. The reasonings of both sides seem to the layman to be distinctly scholastic, Knox appealing not so much to principles as to proof-texts. At last his opponent summoned as a witness Melchisedec and when Knox showed that the passage to which he referred did not bear him out, Quintin's only answer was, "Preve that." This somewhat technical victory of Knox, in accordance with the laws of the game, seems to have made a great impression upon the auditors.

Truly, every day of Knox's later life was a day of disputation, for he needed no abbot nor fellow-Protestant to stand up and argue against; in every sermon and every address he was slaying dragons by attacking the arguments of those opposed to him. It was as a sermonizer that Knox accomplished most of his results; and notwithstanding his theological works, which undoubtedly are the part of his activity which most affected the world at large, in Scotland his status was that of the bold and terrifying preacher. He began his public life in a sermon to the castellans of St. Andrews, and contemporary testimony tells us of the effect of his preaching. "In the opening upe of his text he was moderat the space of an halff houre; bot when he enterit to application he maid me sa to grew and tremble, that I could nocht hald a pen to wryt." And when Knox was an old man a hearer wrote, "Or he haid done with his sermon he was sa active and vigorus, that he was lyk to ding that pulpit in blads and flie out of it."

Knox preached several times a week for twenty-three years; first, regularly at the castle of St. Andrews; then, in Berwick and in England, as a royal chaplain of Edward VI.; then, at Frankfort and Geneva; then, at the tolbooth in Edinburgh in 1559: from his designation in 1560 as one of the two ministers of St. Giles Church, Edinburgh, he remained to the end of his life in that pulpit.

Yet out of his thousands of sermons only three or four have been preserved in full; among them the famous discourse preached in St. Giles Church, August 19, 1565, "For the which the said John Knoxe was inhibite preaching for a season". And no wonder,

for upon the text, "O Lorde, our God, other lords beside ye have ruled us", he scored and assailed Darnley, titular king of Scotland, then and there present. He takes as his subject nine successive verses from the twenty-sixth chapter of Isaiah. The mixture of Bible history, general admonition and application to the conditions of Scotland is lively and effective, and he manages to bring in Moses, Aaron, Joshua, the Judges, Samuel, David, Abraham, Jeroboam, Ezekiel, Solomon, the Babylonians, Turks and Saracens, Daniel, "Sydrack, Misacke and Abednego", Darius, Satan, Zacharias, Ahab, Jezebel, Adam, Paul, Altahadius, Julian, as coadjutors and witnesses. No wonder that after such a bombardment Darnley "was so moved at this sermon, that he would not dine; and being troubled with great furie, he passed in the afternoon to the hawking".

It was of course the regular duty of every Puritan parson to lecture the potentate who sat below him. Tradition has it that Oliver Cromwell once was obliged to listen to a long discourse dealing plainly with his shortcomings, and that the only indication that he was pricked was an invitation to the minister to dine with him, at which solemn function another minister was asked to say grace; the grace was three hours long; the Protector had already had his dinner. Even Knox was obliged to observe that Huntley was accustomed to "Pyck his naillis and pull down his bonet ower his eyis, when idolatrie, witchcraft, murther, oppressioun and such vices war rebuked. Was not his common talk, When thei knaiffis have railled thair fill, then will thei hald thair peace?"

Knox's pulpit was to him his professor's chair, his bishop's throne, his advocate's brief, his journalist's editorial page and his judge's decision. There must have been a tremendous personal force which went with the clear-cut and intense sentences which he hurled at his enemies; for the written words do not account for his political influence. What was that force?

In the first place Knox made his sermons a means of instruction; he says of his first sermon at St. Andrews, "The people hearing the offer, cryed with one consent, 'We can not all read your writtingis, butt we may all hear your preaching; Tharfore we requyre you, in the name of God, that ye will lett us year the probatioun of that which ye have affirmed; for yf it be trew, we have bene miserable deceived.'" The pulpit was the great popular educator of the time, and Knox was a great schoolmaster.

In the next place, Knox, to the fullest degree, enjoyed his opportunity to expound the wrath of God, alike against enemies

of the true faith and members of the household of God who failed to do their duty, "O Papistis! whair sall ye hyd yow frome the presence of the Lord? Ye haif pervertit his Law, ye haif takin away his Ordinances, ye haif placit up your awn Statutis instead of his: Wo and dampnatioun abydeth you." But equally to the faithful in London he says, "For gif the messingeris of the Lord that salbe sent to execute his wraith and vengeance sall find you amang ydoleris, your bodeis committing lyke abominationis with thame, ye haif no warrand that ye sall eschape the plagues prepareit for the wickit." The warp and woof of Knox's sermons however is idolatry, by which he means the mass. For instance, "All wirschipping, honoring, or service of God inventit be the braine of man, in the religion of God, without his awn express commandment, is Idolatrie." Hence, not only those who officiated, but those who attended mass were idolaters. Hence those who associate with and countenance adherents of the mass make themselves idolaters and "bound slaves to the Devill". To the logical inquiry, "What then? Sall we go and slay all ydoleris?" Knox skilfully answers, "That wer the office, deir Brethren, of everie Civill Magistrate within his realme. But of yow is requyreit onlie to avoyd participatioun and company of thair abominationis, as well in bodie as in saule." The evil effect of such fierce and vehement utterances upon an already excited congregation can be imagined.

There were not wanting critics of Knox's own party who in private protested against his violence. Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, wrote to his court, "Our preacher, to be playne with your honour, at one worde, more vehement then descryte or lerned, which I hartily lament. . . . Who, upon Sondays laste, gave the Crosse and the Candle such a wype, that as wyse and lerned as mym selfe wysshed hym to have hylde his peace. He recompenced the same with a mervelous, vehemens, and persinge prayer, in th' ende of his sermond." And Maitland of Lethington said, "You know the vehemence off Knox spiret, which cannot be brydled; and that doth sometymes uter soche sentences as can not easly be dygested by a weake stomach."

Yet to his very last days, when he had to be helped into the pulpit by friends and his voice could only reach a handful of auditors, he continued his preaching, and even on his death-bed sermonized a lady who desired him to praise God for what he had been to Scotland, "Tounge! tounge! ladie; flesche of itself is overproud, and neidis no meanis to esteame the self!" One of his last utterances was "Lord grant trew pastoris to thy Kirke, that purtie of doctrine may be reteaned."

Knox's biographer, Hume Brown, insists that he had a sense of humor, but a search of his works reveals little of that natural apprehension of the incongruous which so marked Luther. Plenty of humor can indeed be found in his works, but it is mostly ill humor. Thus he says of the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Darnley, that it is a "Marrage of that wicked woman upon the man whom I wish a better lucke". Of two of his enemies, he says in his history, "The Cardinall was knowin proude; and Dumbare, Archbischope of Glasgo, and knowin a glorious foole, and yitt, becaus sometymes he was called the Kingis Maister, he was Chancelour of Scotland." He politely alludes to an Abbey Church as "The Kirk of the Black theivis alias Freiris". Almost the only humorous story in Knox's works is at his own expense. When he threatened to preach at St. Andrews the bishop sent him a message, "That in case John Knox presented him selff to the preaching place, in his town and principall Church, he should gar him be saluted with a dosane of culveringis, quero of the most parte should lyght upoun his nose."

III.

Knox's writings and his sermons were only a means to an end, that end being the building up of a Protestant church and community in Scotland; but in that process there were two very distinct parts. Before a new commonwealth could be created the old one must be destroyed, and it was that process of destruction to which the bent of Knox's mind was naturally directed. From Knox's entry on his reformation work in 1547 to his final return to Edinburgh in 1559, he was an exile and had very little direct influence upon the course of events; from 1559 to 1561 the Reformation was accomplished, with Knox among the leaders; in 1561 Mary, Queen of Scots, came over to her kingdom, and in 1567 was virtually deposed by her people. Here then was both a religious and a political revolution, in which Knox was a great figure. How far did he determine the policy of his countrymen and how far was his policy wise?

When Knox came back to Scotland in 1559 it was with the openly expressed purpose of bringing about what could be nothing less than a revolution, and he was proclaimed as a desperate and dangerous man. In his *Letter to the Commonalty of Scotland* he says, "We offer to jeopard our lives for the salvation of your soules, and by manifest Scriptures to prove that Religion, which amongst you is mentained by fier and sworde, to be vaine, fals,

and diabolical. . . . And last we require, that by your power the tyrannie of those cruel beastes (I mean of Preests and Freers) may be brided, till we have uttered our mindes in all matters this day debateable in Religion." Yet it is remarkable that Knox had throughout the eight years of strife almost no public employment (other than his office as one of the two ministers of St. Giles). For a short time he was indeed secretary of Congregation and designated as agent to England, but after less than six months' service as secretary he withdrew, professing to rejoice "that God hath delivered me from the most part of these civill effares, for now are men of better judgment and greater experience occupied in these matters". Nevertheless, he was a member of various important bodies and commissions, which drew up the *Confession of Faith*, the *Book of Discipline* and other state papers; and he was also commissioned to write that account of the Congregation which ultimately expanded into his history of the Reformation; but his service was always that of counsellor and agitator, and not of executor.

The son of a university, a priest in orders, one would expect Knox to be saturated with a sense of the beauty of the churches and abbeys, and the refining influence of the glorious Scottish architecture upon the people; nevertheless, he forthwith unchained a wild beast which he had neither power nor will to curb. It was not an accident that his sermon of May, 1559, in Perth was almost immediately followed by the gutting of the church by a mob. A few days later, Knox records, "the Abbay of Lindores, a place of blacke monkes, was reformed, their altars overthrowne, their idols, vestments of idolatrie, and masse bookes, were burnt in their owne presence, and they commaunded to cast away their monkish [habits]." Though he occasionally alludes to efforts to prevent the absolute destruction of the churches, he gives it as his opinion that the "best way to keep the rooks from returning was to pull down their nests".

Toward the old clergy, Knox's attitude was always that of the bitterest and most uncompromising hostility. In the *Supplication* of 1560 he says, "Thair is not ane lauchfull minister, gif Godis word, the practise of the Apostillis, and thair awin ancient Dawis, sall judge of lauchfull electioun. We farther offer oure selfis to prove thame all thevis and murtheris, yea, rebellis and tratouris to the lauchfull authoritie of Empriouris, Kyngis, and Prencis; and thairfor unworthy to be sufferrit in any Reformeit Commonwealth." Knox's rigid aversion to toleration found voice in the *Book of*

Discipline of 1560, which plainly declares: "That all doctrine repugnyng to the same be utterlie suppressed as damnabill to mannis salvatioun", and "That the obstinat mayntenaris and teachearis of suche abhominacionis aucht not to eschaip the punyschement of the Civile Magistrat". And he faces the ultimate logic of his argument against "alsweill the manifest dispysar as the prophanare of the sacramentis. . . . We dare not prescribe unto you what penalties shalbe required of suche: But this we fear not to affirm, that the ane and the other deserve death."

With such general views on the character and faith of the Catholics were conjoined very strict notions as to the obligation of the rulers—that is, of the Queen Regent and of her daughter, Queen Mary—to establish Protestantism. Thus in his *Letter to the Commonalty of Scotland*, Knox says, "Althoghe ye be but subiectes, ye may lawfully require of your superiours, be it of your King, be it of your Lordes, rulers and powers, that they provide for you true Preachers. . . . And if in this point your superiours be negligent, or yet pretend to maintaine tyrantes in their tyrannie, most justly ye may provide true teachers for yourselves."

From the theory of obligation on the rulers it was a short step to the right of the subjects to compel the sovereign to act within the constitution. As far back as 1554 Knox put some significant queries to Bullinger on the governmental rights of an infant prince, of a woman, of an "idolatrous Sovereign", of "a Magistrate who enforces Idolatry and Condemns true religion". And in his letter to the Queen Regent of 1558, he says, "That all is not reputed before God sedition and conjuration which the foolish multitude so estemeth, nether yet is everie tumult and breach of publicke order contrarie to Goddes commandement".

From such premises it was an easy and speedy road to the doctrine that idolatrous princes might be deposed, and Knox urged with all his might the removal of the Queen Regent and still more of Mary, Queen of Scots. For such desired ends the preacher was not altogether unwilling to use bad means. In 1559 he asked Cecil to send a thousand men to fight the French, notwithstanding the peaceful relations between France and England. "For it is free for your subjects to serve in warr ane prence or nation for thare wages. And yf ye fear that such excesses shall not prevaile, you may declayr thame rebellis to your Realme when ye shalbe assured that thei be in our companye." Even less allowable means were not beyond Knox's conscience. Upon the

assassination of Cardinal Beaton in 1546, his comment is: "We wold, that the Reader should observe Goddis just judgementis, and how that he can deprehend the worldly wyse in thare awin wisdom." And on the killing of Rizzio, Knox said, "And let the world understand in plane termes what we meane, the great abusar of this commoun wealth, that pultron and vyle knave Davie, was justlie punished."

It was not in the nature of Knox to understand that "they that take the sword shall perish by the sword", that murder and brute force may destroy, but cannot build up; still less was it in his nature to understand or to harmonize with Mary, Queen of Scots. The most dramatic episode in Knox's life, and the turning point in Mary's was a series of five conferences between August 26, 1561, and May, 1563. Since our knowledge of these interviews is almost wholly derived from Knox's own record in his own history, one naturally feels interested to know "how the lion would have painted it"; unwritten circumstances, tones and gestures do much to alter even an accurate report of a personal interview. Nevertheless there seems little reason to doubt that what Knox set down as his language and Mary's was substantially the language used. Contrary to the general impression, a reading of this record reveals a John Knox at first moved by a strong traditional sense of personal loyalty and by the graces of the most fascinating woman of her time; and he was genuinely anxious to find some common ground if possible. Indeed Knox later owns that "so cairfull was I of that common tranquillitie, and so loth was I to have offended those of whom I conceaved a good opinioun, that in secreat conference with earnest and zealous men, I travaled rather to mitigat, yea, to slokin, that fervencye that God had kyndled in otheris, than to animat or encourage thame to put thair hands to the Lordis work; Whairintill I unfeanedlie acknowledge my selff to have done most wickedlie."

Hardly had Mary landed in Scotland in 1561 to take possession of her kingdom when mass was celebrated at Holyrood Chapel; for his sermon against it the queen straightway summoned Knox to court. Notwithstanding the studied courtesy of Knox's behavior, he squarely laid down in this first interview the principle which he ever after insisted upon with regard to the authority of a Catholic sovereign, "Think ye, (quod sche) that subjectis having power may resist thair Princes?" "Yf thair Princes exceed thair boundis, (quod he), Madam, and do against that whairfoir they should be obeyed, it is no doubt but thei may be resisted, evin by power."

The second interview, a year and a half later, came about because Knox very offensively preached against the queen's dancing; she called for him and charged him with "travailling to bring hir in haitterent and contempt of the people, and that he had exceeded the boundis of his text". In courtesy and in argument, the queen had the best of it, and she even took him on his own ground by asking him why he did not come privately to admonish her of anything that he thought amiss. Knox revealed his essential lack of breeding by saying, "For albeit at your Grace's commaundment I am here now, yitt can not I tell what other men shall judge of me, that at this tyme of day am absent from my book and wayting upoun the Courte." To which the queen replied with just resentment, "You will not alwais be at your book", and so turned her back.

Four months later came a third interview, in which Mary attempted to persuade Knox to prevent the arrest and punishment of certain priests for celebrating mass. She spoke him fair, she even sent for him next day, treated him with confidence and promised to give up her point, but Knox's heart was all the more hardened; as Randolph reported to the English court, "He is so full of mistrust in all her doynge, wordes, and sayenges, as thoughe he wer eyther of God's privie conell, that knowe howe he had determined of her from the begninge, or that he knewe the secretes of her harte so well, that nether she dyd or culde have for ever one good thought of God or of his trewe religion"; and Maitland of Lethington said, "I wolde wishe he shoulde deale with her more gently, being a young Princess onpersuaded."

In his capacity as censor of the kingdom Knox now proceeded to lay down the law as to the queen's marriage. It was of the first importance to Protestant Scotland that Mary should not ally herself with any Catholic sovereign, yet when Knox threatened, "Goddis vengeance upoun the countrey" if she should marry, "ane infidell (and all Papists are infidellis)", she sent for him in an agitation of spirit which led her to what Knox very ungallantly called "owling, besydes womanlie weaping". The masculine mind cannot forbear a tribute of admiration for the one man in history who was unmoved by the tears of a beautiful young queen; yet who can help feeling some sympathy with the queen in her demand, "What have ye to do with my marriage? Or what ar ye within this Commonwealth?" "A subject borne within the same, Madam," was Knox's reply, "And albeit I neather be Erle, Lord,

nor Barroun within it, yitt hes God maid me, (how abject that ever I be in your eyes,) a profitable member within the same."

When, three years later, Mary fell into depths of degradation and misery, the fierceness of Knox's hatred blazed up afresh. The English ambassador reported that, "He dothe continewe hys seveare exhortations as well against the Quene as agaynst Bodwell; thretynge the grete plague of God to thys wholle countrey and nayton yf she be spared from her condigne ponyshement." Still later when Mary was a prisoner and a fugitive in England, in his prayer on the assassination of the regent, Earl of Murray, Knox complimented the Almighty that, "Thou didst appoynt a Regent endued with such graces as the Divell himself cannot accuse or justly convict him, this only excepted that foolish pity did so farre prevaill in him, concerning execution and punishment which thou commanded to have been executed upon her, and upon her complices, the murth-erers of her husband."

It was impossible for Mary, Queen of Scots, and John Knox to agree, for her purpose was to restore the Catholic Church, and Knox's was completely and forever to destroy it; yet what sovereign of an ancient and stately house could brook the personal public criticism which Knox saw fit to use? But it was a losing battle for her: the Queen of Scotland had to learn the bitter meaning of the proverb: "If the rock fall on the pitcher, woe to the pitcher! and if the pitcher fall on the rock, woe to the pitcher!"

IV.

All three of the other great leaders of the Reformation, Luther, Zwingli and Calvin set themselves with greater or less success to the building up of a new political and ecclesiastical order on the ruins of the old, and Calvin laid down principles on the relations of church and state which still powerfully affect the Protestant Christian world. At the beginning of his career Knox also seemed destined to become a great political leader; his friends said that "Jhonne Knox had foirwairned us, by his letteris from Geneva, of all dangeris that he foirsaw [to] ensew on our enterpryse." At that time he was eager to go to England, and came near resuming his residence in a kingdom where he would have found a very different kind of queen in the valiant Elizabeth.

Fortunately for Scotland Elizabeth would none of him, but he remained a strong partizan of alliance between the Scottish Protestants and England; was the medium of letters to Cecil in behalf of the Lords of the Congregation, and actually crossed the

border as an accredited envoy; but the warden of the East Marshes, under a superior influence which may easily be divined, wrote dryly, "I think it not expedient, that in such raritie of preachearis, ye two be ony long tyme absent from the Lordis." Except for one transient visit in 1567 Knox never again set foot in England, but he remained in correspondence with some of the English statesmen and appears to have had regular political intelligence from France, Flanders and other parts of Europe; he even had some secret correspondence with a representative of Catherine de' Medici. After 1561 however he had little influence and no authority in foreign relations, although it is evident that he desired to be consulted and to be employed in such matters.

Familiar as Knox was with principalities and powers throughout history he had no interest in, and little knowledge of, government as a function of the man of the world. Zwingli was distinctly a democrat and Luther a champion of the vested rights of princes; Knox was neither. In the two passages upon human rights which have come to the writer's attention, he says, "For albeit God hath put and ordened distinction and differences betwixt the King and subjects, betwixt the rulers and the commune people, in the regiment and administration of Civile policies, yet in the hope of the life to come he hath made all equal." The simple truth is that Knox had no theory of government, other than the tradition of royal power, except the principle, absolutely necessary for his purposes, that an "idolatrous", that is a Catholic, sovereign who insisted on the right to attend mass could be deposed.

As has already been seen, Knox had no favorable opinion of most of the sovereigns of his time. We have already seen what was his opinion of the Queen Regent and Queen Mary and how plainly he set forth the right of deposing a sovereign who did not reign according to the will of God. Mary's son, James, was not far from right when he said of Knox, "Hee himselfe and his adherentes were brought in, and well settled, and by these means made strong enough to undertake the matters of Reformation themselves. Then, loe they beganne to make smal account of her Supremacy, nor would longer rest upon her authority, but tooke the cause into their owne hand." Knox's whole teaching was that "Na power on earth is above the power of the Civill regular; that everie saule, be he Pope or Cardinall, aught to be subject to the higher Poweris. That thair commandementis, not repugnyng to Godis glorie and honour, ought to be obeyit, evin with great loss of temporall thingis." This is plainly the doctrine of the subordina-

tion of the church to the civil power, but Knox's system of government was the purest theocracy; above the civil power was the law of God: "Of conscience I am compelled to say, that neyther the consent of people, proces of time, nor multitude of men, can establish a law which God shall approve." The only remaining detail in this beautifully simple theory of government was who should decide what was the law of God; and upon that point Knox never hesitated: in his own mind he was himself the ultimate tribunal.

A whimsical part of Knox's political theory and not in the least necessary for his ultimate purposes was his habitual disapproval of women. "Nature, I say, doth paynt them furthe to be weake, fraile, impacient, feble and foolishe; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruell, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment." And in his *First Blast* he rings all the changes on the weakness of female princes. "And such be al women, compared unto man in bearing of authoritie. For their sight in civile regiment is but blindness; their strength, weakness; their counsel, foolishnes; and judgment, phrensie, if it be rightly considered. This sentence, I say, did God pronounce against Heva and her daughter as the rest of the scriptures doth evidentlie witnesse. So that no woman can ever presume to reigne above man, but the same she must needes do in despite of God." And he reaches his climax with this pronouncement: "That rotten wall, the usurped and unjust empire of Women, shall fall by itself in despit of all man,—to the destruction of so manie as shall labor to uphold it. And therefore let all man be advertised, for THE TRUMPET HATH ONES BLOWN."

In view of the carefully wrought governmental system of Calvin, it is striking how little attention Knox paid to the civil administration of his own country: he simply accepted as final that combination of weak or desperate rulers with the nobility who were the ruling force in Parliament; and the vague authority of the Assembly, in which the ministers had great weight. Much has been made of the *Book of Discipline*, in which Knox had an important part, as containing principles of government, but they are not to be found there; except for certain offenses, such as drunkenness and other excess in which Knox held that the church should be allowed a penalty, he simply ascribed indefinite power to the magistrates. In his letter to the regent of 1555 he says: "Ye thinke, peradventure, that the care of religion is not committed to Magistrates, but to the Bishops and Estate Ecclesiastical, as they terme

it; No, no, the negligence of Bishoppes shall no lesse be requyred of the handes of Magistrates because they foster and maintein them in tyranny than shall the oppression of fals judges, which kynges maintein and defend." He abjures all authority of ecclesiastics to take life for heresy and affirms, "Of the premisses it is evident, that to lawfull powers is geven the sworde for punyshment of malefactors; for maintenance of innocents, and for the profitt and utilitie of theyr subjects." He even by a self-denying ordinance says, "Let none that be appointed to labour in Christes vineyarde be entangled with Civil affaires." In fact, the only question of church authority upon which he seemed strongly to feel was the transfer of the church estates, which he thought ought all to go to the Protestant clergy; and he characteristically expressed his disappointment when the nobles got two-thirds, while of the other third half went to the queen and only half to the ministers. "I see Twa partis freely gevin to the Devill, and the Thrid maun be devided betwix God and the Devill. Weill, bear witnes to me, that this day I say it, or it be long the Devill shall have Three partis of the Thrid."

A large and intelligent interest in education has been ascribed to John Knox because of the articles in the *Book of Discipline* on education. Though he had himself been a teacher and though he probably did sketch the broad scheme of universal national education, the system was not put into operation. He strongly favored the free education of ministers' children in learning "gif thai be found apt therero; and failing thairof that thai be put to some handycraft, or exercised in some verteouse industrie"—perhaps a distant suggestion of industrial training. The school subjects were to be reading, the catechism, the grammar and the Latin tongue. The rich must be compelled to send their children to school, the poor must be aided, and at twenty-four years "The learner most be removed to serve the Church on Commoun-wealth, unless he be fund a neccessarie Reidare in the same Colledge or Universitie." Knox recognizes two other professions besides the ministry, that of the civil servant and of the college teacher. His scheme of education comprised schools, colleges and, "Last, the great Schollis callit Universiteis shalbe repleanischit with those that be apt to learnyng." Throughout the system he recognizes religious instruction as an essential part of the necessary study; and he enforces his plea for schools with a splendid sentence which sounds like the lofty precepts of the fathers of the New England commonwealths, "Not doubting but yf God sall grant quietnes, and gif your

Wisdomes grace to set forward letteris in the sord prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posteritie, and treasure more to be esteemed nor any earthlie treasure ye are able to provide for thame; whiche, without wisdom, are more able to be their ruine and confisoun, than help or comfort."

V.

What shall be our final estimate of John Knox in his public capacity and in his relations to his fellow-men? What is the secret of the pre-eminence of this untitled potentate; this magistrate without the robe of office, this voice so arrogant, so disdainful, yet so persuasive? The solution of this extraordinary character is to be found in two things, of which the first is his own conception of his mission as a prophet. In the *Appellation* of 1556 he says, "My wordes are sharpe, but consider, my Lords, that they are not mine, but that they are the threatynge of the Omnipotent, who assuredly will performe the voices of the Prophetes." To the proud abbot of Crossraguell he said: "The order of God hath bene in suche publick corruptions, to raise up simple and obscure men, in the beginning of there vocation, unknowne to the worlds, to rebuke the manifest defection of the people from God." And in his fateful sermon against Darnley he said: "For in the publike place I consulte not with flesh and bloud what I shall propone to the people, but as the Spirit of my God who hath sent me, and unto whome I must answers, moveth me, so I speake." This clear conception of a divine mission, this absolute assurance that "God hath revealed unto me secretes unknowne to the worlde; and also that he made my tong a trumpet, to forwarne realmes and nations", accounts for the fierceness, the vindictiveness and the excess of Knox's teachings and influence. A prophet is not sent into the world to attend parish meetings, or to execute the laws against wrongous imprisonment. Knox is like Savonarola, like Ulrich von Hutten, like Whitfield, men sent to arouse the world, leaving to others the task of organizing it.

Then how could such a man maintain himself? The key to his public life of thirteen years in the midst of bitter foes and irritated friends, can only be inferred, and yet the inference is irresistible; Knox's support and his power really came from his position as the spokesman and favorite of the Edinburgh burghers, who were far more powerful even than court or prelates or nobles. The parishioners of St. Giles doubtless were proud of having the fiercest minister in Scotland. John Knox could defy princes,

alienate the Congregation and offend the Assembly, for the same reason that Robespierre could so long hold his own in a hostile convention. The champion of the Edinburgh citizens never knew how to use his great oratorical powers for the uplifting of the commonwealth, or for the development of long policies. He was no man of the world in the sense that he could lay hold of the experiences and combine the service of others. He gave little aid to the political distress of Scotland for he had no plan of relief and apparently no sense of the problem. He had the arrogance as well as the eloquence of the orator; he loved to exalt his own services and his own wisdom. Yet Knox never seems to have used his power for his own personal advantage. He loved his country and according to his lights served her well, and he himself sums up his aims and his successes in a prayer which was the last publication of his life.

“For being drowned in ignorance, thow hes gevin to me knowl-
edge above the common sort of my brethren; my tounge hes thow
usit to set forth thy glorie, to oppung idolatire, errouris, and fals
doctrine. Thow hes compelled me to foirspeak, as well delyver-
aunce to the afflicted, as destruction to certane inobedient; the
performance whereof, not I alone, bot the verray blind world has
alreddy sene.”

His was the spirit of Ibsen's Brand:

“How long the war will last?
As long as life, till ye have cast
All ye possess before the Lord,
And slain the Spirit of Accord;
Until your stiff will bend and bow,
And every coward scruple fall,
Before the bidding,—Nought or all.”

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

THE FIRST HAYBURN CASE, 1792

THE right of a judicial court to declare void an enactment of the legislature that is repugnant to the instrument of government, from which both legislature and court receive their sanction, has been a subject of perennial interest and continued discussion. In particular, the origin of the right of the Supreme Court of the United States to declare an act of Congress to be invalid because it is contrary to the Federal Constitution has been and still is a mooted question.¹

It will be remembered that the Invalid Pension Act of March 23, 1792, directed the federal circuit courts to receive and sit in judgment upon applications for pensions for disabilities incurred in service in the Revolutionary War. Their decisions were to be submitted to the Secretary of War, and if disapproved by him were to be reported to Congress at their next session. Within two weeks (April 5, 1792), Chief Justice Jay, Associate Justice Cushing and District Judge Duane, in the circuit court for the district of New York, took this act into consideration and formally entered their opinion upon the record:²

"That neither the legislative nor the executive branches can constitutionally assign to the judicial any duties, but such as are properly judicial, and to be performed in a judicial manner:—

"That the duties assigned to the circuit courts by this act are not of that description; and that the act itself does not appear to contemplate them as such, inasmuch as it subjects the decisions of these courts, made pursuant to those duties, first to the consideration and suspension of the secretary at war, and then to the revision of the legislature."

They avoided the direct issue of its constitutionality, however, by further declaring:

"As therefore the business assigned to this court by the act is not judicial, nor directed to be performed judicially, the act can only be considered as appointing commissioners for the purposes

¹ For recent discussion of this subject see William M. Meigs, "Some Recent Attacks on the American Doctrine of Judicial Power", *American Law Review*, September-October, 1906, 641-670.

² Carey's *American Museum* (1792), XII. Appendix 2.

mentioned in it by official instead of personal descriptions. . . .

"That as the objects of this act are exceedingly benevolent, and do real honor to the humanity and justice of congress, and as the judges desire to manifest on all proper occasions, and in every proper manner, their high respect for the national legislature, they will execute this act in the capacity of commissioners."

They accordingly acted in this capacity, but by way of protest forwarded on April 10 to President Washington their opinion as voiced in the extracts from the minutes and requested that he communicate these to Congress. A similar position was taken by Associate Justice Iredell and District Judge Sitgreaves of the circuit court for the district of North Carolina, and embodied in a letter of June 8 to the President.³ The judges on the middle circuit took a more radical stand, but their action will be considered in another connection in this article.

At the next session of Congress the objectionable features of the Act of 1792 were repealed and an acceptable mode of procedure upon pension-claims adopted. One section of this repealing act made it "the duty of the Secretary of War, in conjunction with the Attorney General, to take such measures as may be necessary to obtain an adjudication of the Supreme Court of the United States, on the validity of any such rights claimed under the act aforesaid, by the determination of certain persons styling themselves Commissioners."

In accordance with this latter provision a friendly suit was brought in the Supreme Court by the United States against Yale Todd to recover money paid under a pension granted him upon the finding of Jay, Cushing and Law, judges of the circuit court for the district of Connecticut, acting as commissioners. February 12, 1794, the Supreme Court—with Chief Justice Jay, Associate Justices Cushing, Wilson, Blair and Paterson present—rendered a decision against Yale Todd. The case is involved in some obscurity, since the only report is in a note appended to *United States v. Ferreira* (13 Howard, 52) by order of Chief Justice Taney in 1851. According to this note "the result of the opinions expressed" was that the power proposed to be conferred upon the circuit courts by the Act of 1792 was unconstitutional, and that statement has been rather generally interpreted into the direct statement that the Supreme Court declared the Act of 1792 unconstitutional. Professor Thayer, however, was probably right in his assertion that the court did not formally declare the act unconstitutional; it was rather a decision

³ *Annals of Congress*, Second Congress, 1319-1322.

that the theory of the legislation of March 23, 1792, adopted by some of the judges, *viz.*, that it gave them authority to act as commissioners, was untenable.⁴ A search through the records of the Supreme Court shows that the original papers of *United States v. Yale Todd* are missing, but an examination of *United States v. Ferreira* papers reveals an attested transcript of the record of the Yale Todd case, according to which the court simply declared its opinion "that Judgement be Entered for the Plaintiff".⁵ It is altogether probable then that the court avoided the issue.

Shortly after Jay and his associates had sent their letter of protest to the President in 1792, Associate Justices Wilson and Blair and District Judge Peters of the circuit court for the district of Pennsylvania also addressed a letter to the President under date of April 18, declaring "the sentiments, which, on a late painful occasion, governed us, with regard to an act passed by the legislature of the union. . . . Upon due consideration, we have been unanimously of opinion, that, under this act, the circuit court, held for the Pennsylvania district, could not proceed; . . . Be assured, that, though it became necessary, it was far from being pleasant. To be obliged to act contrary either to the obvious directions of congress, or to a constitutional principle, in our judgment, equally obvious, excited feelings in us, which we hope never to experience again."⁶

The "painful occasion" referred to was the action of the court just one week previous upon the application of William Hayburn for a pension under the Act of 1792. The following record is copied from the docket of the court:

"At a Circuit Court of the United States in and for the Pennsylvania District, etc.

11th day of April, 1792, before Wilson, Blair and Peters.

The petition of William Hayburn, was read and after due deliberation thereupon had it is considered by the Court that the same be not proceeded upon."

This action, which it has seemed advisable to call the "first Hayburn case", has been obscured by the Hayburn case before the Federal Supreme Court at the August term, 1792, when Attorney-General Randolph moved for a *mandamus* to the circuit court for the district of Pennsylvania, commanding it to proceed and hear the petition of Hayburn—a motion which the court held under advisement until Congress had modified the objectionable features of the

⁴ J. B. Thayer, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, I, 105 n.

⁵ The writer is indebted to Mr. James D. Maher for the courteous assistance rendered him in examining these papers.

⁶ Carey's *American Museum* (1792), XII. Appendix 2.

statute, as noticed above, and upon which no return was ever made.⁷ The record of the first Hayburn case is so meagre that no importance would seem to attach to it, were it not for the light which is thrown upon it from other sources.

On April 13, 1792, a memorial from Hayburn was presented to the House of Representatives setting forth the refusal of the circuit court to take cognizance of his case and asking for relief. "This being the first instance in which a court of justice had declared a law of Congress to be unconstitutional, the novelty of the case produced a variety of opinions with respect to the measures to be taken on the occasion."⁸ This quite explicit statement carries additional weight from the fact that it is based upon the explanation given to the House by Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey, who apparently had been sufficiently interested to have attended court on that day or to have acquired definite information from some source; and Boudinot was a competent authority, for he had been attorney for the plaintiffs in the case of *Holmes v. Walton* in New Jersey in 1780.⁹

James Wilson was, of course, the dominating personality of the trio of judges who had refused to proceed under an act of Congress. In the Federal Convention he had intimated, and in the Pennsylvania State Convention upon the ratification of the Constitution, he had unequivocally declared his position:

"If a law should be made inconsistent with those powers vested by this instrument in Congress, the Judges, as a consequence of their independence, and the particular powers of government being defined, will declare such law to be null and void. For the power of the constitution predominates. Anything, therefore, that shall be enacted by Congress contrary thereto, will not have the force of law."¹⁰

It is not surprising then to find Iredell, who was on circuit with Wilson in the fall of 1792, writing to his wife: "We have had a great deal of business to do here, particularly as I have reconciled myself to the propriety of doing the Invalid-business out of Court. Judge Wilson altogether declines it."¹¹

The newspapers of the day indicate that not a little interest was aroused by the first Hayburn case. Some praised the action

⁷ 2 Dallas, 409.

⁸ *Annals of Congress*, Second Congress, 556-557.

⁹ Scott Austin, *Holmes vs. Walton; the New Jersey Precedent*; AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, IV. 456-469.

¹⁰ McMaster & Stone, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution*, p. 354.

¹¹ McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II. 361.

of the judges and one correspondent hoped "that they may do the same with the National Bank".¹² Many sympathized with the applicants for pensions and regretted that the "humanity of Congress has been thwarted by the action of the judges".¹³ Others regarded the action of the judges as unconstitutional, and impeachment was even threatened. The following extract from Bache's *General Advertiser* of April 20, 1792, shows that some excitement evidently prevailed: "Never was the word 'impeachment' so hackneyed, as it has been since the spirited sentence passed by our judges on an unconstitutional law. The high-fliers, in and out of Congress, and the very humblest of their humble retainers talk of nothing but impeachment! impeachment! impeachment! as if forsooth Congress were wrapped up in the cloak of infallibility, which has been torn from the shoulders of the Pope; and that it was damnable heresy and sacrilege to doubt the constitutional orthodoxy of any decision of theirs, once written on calf-skin!"

In Freneau's *National Gazette* for April 23, it was stated: "We agree . . . that humanity is better pleased with the conduct of the judges of the Eastern circuit; but . . . they too have, though in a delicate manner passed sentence of unconstitutionality on the invalid law.—We . . . assert that the word 'impeachment' was several times mentioned in the House of Representatives although no motion was made on the subject." In the same paper there appeared on May 10 a summary of the work of Congress during the session; it was said therein: "The decision of the judges against the constitutionality of an act in which the executive had concurred with the legislative departments, is the first instance, also, in which that branch of the government has withstood the proceedings of the others."

In view of all these things there would seem to be no reasonable doubt that on April 11, James Wilson, John Blair and Richard Peters declared the Invalid Pension Act of 1792 unconstitutional. Inasmuch as the docket of the court does not state this specifically and we have no opinion filed, lawyers may still hold that *Van Horn's Lessee v. Dorrance* in 1795¹⁴ is the first of which we have official record, but to the historical student the evidence would seem to be fairly conclusive that James Wilson and his associates anticipated that decision by three years in the "first Hayburn case".

MAX FARRAND.

¹² *The Mail; or Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*, April 16, 1792.

¹³ *Fenno's Gazette of the United States*, May 9, 1792.

¹⁴ 2 Dallas, 304.

THE AMERICAN ACTA SANCTORUM¹

IT was natural, and almost inevitable, that a large part of the literature of the Middle Ages should consist of the lives of the saints. The world was a Christian world. In nearly all countries, most writers were ecclesiastics. In a society unreservedly Christian in theory, the main endeavor of clerical writing would surely be to persuade rough men so to live that at the end they might be added to the joyful company of the elect. The saints were those ascertained by universal judgment or papal declaration to inhabit already the mansions of felicity, where evermore they interceded for the members of the church militant. What more natural than that, for the edification of the latter, clerical authors should recount in detail the lives of those who had fought the good fight, had struggled with success up the thorny pathway, had proved that the sanctified life was not impossible to flesh and blood, even to the ardent flesh and insurgent blood of the Middle Ages? Accordingly we have multitudes of such biographies, whose popularity is attested by the great number of manuscript copies in which some of them have survived even to our own time.

It is well known that, in the relative paucity of materials for many portions of medieval history, these pious narratives have been put to frequent and effective use by historians. Sometimes, since

Even in a palace life may be led well,

the saint whose life the historian finds among his materials was himself a man of high position, whose life is an important part of the political history of his country. Such was St. Louis, whose life by the Sire de Joinville is a classical and indispensable part of the record of French national development. Such in a less degree but in a darker country was St. Margaret of Scotland, whose life by Abbot Turgot tells us more of the reign of her husband King Malcolm and of the life of the Scottish nobility and court than we can learn for other parts of that dim century from all other sources put together. That the biographies of statesmen like St. Dunstan

¹ Annual address of the president of the American Historical Association, delivered at Madison, December 27, 1907.

and St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Bernard and St. Eligius, furnish invaluable materials to the historian, requires no demonstration. Other saints, though usually not thus immersed in secular affairs, have nevertheless become so involved in particular episodes that their memoirs become, for the moment, sources of prime importance. We should not willingly part with what we know of the ending of the Babylonish Captivity through the activities of St. Catherine of Siena; in the acts of Saint Demetrius the siege of Thessalonica by the Avars in 597 is so fully recounted as to give us our best details as to the military methods then employed in the siege and defence of fortified places.

Still more obvious and direct is the light which the hagiographers cast on European history when their subjects have borne a leading part in clerical or Christian movements. Biographies like those of St. Cyril and St. Martin, St. Patrick and St. Boniface, are often our chief materials for understanding the conversion of northern and western Europe to Christianity, surely one of the most memorable movements in human history. In the later ages, it is in the lives of St. Francis and St. Dominic and St. Ignatius that we may best study, in their early development, those three organizations which have proved the most potent agencies for maintaining vital Christianity in a world already nominally Christian. Of another variety are the lives or narratives of travelling saints, whose observations are among the chief materials for our knowledge of medieval geography.

Less obvious, but hardly less interesting, is the contribution which the lives of the medieval saints make, indirectly and without intention, to our knowledge of social history. Their authors wrote for purposes of edification and devotion. Often they gave little heed to accuracy of statement; often their clerical prepossessions so beclouded their minds that we cannot trust their testimony in the very matters about which they are most concerned to persuade us. Often, on the other hand, they furnish invaluable testimony about matters respecting which they had no thought of conveying information to any reader. They may falsify the portraits which occupy the foregrounds of their pictures, distort and make unreal the attitudes and actions which their minds are set on delineating; but the background is rendered with photographic fidelity, because depicted automatically and unconsciously. It is as certain that the biographer of St. Gervinus or St. Gungulphus will give us trustworthy data of the manners and customs of his time, as that the great Florentine artists will in the backgrounds of their Biblical

pictures afford us veracious glimpses of the Tuscan landscape of the sixteenth century. They could not do otherwise. Thus from the hagiographers we often derive fragments of evidence in social history which we should seek in vain in the professed chronicles.

The pious biographer of the Christian missionary little knew that we should value his incidental touches respecting the heathen quite as much as his labored tribute to his hero, should eagerly take our first glimpses of pagan Sweden through the eyes of St. Ansgar, and treasure what little we can learn of conditions in heathen Germany, beyond the borders of civilization, from the life of St. Boniface written by a simple-minded companion. Nowhere does the student of folklore find fuller data as to pagan superstitions and practices in seventh-century Gaul than in the life of St. Eligius. As of the heathen, so also of those humble and inarticulate classes concerning whose life the chroniclers of the Middle Ages tell us so little. Froissart might think of none but lords and ladies; kings and barons, bishops and abbots, might fill the canvas of Matthew Paris. But the Kingdom of Heaven was a Christian democracy. The Northumbrian peasant, the merchant's son of Assisi, the shepherd girl of Lorraine, might become saints, and their biographies, especially the stories of their childhood and youth, will be sure to convey some precious indications as to the everyday life of the classes from which they sprang. Much of our best knowledge of the situation of the medieval Jews comes from the lives of those sainted children whose blood they were fabled to have shed as a means of keeping their unholy passover—St. William of Norwich or St. Simon of Trent or the holy child of La Guardia.

Since it was ordinarily requisite that sanctity should be attested by miracles, narratives of miracles play a large part in the lives of medieval saints. In these we find many of our best illustrations of medieval conditions and manners, and especially in the stories of miracles of healing. Such stories are full of instruction respecting medieval diseases and medicine, pestilence, manias and hygiene. How, for instance, should we know anything of the use of anaesthetics in the Middle Ages, if it were not recorded for us in the life of one of the saints that "many persons fall asleep after taking a draught of oblivion, which physicians call *letargion*, and are not sensible of incisions in their limbs, or sometimes of burning and cutting in the vital parts, inflicted on them in this state, and on waking from sleep are not aware of what has been done to them"?

Or again, to take the one point of the language used by educated people in England under the first Plantagenets, a question

respecting which chroniclers are silent; we have our best indications in the hagiographers. William of Canterbury, in his life of St. Thomas Becket, gives a story concerning Helewisia de Morville, wife of one of St. Thomas's murderers, which represents her, a woman of Norman descent, one hundred years after the Conquest, as using English when calling for her husband's aid to punish a refractory Englishman. "Huwe of Morvill, war, war, Liulf haveth his sword ydrawen", she cries; English was her natural tongue. Again, in Reginald of Coldingham's life of the contemporary hermit St. Godric, it appears that the monks of Durham, though Latin was their ordinary language, conversed in English with St. Godric, who spoke French only by miracle. The Virgin taught St. Godric an English hymn, and this is written down in English in Reginald's book, which was intended for the reading of Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham. From a passage in the life of bishop Hugh of Lincoln by the abbot Adam of Eynsham, it appears that St. Hugh, who was a Burgundian by birth, did not understand the English dialects of Kent and Huntingdonshire, but that he was addressed by the natives as if it were naturally to be expected that he should understand what they said.

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the varied and curious ways in which the lives of the saints light up for us the daily life of the Middle Ages. We see in the biography of St. Elizabeth of Hungary the domestic details of a Thuringian castle and of the hovels in the villages around it. In the life of St. Thomas Aquinas we see the characteristics of hazing in medieval universities, and later, in that of St. Stanislaus Kostka, we observe how the same practice was conducted in the college of the Jesuits at Vienna. In the life of St. Etheldreda we perceive, not without instruction, that a great abbess of the seventh century allowed herself the luxury of a hot bath only before the great festivals of the Church, and then made it a demonstration of humility, by first bathing her nuns with her own hands. The story of the Campanian farmer complaining to St. Felix of the theft of his oxen, and menacing the saint, if he does not make good the loss caused by his neglect, or, in the life of St. Wulfstan, the story of the man who had killed another and "could not on any terms obtain the friendship, nor by any payment get the pardon," of the man's relatives, that of his ordering a nut-tree which overhung a church to be cut down, and of the patron's resisting because he sometimes feasted or played at dice under its shade, and that of the sacrist who was enjoined to burn a candle before Wulfstan's tomb for a year, and

to repeat fifteen psalms, for having suffered a book which was in his custody to be stolen, the many tales of funerals and of church-building, of almsgiving, of impiety—such stories as these, though individually of little significance, yet when brought together in sufficient quantity may help us to imagine and to reconstruct those vanished states of society which the contemporary chroniclers take for granted.

Not the least interesting result of such study and combining is the light which a nation's saints throw on a nation's character. "We live by admiration." However much a saint might feel himself to be a member and a champion of the universal church, he could not escape being a man of his own country and age; and in the long run those whom time has selected as the chief saints of a nation have come to that position through a congeniality with the nation's traits that has brought them its steady and natural veneration. In St. Louis we see the pattern of French chivalry, fearless and honorable, full of courtesy and generosity. In Joan of Arc, beatified though not canonized, we see typified the high spirit of the French nation, its military instinct, its imaginative heroism, its enthusiasm for ideals, its ardor of self-sacrifice. In St. Elizabeth of Thuringia we see the type of German domestic and practical piety; in St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier the independence, the reticence, and the organizing power of the Basque. St. Francis of Assisi, with his sensitive poetic imagination, fresh, simple and child-like, sympathetic with the poor, joyful in all renunciation, could be no other than the best-beloved saint of the Italians. St. Teresa, ecstatic in her mystical union with God, yet gay and natural and gifted in practical reforms and other dealings with this world, is as distinctly the Spaniard as the impulsive, passionate, warm-hearted Columba is the genuine Irish Celt, while in St. Cuthbert, buoyant, energetic, the strong walker, the lover of the country and of boyish sports, we see the genuine Northumbrian. (Where indeed but in Yorkshire would William Paternoster have been struck dumb as a punishment for walking alone with a little girl and not enjoying athletic sports?)

But enough has been said of the profit which historians have been able to draw from the stories of the European saints. It is time to turn to the specific subject of the present address. It has been entitled "*The American Acta Sanctorum*". Its purpose is to call attention to an analogous body of material which lies at the service of students of American history, and to suggest certain reflections as to its content and use. At first thought, obvious dif-

ferences strike the mind. The lives of the European saints have for the most part been brought together in comprehensive collections, chief among them the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandist fathers, a stately series of nearly seventy folio volumes, in which the original narratives have been treated with all the resources, and are accompanied with all the apparatus, of modern historical scholarship. The American "Acta Sanctorum", on the other hand, appears in the shape of numberless little books, shabby and faded, printed most often on provincial presses and seldom straying far from the place of origin. Each of them contains an artless biography, composed by some pious friend of the deceased clergyman or other saint, in which his spiritual struggles and triumphs, his labors in the vineyard or sufferings under persecution, are recounted for purposes of edification. Sometimes the little book is an autobiography; and there are a few instances of collective biography, like certain portions of Mather's *Magnalia*. But in general we have only the shabby little provincial books, first and only editions, raw materials of an "Acta Sanctorum", not to be brought together without some difficulty, and nowise provided with a Bollandist apparatus of critical or historical comment. Aside from such differences of form, it must be admitted, as a matter of course, that there are differences of character between the mass of medieval literature we have been considering and any body of Protestant hagiology, mostly lives of married clergymen and laymen living in free modern states; and also that the historian's need of such narratives is less urgent when he is dealing with a period much subsequent to the invention of the printing-press than when he occupies himself with the Dark Ages.

Nevertheless, it may fairly be maintained that the American historical scholar can draw from these ill-printed little memorials of local piety much the same varieties of benefit which his European brother derives from the imposing folios of the *Acta Sanctorum*. In the first place, not a few of our American saints have borne an important part in public affairs. The second book of the *Magnalia*, Turell's life of Benjamin Colman, the memoirs of Presidents Wheelock, Stiles and Dwight, of Manasseh Cutler and Bishop Leonidas Polk, are the lives of persons who exerted great and continuous influence on secular movements in their day and generation. Others impinged upon the circle of political life for lesser periods, or afford us occasional but valued glimpses of its events. The autobiography of Rev. Thomas Shepard casts most precious light upon the early migration to Massachusetts Bay, the life of Rev.

David Caldwell upon the proceedings of the North Carolina convention of 1789, that of President Manning upon the devious course of Rhode Island in the Continental Congress. One of the best accounts of the sea-fight between the frigates *United States* and *Macedonian* is to be found in an autobiographical book by Samuel Leach. Less important, yet of genuine interest, are the curious account which John Churchman, a Quaker preacher, gives of his appearing before the Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1748 to dissuade it from the support of warlike measures; his narrative of the treaty with Teedyuscung and other Indians at Easton in 1757, at which he was present; and the glimpses which saintly John Richardson gives us of Penn and Baltimore and Lady Baltimore in 1702.

As in the parallel case of the European saints, however, we naturally find fuller light upon those transactions which would fall more distinctly within the usual scope of clerical endeavor. The life of John Woolman is surely one of the classics of our colonial literature, marked by all that beauty of spirit and of phrase which elevation, serenity, the habit of meditation, and intimacy with the Bible could so often confer on the writings of the Quakers; but it is also one of the classics of the early anti-slavery movement, and one of the best and best-known examples of the class which we are describing. The life of good Anthony Benezet, the journals of Bishop Coke, are other examples. The anti-slavery movement is illustrated by passages in a host of such biographies; the temperance movement by others. The essential data regarding the formation in 1826 of the Virginia Society for the Promotion of Temperance, of its local auxiliaries, and of the Georgia State Temperance Society some two years later, are best sought in the biography of Elder Abner W. Clopton.

We have also our saintly travellers, whose roamings over our vast continent have enriched the history of American geography with some of its best materials. What William Rubruk and John of Plano Carpini were to medieval geography, that surely were Marquette and Jogues and DeSmet, Father Francisco Garcés and Father Junípero Serra to the exploration of the United States. But upon hagiology of this class it is superfluous to dwell in this city, in which was prepared for publication Dr. Thwaites's splendid series of the *Jesuit Relations*.

But, as in the European case, many of the most interesting and most valuable bits of historical knowledge which we can obtain from our American saints' lives are conveyed to us by the author without his intending to do anything of the sort. Contemporary biog-

rapher or autobiographer, he pictures unconsciously, so far as he pictures it at all, the social *milieu* which he saw before him. His object is to edify, to bring about the conversion of precious souls. If we obtain from his pages anything else than our edification or conversion, it is "*corban*, that is to say a gift"; it has been no part of his purpose to furnish materials for the historian. All the more certain is it that what we thus obtain will be trustworthy evidence, except in so far as some general prepossession of the preacher, for which we can make allowance, shall enter in to darken his picture of the actual unregenerate world.

In one particular our analogy will be found defective. The Protestant world having assumed that since the time of the apostles the mediation of the saints has not had the power of effecting miracles, we shall not find in our American Protestant lives an exact parallel to those miraculous tales which have so large a place in medieval hagiology, and which furnish us so many interesting glimpses into the lives of those mostly humble persons for whose benefit the miracles were wrought. But after all the defect is fairly well supplied. If the Protestant biographer is not disposed to maintain that his hero could work miracles, yet he knows well that God defends his elect, and often interposes through "special providences" to protect clergymen of his favorite denomination. Thus, though miracles performed at the saint's tomb or by his relics are absent, the pages of American hagiology bristle with special providences, by means of which we often penetrate into the obscurity of colonial or frontier life.

As the saints of old, and their biographers, lead us within sight of the heathen of Sweden or of Saxony, or as through the eyes of St. Francis Xavier we view the natives of Goa and Travancore, of the Moluccas and Japan, so by means of the American missionaries we see the Indians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is extraordinary, how large a part of our knowledge of their characters and their sociology is derived from the lives or narratives of such men—of Eliot and Brainerd, of the Jesuits of the north and the Franciscans of the southwest. The same is true of the life of the frontier. Few travellers show us so much of the actual conditions of backwoods existence as the itinerant missionaries—of the clearings and the log-cabins, the rude agriculture and the perpetual fevers, the camp-meetings and the Indian depredations, the fraternal kindness and the limitless hospitality. Best of all for our purposes are the Methodist circuit-riders, keen, hearty men, whose outdoor life kept them healthy in mind and body, and whose grasp on

the real world had never been relaxed by education. As one of them says, who at the risk of his life had ridden the Clarksburg circuit during the Indian wars preceding Wayne's treaty, "To speak in backwoods style, they appeared to be surrounded by a kind of holy 'knock-'em-down' power, that was often irresistible". They were not forever feeling their spiritual pulses and doubting of their own salvation, like some anaemic graduates of theological seminaries whose biographers have deemed them very precious vessels because of the very traits that made them useless; nor were they forever walking in visions, like so many of the Quaker itinerants, whose books are often so beautiful and to the historical inquirer so disappointing. Stout-hearted, downright, muscular, practical, the circuit-rider faced the actual world of the frontier, and saw it clearly. If like Peter Cartwright or Henry Smith he leaves behind him a description of what he saw, we are much the gainers.

But even in the older parts of the country, there have been regions or classes of which we know little unless by chance we find some faint record in the early life of one who rose out of them to saintship. We know well the leaders of Virginia politics and society at the time of the Revolution—every important thought and sentiment of Washington and Jefferson, Madison and Henry. But were it not for what little we can glean from the lives of Rev. Devereux Jarratt and Elder Barton W. Stone, should we know one fact, aside from genealogy and county records, about the poor people of Bath Parish and Pittsylvania County, their sentiments and their opinions? If it were a question of Boeotia or of early Wessex, we should treasure every such fact with minute care. Why should we not treasure with equal zeal the little glimpses into life on West River which are afforded us by the memoirs of Thomas Story, or the quaint pictures which his fellow-Quaker John Richardson gives us of Bermuda and its governor, of Nantucket society at the beginning of the eighteenth century and of its Deborah, Mary Starbuck?

Not less interesting than the occasional glimpses which we obtain into the lives of out-of-the-way communities, or of inarticulate classes not represented in literature, are many passages in the lives of Catholic or Protestant worthies who were not of English descent. They paint for us the obscure processes of Americanization. Quaintly expressed, but typical of American conditions, is the religious experience of Brother Crum, a German Methodist in Maryland. He said, "I prayed in Dutch; I am Dutch; and must get converted in Dutch. These are all English people, and they got

converted in English. I prayed and prayed in Dutch, but could not get the blessing. As last I felt willing to get converted in English or Dutch, as the Lord pleased. Then the blessing came, and I got converted in English."

It would not be easy to enumerate all the little ways in which the lives of the American saints may enlarge our knowledge of the social background, the substantial warp of our American fabric. Many saints studied at the small colleges of our early days, many taught in country schools or academies; we can learn something from them, incidentally, of the progress of education. They show us something of slavery. Anthony Jefferson Pearson is warned by his father and, his biographer thinks, might well have been anxious in his own mind, lest his connection with the African Sabbath School in the little town in Tennessee where he is attending college might injure him in the estimation of others. He prayerfully tosses up a coin—it is the year 1831, when extreme reformers had their fullest swing—to determine whether his course through this vale of tears, this solemn period of probation, shall be marked by the moderate use of tea and coffee, or whether he shall confine himself strictly to water. It is not without interest to learn that even in 1817, at Augusta, Georgia, it was already customary for the piano to be drowned by conversation at all tea-parties; and the street cries of early Boston are illustrated by the imitations of them with which a youthful saint awakes from sleep and shows to the ear of her anxious parent and biographer that she has passed the crisis of a dangerous illness. We know what our sensations are on seeing a peach-orchard. What were those of Elder Abner W. Clopton in 1828? "Seeing a flourishing peach-orchard by the road, he felt so sensibly on the consequences which it would produce, that he entered the house of the owner, and warned him, or rather his lady, of the danger of the temptation—expressing his fears that the fruit of that orchard would bring her to widowhood, and her babes to orphanage. In two years his fears were realized". To the elder's mind, a peach-orchard had but one meaning; in that meaning lies the explanation of the western insurrection of 1794.

More broadly speaking, the distilled essence of a multitude of these saintly biographies is able, as in the case of the European nations, to show us something of national character. Certain traits which are characteristic or frequent in the lives of medieval saints are absent or curiously infrequent in those of America. They are not records of austerities and macerations. The Methodist circuit-rider came eating and drinking. The chickens fled at his approach.

The American saint has lived his life in the world, not in a monastery. His piety has been a Protestant piety, looking toward edification and sanctification of the human being much more than toward the ceaseless adoration of God, contemplative resignation to his will, mystical absorption in his essence. We find few ecstasies like those of St. Teresa. There is a striking want of poetic or imaginative touches. The American saint may be capable of exalted self-sacrifice, but he does not ceremoniously take Lady Poverty to be his bride. He shows us no parallel to St. Francis preaching to the birds, or singing the praises of the Lord responsively with the nightingales of Assisi. He lives in the dry air of this western world, and shares its active, practical, work-a-day life. He has little depth of thought, little subtlety of theology. The triumphant debates with opponents, which his biographer so often records with admiration, are triumphs of Philistine smartness rather than of candor or elevation or spiritual discernment. But, like his nation, he makes up for lack of depth by dexterity, versatility and practical efficiency. He knows what to do in an emergency, and carries into the life of the circuit-rider, the missionary or the reformer that quickness of invention bred in generations of Americans by the life of the forest or the isolated farmstead. Nowhere in literature will you find a completer manifestation of the universal Yankee, inventive, resourceful, brimming over with energy and enterprise, than in the life of the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, missionary in Constantinople. Not for him the mere preaching of sermons. He must be up and doing. To give work to his Armenian converts in the time of the Crimean war, he organizes great bakeries which supply the allied armies. He enters into the laundry business, and, when his protégées are halted a moment by the indescribable condition of the soldiers' clothing, he devises machinery to enable them to perform their task. He invents the best cholera mixture ever known in Turkey. He establishes factories wherein some of his people can support themselves by making stove-pipes, instructs others in the manufacture of rat-traps, invents a new kind of coffee-mill, and meantime maintains a theological seminary and founds a college.

The American saints have also imbibed from their native atmosphere a cheerful and hopeful spirit, which not even the extreme rigors of ultra-Calvinism can wholly destroy. They know themselves to be members of a rising empire, in which the common man shall have opportunities he has nowhere enjoyed before. They feel themselves to be in the full stream of progress, and with lusty cour-

age and enthusiasm lay their lands upon the oar. They are like Andrew Marvell's exiles in the "remote Bermudas":

Thus sung they in the English boat
A holy and a cheerful note,
And all the while, to guide their chime,
With falling oars they kept the time.

Not less characteristic is it that the sense of progress is so often, at any rate among the saints of the nineteenth century, expressed numerically. The dry American mind loves figures. Chiefly occupied with measurable material tasks—the subduing of the wilderness, the bridging of rivers, the laying of railroads, the growing of crops—the American has acquired an inveterate interest in statistic, in the making of a "record", and carries it with him into other than practical concerns. He thinks arithmetically concerning his church, his paintings and his sports. Those who compare American athletics to those of Greece forget that the Greek had no stop-watch, no accurate means of measuring time. Does the American actually love out-of-door sports, the pleasure of the pathless woods, the "breezy call of incense-breathing morn", or does he love numerical records of out-of-door sports? Certainly the crowd in front of the newspaper's tabular bulletin-board seems not less intent than the crowd on the "grand-stand". Certainly there is a deep and widespread interest in the framing of "all-America" nines and elevens, one of the most disinterestedly ideal of all mathematical employments. In a similar spirit, Rev. Peter Cartwright and his fellows do not often fail to let us know the number of those converted at each camp-meeting.

It would be wrong to exaggerate the interest of these little lives of long-forgotten worthies, or the amount which they can yield to the student of American social history or of national psychology. In most of them there are long arid stretches. Most of them are written in the "*patois* of Canaan", in the set phrases of obsolete theologies, making difficult or tedious reading for the modern inquirer. If one ventures to insist a little upon their utility to the younger investigator, it is from a sense of a real danger which besets the latter's pathway, the danger of confining himself to the constitutional and political history of America, now so easy to study, and from a consequent desire to urge upon him the claims which American religious history may make upon one who wishes a full understanding of the American character and spirit. One would not wish to trench upon the field so excellently covered by last

year's presidential address before this association; and indeed it is obvious that the study of the social history and national psychology of the United States may and must be approached by many pathways. Yet there is something to be said for the contention that, of all means of estimating American character from American history, the pursuit of religious history is the most complete. If we approach the problem through the history of American literature we are in constant danger of forgetting how small the literary class is and always has been. Even if we include the readers as well as the producers, we cannot assume that the traits which are revealed by our literary writings are necessarily those of the nation at large, the obscure, unreading, unprinting majority. The cleverest of books upon our literary history seems often to make defective estimates of our national character for want of access to the minds of these inarticulate ones. What is true of literature, is even more true of philosophy. If we turn to the history of the plastic arts in America, how brief, how limited has been their course. Not through them, surely, can the American spirit be made to yield up its total secret, be appreciated in its general extent. The history of American music is an equally slender stream. Little of American life beyond that of recent years and large cities can be said to be reflected in it. How slight a part music played in the first one hundred and fifty years of our colonial existence, even in the most intelligent of our towns, may be seen by a delicious passage in one of our saintly biographies, Turell's life of Dr. Benjamin Colman. The worthy doctor makes a series of proposals to his Boston congregation and others, advocating that the old psalm-book should be enriched by more modern additions. Among these proposals we find the following, which paints to the life the musical abilities of a Boston congregation, thirty years before the Revolution;

8. That with respect unto such Psalms as Dr. Watts has adapted only to a Tune which our Congregation cannot sing, either we resolve upon learning and bringing into Use among us said Tune, or that a new Metre of such Psalms, or part of them, be attempted as near as we can turn them to his Stile and Manner.

He who would understand the American of past and present times, and to that end would provide himself with data representing all classes, all periods, and all regions, may find in the history of American religion the closest approach to the continuous record he desires. Not that all or even most Americans have been religious, but there have been religious men and women in every class, every period, every subdivision of America, and multitudes

of them have left individual or collective records of their thoughts and ways and feelings. Millions have felt an interest in religion where thousands have felt an interest in literature or philosophy, in music or art. Millions have known little of any book save one, and that one the most interesting of religious books, the most influential, the most powerful to mould and transform. Doubtless they were occupied mainly with the tasks of daily life; their achievements in these, and the conflicts of economic interest which accompanied them, may be reduced to solid and instructive statistics, without which social history may become unsubstantial and vague. But no view is truthful that leaves out of account the ideals which animated these toiling millions, the thoughts concerning the universe and man which informed their minds. The Spanish trooper held himself to be ever in the hand of the God of Israel, who guided his chosen people by pillars of fire and of cloud. The Puritan farmer sighted his promised land from the top of Pisgah, and thought of no similitude for his Indian warfare but the smiting of the Hittites and the Jebusites. The imagination of the pioneer mother, making with her baby the weary journey through the western wilderness, had no parallel to dwell on but that of the Flight into Egypt.

Moreover, the history of religion in America holds a peculiarly close relation to the general history of the American spirit from the fact that here, more than elsewhere, the concerns of churches have been managed by the laity or in accordance with their will. If ever anywhere ecclesiastical history can be rightly treated as consisting solely of the history of ecclesiastics, certainly it has not been so in the United States. It has reflected the thoughts and sentiments, not of a priestly caste, but of the mass of laymen. An acute English observer, Bishop Coke, speaking of the able debates he heard at the conference of the Methodist preachers of America in 1792, says, "Throughout the debates they conducted themselves as the servants of the people, and therefore never lost sight of them on any question."

Let us take a few examples. In the psychic life of Europe we recognize the middle portion of the eighteenth century as a time of heightened emotionality. We see this in the *Sturm und Drang* literature of Germany, in Rousseau and the Methodists, in the wave of national feeling that swept William Pitt to supreme power. In treating the European history of that period, we should never think of ignoring phenomena so significant. Ought we then, when we are dealing with the same age in the history of a country which was practically without literature, art or nationality, to ignore the Great

Awakening, or to treat it otherwise than as the most important and significant event of its time?

Fifty years later we hear in the spiritual life of Europe another modulation of key, the Romantic Movement. The richer culture of the Old World enables us to trace it in many manifestations, in the shifting of ground from rationalism to mysticism, in the rapid heightening of national feeling, in the abrupt transition from *The Botanic Garden* of Dr. Erasmus Darwin to *Childe Harold* and *The Battle of the Baltic*. Such a wave of feeling, we may be sure, could not fail to transmit itself across the Atlantic, and to be manifested in some form in the America of 1800, still colonially dependent upon the European mind. We do indeed trace a slight romantic movement in American literature, a faint heightening of American patriotism, slowly mustering courage for the War of 1812. But if we would seek the most powerful and pervasive manifestation of the movement, the best analogy which the poverty of American culture permitted, we can find it nowhere else than in the wonderful religious revivals which in those years swept through America, and especially through the forest camp-meetings of the non-literary West. It is a narrow-minded student who pursues with eager interest every tortuous move of Jeffersonian diplomacy but disdains to read of these vital movements, or who fails to perceive how closely and with what equal steps the really great political advances of the Jeffersonian era are accompanied by parallel movements in theology and religion, the growth of the Methodists, Unitarians and Disciples, with their heightened sense of the dignity of human nature and of the importance of fraternal union. Equally limited is the mind which can not find in the early story of Mormonism a prime source of illumination upon the actual mentality of the obscure villagers of 1830.

With a little hesitation, one may take a pregnant example from the history of the latest period. The most interesting American historical biography published in recent years, and one deserving an important place in our "Acta Sanctorum", is the life of Mrs. Mary Eddy. A plea for the study of American religious history by others than young theologues may well take account of the movement which she represents. We have here no concern with the validity or invalidity of its theological or philosophical basis. We are only to consider it, with all proper respect, as a phenomenon in the American history of the last twenty-five years. Great pains have been expended in the effort to separate fact from baseless tradition in the early years of Mohammedanism. We welcome with

enthusiasm those wonderful discoveries of early Manichæan manuscripts through which the Prussian Academy's recent explorations in Turkestan have laid before us the development of another great modification of Christianity. But here we have growing up among us, in the full light of day, a new religion with a million adherents, threatening in the early years of the twentieth century as grave an invasion of the domain of traditional Christianity as Joachim of Flora and the Eternal Gospel threatened in the early years of the thirteenth; and how many young doctors of philosophy, concerned with recent history, have made a thorough study of the movement? Yet he who cannot explain it to himself must not pretend that he understands the American society of the last quarter-century—or at any rate the bourgeois society of our long-settled communities; since it is from the bourgeois portions of settled society that new religions are apt to spring.

We are accustomed to adjourn such explanations by saying that it is too soon to make them; and no doubt this is true. Yet certain lines of remark seem already open. We can measure the distance we have come. It is a long remove from the tribal god of the early Puritans, the vertebrate Jehovah, the self-conscious martinet of a troubled universe, to the vague and circumambient deity of Mrs. Eddy, the fluid source of therapeutic beneficence. But it marks a long transition in our social life. The early colonist, his life environed with dangers and studded with marked events, must have on high a conscious and watchful sovereign, ever ready to protect the body and to chasten the soul by drastic interpositions. At the other extreme,

We sit here in the Promised Land

That flows with Freedom's honey and milk.

Few of us are ever in personal danger. We have had years of extraordinary prosperity. The comfortable middle-class society of our settled communities has had little occasion to feel the heart-gripping stresses of danger and calamity and remorse. In such a soft society, illness and physical pain easily come to seem the chief evils of life. Consciousness of nerves and consciousness of the processes of digestion come to take nearly the place which consciousness of sin held in the mind of the seventeenth-century American. Such a society, the product of peace and industrial prosperity, is sure to be seized with great power by a religion which cheerfully ignores evil and which, whatever its claims upon superior intellects, presents itself to the mass of bourgeois minds as primarily a religion of healing.

Why do not Americans study more intently the age of the Antonines? There they will find a state of society singularly resembling our own—a world grown prosperous and soft and humane with long-continued peace and abounding industrial development, a population formed by the mixture of all races, in which the ancient stock still struggles to rule and to assimilate, but is powerless to preserve unimpaired its traditions, a mushroom growth of cities, a universal passion for organization into industrial unions and fraternal orders, a system in which woman has exceptionally full equality with man, a society in which the newly rich occupy the centre of the stage, offending the eye with the vulgar display of brute wealth yet pacifying the mind and heart with the record of numberless and kindly benefactions. In this soft and genial society, the benign product of world-wide peace and growing wealth, we may find analogies for almost every phenomenon of present-day American religion, from the sumptuous ritual of historic churches to the crude deceptions of vagrant astrologers, from the “timbreled anthems” of the Salvation Army to the viscous rhetoric of Christian Science. Isis and Mithra and the pagan origins of Gnosticism can help us to understand the swarming religions of Chicago and New York, and through them the society to which they belong.

To the young teacher or investigator, to whom such discourses as this are principally or most hopefully addressed, such illustrations may seem far-fetched and inconclusive. Possibly they are so. But it may be hoped that at least the main theses of this address may nevertheless receive on the part of such hearers a careful consideration. In every other period of recorded time, we know that the study of religion casts valuable light on many other aspects of history. Why should it be otherwise with the religious history of America? Unless we are content to confine ourselves to the well-worn grooves of constitutional and political history, and to resign to sciences less cautious than history the broad story of American culture, why should we not seek light from every quarter? Most of all let us seek it from the history of American religion, in the sum total an ample record, even though in parts we have to compose it like a mosaic from fragments of unpromising material.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

DOCUMENTS

1. Joseph Gales on the War Manifesto of 1812

JOSEPH GALES (1786-1860), of the firm of Gales and Seaton, author of the letter and memorandum which follow, was from 1810 to 1860 editor and proprietor of the *National Intelligencer*, and as such had unusual means of information concerning many events in the political history of the United States. Richard K. Crallé, to whom the letter was addressed, was a wealthy planter in Virginia, of literary tastes and a devoted friend and follower of John C. Calhoun. When Calhoun was Secretary of State in 1844, he became the chief clerk of the Department of State, a position corresponding with that of an assistant secretary at the present time. He was Calhoun's literary executor and collected and edited his works (New York, 1853-1854). He also gathered material for a life of Calhoun of which only some disconnected notes survive. I am indebted to his grandson, J. Lawrence Campbell, esq., of Bedford City, Virginia, for the two letters which are printed here.

For the report to which the first letter relates, see *Annals of Congress*, 12th Cong., part II., p. 1546, and compare the President's message to Congress, June 1, 1812, *Messages and State Papers of the Presidents*, I. 499. The report has always, heretofore, been attributed to Calhoun. John Randolph Tucker's article on Calhoun in Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, says: "He drew a report which placed before the country the issue of war, or submission to wrong." Von Holst's *Calhoun*, p. 21, and his *Constitutional History of the United States*, I. 232, leave the impression that Calhoun wrote the report. Gay's *Madison*, p. 298, says: "Mr. Calhoun's committee followed this lead [set by the President's message] and improved upon it in the report recommending an immediate declaration of war." Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, VI. 226, says: "Calhoun brought in a report recommending an immediate appeal to arms. As a history of the causes which led to this result, Calhoun's report was admirable, and its clearness of style and statement forced comparisons not flattering to the President's Message", a remark which might have been withheld had the author known that the message and report came from sources so closely allied as to be almost intermingled.

The style of the message may be profitably compared with that of Monroe, especially in his letters¹ of February, 1810, to Richard Brent; of September 10 and November 19, 1810, and January 23, 1811, to John Taylor of Caroline; of February 25, 1811, to L. W. Tazewell; and of June 13, 1812, to Taylor, the letter last referred to disclosing the policy of the administration with reference to the war.

The allusion in the last paragraph of the letter is to the *National Intelligencer* for September 3, 1853, which contained in full the speech of John Randolph of Roanoke, delivered in the House of Representatives, January 12, 1813, published for the first time with certain editorial notes. In one part of the speech Randolph spoke of the rejection of Monroe's and Pinkney's treaty of 1806 and said that the putting of "one of these Commissioners of the United States—these very missionaries of peace and conciliation—into the Executive Councils of this country has been the signal of War with Great Britain". Upon this the *Intelligencer's* note says:

There is nothing in the whole of this speech that is more worthy of the reader's attention than this passage, which it would be yet difficult for most readers of the present day to unravel without a clue to it. Mr. Monroe (at the time of this speech Secretary of State) had been the associate with Mr. Pinkney in the Commission at London, in the negotiation and conclusion of a treaty with Great Britain, which, on being transmitted in due form to the United States, was promptly *rejected* by President Jefferson, without even waiting to take the sense of the Senate upon it. Against this rejection Mr. Monroe had earnestly protested; and upon his return soon after to the United States publicly vindicated himself from what he considered as a harsh proceeding on the part of the Executive, and implying an undeserved reproach upon him as a Statesman and a Minister. Among those who evinced a decided feeling against the Executive in this controversy was Mr. Randolph himself, who became in some sort the leader of a party making common cause with Mr. Monroe, and carrying his zeal to the extent of seeking to place that distinguished citizen in the field as a candidate for the Presidency upon the approaching expiration of Mr. Jefferson's term of service. Eventually, however, things took a different turn. Before the election came on, Mr. Madison became the sole candidate of the Republican (Jeffersonian) party; and, long before the election actually took place, Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe were brought together, during the summer vacation at Monticello, or elsewhere in Virginia—through the instrumentality, as it was then generally understood, of Mr. Jefferson—and whatever of coolness existed between them was entirely removed by amicable explanations. We do

¹ *Writings of James Monroe* (ed. Hamilton), vol. V.

not know that the friendship of Mr. Randolph to Mr. Monroe was by this latter incident turned to enmity, but it was sensibly abated. Nor was it at all restored by the acceptance by Mr. Monroe of the office of Secretary of State, offered to him by President Madison, midway of his first term of the Presidency, to fill the vacancy which was occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Secretary Smith, in the spring of 1811.

The passage in Mr. Randolph's speech upon which we are now remarking was hardly intended in kindness to Mr. Monroe—perhaps not in a hostile spirit—but certainly must be taken to convey a reflection upon his consistency in regard to the questions in controversy between the United States and Great Britain, out of which the existing war had sprung. However intended, it is due to the truth of history to say that Mr. Randolph hardly overstated the “fact” when he said that the accession of Mr. Monroe to the Cabinet had been the “signal of war with Great Britain.” The connexion of the two events cannot, indeed, well be denied. We ourselves do not doubt that the opinions and exertions of Mr. Monroe greatly influenced the great event. We have ever believed, also, that his course in that trying emergency was most honorable to his discernment as well as to his patriotic and fearless spirit; and that, therefore, no disparagement could be inferred from it to his consistency as a true American statesman. This is not the place, nor have we now the time, to undertake to indite the unwritten history of that declaration of war. It would make a volume of itself. We content ourselves for the present with quoting from the late Oration of Mr. Crittenden (in memory of Mr. Clay) the following brief but just view of the position which Mr. Monroe occupied upon accepting the office of Secretary of State:

“Mr. Monroe had returned but a year or two before from a course of public service abroad, in which, as Minister Plenipotentiary, he had represented the United States at the several courts, in succession, of France, Spain, and Great Britain. From the last of these missions he had come home thoroughly disgusted with the contemptuous manner in which the rights of the United States were treated by the belligerent Powers, and especially by England. This treatment, which even extended to the personal intercourse between their Ministers and the representatives of this country, he considered as indicative of a settled determination on their parts—presuming upon the supposed incapacity of this Government for war—to *reduce to system* a course of conduct calculated to debase and prostrate us in the eyes of the world. Reasoning thus, he had brought his mind to a serious and firm conviction that the rights of the United States, as a nation, would never be respected by the Powers of the Old World until this Government summoned up resolution to resent such usage, not by arguments and protests merely, but by an appeal to arms. Full of this sentiment, Mr. Monroe was called, upon a casual vacancy, when it was least expected by himself or the country, to the head of the Department of State. That senti-

ment, and the feelings which we have thus accounted for, Mr. Monroe soon communicated to his associates in the Cabinet, and in some degree, it might well be supposed, to the great statesman then at the head of the Government."

The last paragraph furnishes an explanation of the allusion in Mr. Moore's postscript to the letter which follows.

GAILLARD HUNT.

WILLIAM W. MOORE TO RICHARD K. CRALLÉ.

Office National Intelligencer,
WASHINGTON, January 12, 1854.

Richard K. Crallé, Esq.

Dear Sir: The continued disability of Mr. Gales, in being deprived of the use of his right hand, has prevented, and still prevents him from replying *autographically* to your letter of the 27th ultimo, and he has therefore communicated to me the necessary information to enable me to answer, on his behalf, the inquiries contained in your letter.

The War Manifesto reported in the House of Rep^s on the third of June, 1812, was the production of Mr. Munroe. Of this Mr. Gales is positively certain, as well from other knowledge as from his familiarity with the handwriting in which the Report is written, being that of Mr. Munroe's Private Secretary and Confidential Clerk. The Select Committee by which this report was made had the subject referred to them at the close of the day's sitting on the 1st of June, and submitted their report on the opening of the House on the 3^d of June, which fact, taken in connexion with the importance of the subject and the consciousness of the statements of the report, sufficiently indicate the improbability that the committee could, within the brief time that intervened after the reference, have deliberated upon the subject, prepared this report, and had it copied. The committee consisted of Messrs. Porter, *Calhoun*, *Grundy*, *Smilie*, *Randolph*, *Harper*, *Key*, *Desha*, and *Seaver*. Mr. Porter, the chairman, was called home in consequence of sickness in his family, and did not return to his seat in Congress for some time afterwards, if at all. The names of the Republicans who made the war report are underscored in the foregoing list of the committee. If Mr. Porter had been present he would have sustained the report. Mr. Dallas had nothing to do with this report. He was not in Washington at the time, and did not enter the Cabinet till some two years afterwards.

That your wish to be supplied with the sheets of the "Annals" relating to this interesting branch of our national history, which will enable you no doubt to connect and explain many of the events of that time, will be complied with, I trust you will already have been furnished with some evidence in the receipt of the parcel already sent, and which were dispatched before your letter came to hand. When others are

ready I shall endeavor to have them franked by the Representative from your District.

Mr. Gales requested me to inform you that he will cheerfully afford you every aid in his power in the preparation of your work and that you must not hesitate in submitting any point upon which you desire information.

I mail to your address herewith a copy of the *Intelligencer* of the 3^d of Sept. last, containing a Speech of Mr. Randolph, in the Notes, appended to which, prepared by Mr. Gales with the aid of an amanuensis, is some reference to Mr. Monroe's agency in the War of 1812 which you may have overlooked. A letter has been received by Mr. Gales, since the publication of that speech, from a gentleman who was a confidential member of the Government at the time the Speech was made, entirely confirming the impressions stated in the "Notes" that Mr. Monroe was the author of the war Report.

Respectfully and very truly yrs. etc.

WM. W. MOORE

The above letter is in the handwriting
of my son, who copied it for me.

Jan. 20.—The above letter has been detained since its date that I might find leisure to search for an unpublished article written by Mr. Gales two or three years ago, from which I send you two or three extracts. These, as well as this letter, it is needless to say, are transmitted for your private information and guidance, but not for publication. In regard to the extracts, I heard Mr. Gales remark, at the time he prepared them, and also since then, that if ever he found time to write a book on the subject, they should form part of it. Would to Heaven his health would permit him to write such a volume! It would be one of a most interesting character. I send the extracts, of course, with his knowledge; but, *without his knowledge*, (as he is not here at the office,) I deem it not improper to say to you confidentially, that they formed a part of several columns of interesting historical matter, written at the request and for the use of an eminent *living* statesman, who found it necessary to use only a portion of the matter thus furnished. Relying alone upon my memory, I think that no part of the extracts herewith sent were used, and, if any, only a few sentences; and this is the reason why I now disclose to you the secret history of their preparation, that, in the event of any of these statements having before met your eye, you will be duly informed of their origin, and of the weight that should be given them.

Trusting that this long epistle has not wearied you,

I remain, etc.

WM. W. MOORE

R. K. Crallé, Esq.

Extracts from an unpublished article of Mr. Gales's.

When Congress assembled in Nov. 1811, the crisis was upon us. But, as may be readily imagined, it could be no easy matter to nerve the heart of Congress, all unprepared for the dread encounter, to take the step, which there could be no retracing, of a Declaration of War. Nor could that task, in all probability, ever have been accomplished but for the concurrence, purely accidental, of two circumstances. . . . Mr. Monroe had returned but a year or two before from a course of public service abroad, in which, as Minister Plenipotentiary, he had represented the United States at the several Courts, in succession, of France, Spain, and Great Britain. From the last of these missions he had come home, thoroughly disgusted with the contemptuous manner in which the rights of the United States were treated by the belligerent Powers, and especially by England. This treatment, which even extended to the personal intercourse between their Ministers and the Representatives of this country, he considered as indicative of a settled determination on their part, presuming upon the supposed incapacity of this Government for war, to *reduce to system* a course of conduct which, though perhaps begun by chance, had grown into a habit. Reasoning thus, he had brought his mind to a serious and firm conviction that the rights of the U. States as a nation would never be respected by the Powers of the Old World until this Government summoned up resolution to resent such usage, not by arguments and protests merely, but by an appeal to arms. His mind full of this sentiment, Mr Monroe was called, upon a casual vacancy, when it was least expected by himself or the country, to the head of the Dept of State. That sentiment, and the feelings which we have thus accounted for, Mr. Monroe soon communicated to his associates in the Cabinet, and, in some degree, it might well be supposed, to the great statesman then at the head of the Government.

The tone of Pres^t Madison's first message to Congress, (Nov^r 5, 1811,) a few months only after Mr. Monroe's accession to the Cabinet, can leave hardly a doubt in any mind of such having been the case. That message was throughout of the gravest cast, reciting the aggressions and aggravations of Great Britain as demanding resistance, and urging upon Congress the duty of putting the country "into the armor and attitude demanded by the crisis and corresponding with national spirit and expectations."

Whilst Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, and others, within the walls of the Capitol, were breaking lances with the opponents of the preparation for war, there was in operation, at the further end of the avenue, an influence less publicly exerted, but not less potent, upon the hearts and understandings of the younger Members of the House of Rep^s, and especially upon those who composed the Com^{ee} on Foreign Relations. Comparatively young and inexperienced in National affairs, they nat-

urally resorted to Mr Monroe, who might be termed, without a hyperbole, the Nestor of the day, for information and advice as to the affairs of which, as Secretary of State, he was the official depository, and for the lessons of experience which he had acquired by long service abroad. To these gentlemen, in frequent private consultations, principally at his own abode in the long winter nights, he constantly repeated the deep conviction of which I have already spoken, of the infinite disgrace which would infallibly attend a longer submission to foreign insult and outrage; replying, night after night, to every suggestion of postponement, delay, or renewed attempts at negotiation, "Gentlemen, *we must fight*. We are forever disgraced if we do not;" disgraced in our own estimation, in the eyes of our adversary, "and in the opinion of the world."

In the face of a vigorous opposition, both Houses had finally passed several bills, which had become laws, for raising an army and enlarging the navy, with all the necessary adjuncts required for active military and naval operations, and authorizing a loan to carry into effect these measures.

Chiefly through the fearless influence of the counsels of these ardent patriots, the House of Rep^s, on whose decision, as the originator of all measures of revenue, the prosecution of a war must depend, was gradually warmed up to a war spirit. But the actual Declaration of war had not yet been proposed. The Pres^t had, not from any backwardness on his part, or doubt in regard to the necessity of a resort to arms, but deterred by a remaining doubt in his mind as to the House sustaining the Executive in a declaration of war, hesitated to recommend the measure.

More than six months had passed since Congress met, and the question of actual war was still in suspense. At length, after private conference, a deputation of Members of Congress, with Mr. Clay at their head,² waited upon the President, and, upon the representations of the readiness of a majority of Congress to vote the war if recommended, the Pres^{dnt}, on the first Monday in June, transmitted to Congress his message submitting that question to their decision. The agency of Mr. Monroe in this measure was not yet at an end; for the Com^{ee} on Foreign Relations, to whom the President's message was referred, had prevailed upon the Secretary, as being more fully possessed than themselves of the facts and merits of the question, to prepare a Report upon the message; which Report was presented to the House of Reps. by the

² Here doubtless is the origin of the story repeated again and again by historical writers that the delegation called upon Madison and made an infamous bargain with him, promising him a renomination for the presidency in return for a war message, and that he reluctantly consented. See Hildreth, VI. 298; McMaster, III. 445; Von Holst, I. 230; Gay's *Madison*, 308; also for a truer account, Adams's *Gallatin*, 434, and Hunt's *Madison*, 316 ff. No author has thus far viewed the incident in the light in which the Gales narrative places it.

committee, as their report, on the second day after the reception of the message, and had been (from its length) evidently prepared, if not adopted, by the Committee before the message was sent in. It was an elaborate Manifesto, filling ten or twelve printed pages, and concluding in the following language, which no one who had ever heard Mr Munroe discourse upon the subject, could doubt to have been his:³

Enclosed to R. K. Crallé, Esq

January 20, 1854, by

Wm. W. Moore

The matter is copied in the handwriting of my son.

Wm. W. Moore

2. Robert Barnwell Rhett on the Biography of Calhoun, 1854

ROBERT BARNWELL RHETT, who wrote this letter, was born at Beaufort, South Carolina, December 24, 1800, and died in Louisiana, September 12, 1876. His name was Smith, but in 1837 he adopted the name of Rhett. He served in Congress from 1837 to 1849 and succeeded Calhoun in the Senate. He went to Louisiana after the Civil War and a few years before his death was principal in a duel in which he killed his opponent.

The biography alluded to, a brochure of 74 pages, entitled *Life of John C. Calhoun, presenting a Condensed History of Political Events from 1811 to 1843* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1843), was published as a part of the Calhoun propaganda for the presidential nomination, but it is far above the style of ordinary political literature, and has been the basis of much of the information concerning his life. The final paragraph of the brochure speaks of the friendship of the author for Calhoun and closes (the italics being

³ "Your committee, believing that the free-born sons of America are worthy to enjoy the liberty which their fathers purchased at the price of so much blood and treasure, and seeing in the measures adopted by Great Britain, a course commenced and persisted in, which must lead to a loss of national character and independence, feel no hesitation in advising resistance by force, in which the Americans of the present day will prove to the enemy and to the world, that we have not only inherited that liberty which our fathers gave us, but also the will and power to maintain it. Relying on the patriotism of the nation, and confidently trusting that the Lord of Hosts will go with us to battle in a righteous cause, and crown our efforts with success, your committee recommend an immediate appeal to arms."

Cf. the following:

"Nothing would satisfy the present Ministry of England short of unconditional submission, which it was impossible to make. This fact being completely ascertained the only remaining alternative was to get ready for fighting, and to begin as soon as we were ready. This was the plan of the administration when Congress met in December last; the President's message announce it; and every step taken by the administration since has led to it." Monroe to Taylor, June 18, 1812, *Writings* (ed. Hamilton), V. 205.

in the original) : " *His* [the author's] *statements of facts and opinion he knows to be entirely authentic*, and after a deliberate review of every sentence and word he has written, he finds nothing which a reverence for justice and truth will allow him to alter." This *Life* has always heretofore been attributed to R. M. T. Hunter, Senator from Virginia 1847 to 1861, and Secretary of State to the Confederacy.¹

GAILLARD HUNT.

ROBERT BARNWELL RHETT TO RICHARD K. CRALLÉ.

SULLIVANS ISLAND Oct 25 1854

My Dear Sir

It seems to me your course is very plain as to the Documents you mention. You are publishing the works of Mr. Calhoun. You should exercise a sound discretion as to what you should publish. But if you publish any matter which flowed from his pen, you should publish it as he wrote it. If *he* made corrections, insert them. But if others made corrections, the corrections ought to be rejected. In the Exposition for instance, it was greatly altered by the Committee who reported it to the Legislature of which I was one. Mr. Calhoun had nothing to do with these corrections and I know disapproved of them. I think you ought to include in your publication his Addresses to the People of the U. S. and South Carolina. He wished to have put them forth. They were read to the South Carolina Delegation in Congress to obtain their judgment upon them. They were suppressed, and greatly to his mortification and indignation. Publish them by all means. So his letter on Disunion There is but one thing written by Mr. Calhoun that you ought not to publish as his—and that is—" *his life*." He wished me to Father it—but I told him, that it was impossible for me directly or indirectly to allow any one to understand that I was the author of a publication which I had not written. Hunter and I read it over together in my house in Georgetown. He inserted about a page and a half, and became the putative author; and it has done more to lift him to his present position than any thing else in his public life.

Are you going to write his life. If you are there are many things which ought to be unveiled. For instance do you know that when Tyler first quarrelled with the Whigs, he offered the office of Secy of State to Mr C—— with a carte-blanche as to the Cabinet. Hunter and I both urged Mr. C—— with all our might to take it. But after anxious consideration he declined it—one of the greatest blunders he ever committed. Wise knows I presume all about it—and of course Tyler. Dan Hamilton applied summer before last for two Documents

¹ Calhoun writes to his daughter, *Correspondence*, p. 524, "Mr. Hunter has rewritten most of the [sketch]; so much so as fairly to be entitled to the authorship"; but he says nothing of the original writer.

in my possession—one a letter of Mr. Calhoun as to the course South Carolina should pursue, if the other Southern States abandoned him in the controversy of 1850—the other was the curious proceeding by which the Southern Rights Senators in the Senate of the U. S. signed a paper pledging themselves, to defeat the Bill admitting California *by any means the majority of them* should determine on. Yet when the point came, they backed out—the Virginia Senators and the South Carolina Senators going against any measures whatever. This was the true cause of the failure of the South in that great controversy, and it is due to history and truth that the matter should be known. Did Hamilton give you these Documents, and do you intend to embody them in your life of Mr. Calhoun?

I assure you, it would give me great pleasure to assist you in any way in your labours of friendship to our great departed friend. Altho', my who[le] public-life seems to me to have been a failure and to have ended in vanity, yet I thank God, that so much of it, was spent in association with one so worthy of my esteem and admiration. I differed with him on two occasions—the election of Taylor, and the Mexican war. But in the last struggle of his and my political life, we came together again. We fought for the South. He fell dead in the cause—I, living. Had he lived we would together have conquered. As it is—neither of us will be able to vindicate ourselves. But time will do it for us—at least for him, for my name will be too feeble to be connected with his great fame. The Southern People have but one alternative—Independence, or ruin. Under the Union as it exists, our doom is certain.

I thank you for your kind invitation, and should I again visit Virginia, I shall surely avail myself of it.

Yours Dear Sir most truly

R. B. RHETT.

Mr. Rich^d. K. Cralle

P. S. The manuscript you speak of was sent to a Committee in Charleston Elmore Gourdin Cronin and others. I was on Sullivans Island, a fugitive from Yellow fever with my family. As soon as I can go to Charleston I will see to it. The letter of Mr. Calhoun on our State Constitution, to which Judge Emory refers, I will send to you. It was published this summer in "The South Carolinian" in Columbia, and has contributed largely in rallying public opinion in the late elections.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Law: Its Origin, Growth and Function. Being a Course of Lectures Prepared for Delivery before the Law School of Harvard University. By JAMES COOLIDGE CARTER, LL.D., of the New York Bar. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. vii, 355.)

WHEN Mr. Carter died in 1905, he had undoubtedly for many years been generally regarded as the leader of the American Bar. Although he was never a politician, he was more than a mere lawyer, and took a prominent part in many of the great civic movements of the day. Among these he became intensely interested in the efforts made during a series of years to bring about the adoption in New York of the code of substantive law, drafted by David Dudley Field. Being convinced not merely that the particular code was defective in form and substance, but also that any attempt at general codification was not only unwise, but futile, he threw himself into the opposition with all the force and ardor of a man of his great strength and abiding convictions. In the course of this opposition, he was led to think and read widely on the nature, origin and function of law, and to form very definite and positive opinions, which found expression at various times, before and after the Field Code had been defeated, in a number of pamphlets and addresses. Among these was a series entitled, *The Proposed Codification of our Common Law*; an address before the Virginia State Bar Association, upon *The Provinces of the Written and Unwritten Law*; and later, a memorable address before the American Bar Association upon *The Ideal and the Actual in the Law*.

Upon his retirement from active practice, he determined to write and publish a more complete expression of his views, but at the suggestion of President Eliot he was led to put them into the form of a series of lectures to be delivered before the Law School of Harvard University. The first draft of these lectures had barely been completed, when Mr. Carter was overtaken by the sudden illness from which he died, and these unrevised and undelivered lectures constitute the book before us. The lectures, as would be anticipated from the proposed occasion, are general in their nature and couched in non-technical language. They make no contribution to legal history. Mr. Carter adopts, for his purposes, the views and conclusions generally held by others.

These lectures make no such attempt to determine the province of jurisprudence, as was the purpose of the painful and laborious logic of John Austin. They contain no such searching analysis of legal ideas as is to be found in the classical treatise of Professor Holland. Their force is spent upon the general theorem, that "the whole private law, which governs much the larger part of human conduct, has arisen from and still stands upon custom, and is the necessary product of the life of society, and therefore incapable of being made at all." Or, as he states it in another place, that "Law is self-created and self-existent, and can neither be made nor abrogated, however it may be, in some degree, incidentally shaped, enlarged and modified, by legislation." To the demonstration of this theorem, Mr. Carter brings in cumulative form the arguments and illustrations which he had advanced many times before.

Whether one agrees with him or not, the book is of great interest as an expression of the deliberate and mature conviction of one of the most thoroughly trained and powerful legal minds which this country has yet produced. A wider knowledge of its views could not fail to have a salutary effect upon the all too prevalent and mischievous notion that most of the evils which exist in the world can be cured by legislation, and that men can be made good and honest by mere act of Parliament.

FLOYD R. MECHEM.

Thucydides Mythistoricus. By FRANCIS MACDONALD CORNFORD, Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: Edward Arnold. 1907. Pp. xvi, 252.)

THIS book falls into two distinct parts—Thucydides Historicus, and Thucydides Mythicus. The first part attempts to prove the complete inadequacy of Thucydides's account of the origin of the Peloponnesian War, and develops "a very different theory of the real causes of the war". The second part attempts an answer to the question "why Thucydides has told us about this matter . . . so exceedingly little that appears to us relevant". Baldly stated, this sounds iconoclastic, but nothing can be more reverent than the author's treatment of the greatest historian of antiquity, on whose mind, methods and work he has shed much new and welcome light. One may dissent from the main propositions of this stimulating study, and yet be grateful for the richness and fullness of its suggestion. It has the brilliant ingenuity and the tantalizing inconclusiveness to be expected in an ardent pupil and admirer of Professor Verrall.

For, after all, is Thucydides's account of the origin of the Peloponnesian War "remarkably inadequate"? He set out to tell how, not why it originated. In the long retrospect, for the historian's account was undoubtedly written after the close of the long struggle, Sparta's jealousy of Athens is the dominant element of hostility and has been

allowed to obscure the more malignant commercial jealousy which Corinth felt towards Athens in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, and which was the immediate cause of the first, or Archidamian War, inasmuch as it was clearly this which drove the Spartans into the war. This is the only correction which needs to be made in the estimate of Thucydides, and he himself furnishes the material for the correction. This has been ably set forth by Eduard Meyer (*Forschungen*, II. 296-326).

Thucydides protests against the popular idea, that Pericles, for personal reasons, deliberately precipitated the war by proposing and carrying the decree excluding the Megarians from the harbors of the Athenian empire. That was, of course, a violation of the treaty of 445, but it was the reply of Pericles to the still more flagrant violation of the treaty by Corinth in her succor of Potidaea, a rebellious city of the Athenian empire. The object of the decree was to show, by a stroke at the most vital commercial interest of Corinth, that while Athens deprecated war, she would not refuse it if it were forced upon her. By consummate diplomacy she had avoided committing an act of war in the struggle between Corinth and Corcyra. But she had inflicted a fatal blow upon the commercial supremacy of Corinth in the West, and war was sure to come. Athens would not begin the war, in which, since Pericles insisted upon a purely defensive policy, no glory or additional territory was to be won; but she would not yield to any humiliating demands from the enemy, and such the demand to rescind the Megarian decree surely was, and was intended to be, as was the demand to expel the Alcmaeonid "pollution", and still more the demand to abandon her empire. Thucydides makes it clear, by reiteration, that Pericles did not desire war, and did not precipitate war, but merely heartened his countrymen up to the point of declining an insulting ultimatum. Here, as ever, "he led, rather than was led by them".

The Megarian decree, as Mr. Cornford contends, was not the main issue, but Corinthian commercial supremacy in the West, and that had already been destroyed by the defensive alliance of Athens with Corcyra, for which the succor of Potidaea was retaliation. All this is made perfectly clear by Thucydides, although he is reticent about and no doubt ignorant of the economic details underlying this struggle for the commerce of the West. Here Mr. Cornford's study brings much welcome light, as Ferrero has shed new light on the economic problems of the Roman revolution. For such details an ancient historian has no eye. Nor can we follow Mr. Cornford in his contention that the great Sicilian expedition was already on the cards of a "party of the Piraeus", and was practically forced upon Pericles by that party along with the Megarian decree. If any one could be tempted to project too far back in Athenian politics the fatal design of a conquest of Sicily, it would surely be the historian who has made so august a tragedy of his story of the attempt. If he does not "read the origin of the war

in the light of the Sicilian expedition", it is not because preoccupation with "mythical" topics diverts his mind from essential factors in the economic situation, but because he knows that the great infatuation had not spread among his countrymen before the death of Pericles sufficiently to become a political factor.

With the second part of his study, Thucydides Mythicus, Mr. Cornford renders valuable aid to the proper understanding of the artistic side of the work of Thucydides. Especially does he help to an explanation of the artistic gulf which yawns between the first three books and books IV. to VII. In the former, the author deals with facts in the dry, severe manner of the annalist. In the latter, facts "win over into the mythical"; the external form of the history shows conscious imitation of tragedy; the technical construction and the psychology of the Aeschylean drama are extensively adopted. There is a *Tychê* at work personally in the affair of Pylos; a *Peithô*, or *Apatê*, incarnate in Cleon, tempts the Athens which the *Tychê* of Pylos has intoxicated; *Eros*, the tyrant passion, incarnate in Alcibiades, drags the tempted city to her Reversal of Fortune at Syracuse. "To Thucydides the Ionian tradition of Epos and story-telling is anathema; his introduction is a judicial and earnest polemic against it and all its works. . . . It is to the religious drama which grew up at Dionysus' festivals in Pelasgian Athens, not to the Epos which had flowered at the Ionian gatherings and now was overblown, that Thucydides turns for his inspiration."

B. PERRIN.

Storia dei Romani. La Conquista del Primato in Italia. By GAETANO DE SANCTIS. In two volumes. (Milano, Torino and Roma: Fratelli Bocca. 1907. Pp. xii, 458; viii, 575.)

ONE result of the growth of the national spirit in united Italy is the increasing interest displayed by Italian scholars in the early history of their country and especially of Rome. This is illustrated very strikingly by the publication within a decade of the first parts of two general histories, covering practically the same period, from the founding of the city to the conquest of the peninsula. The first of these, Païs's *Storia di Roma*, was widely discussed and aroused considerable opposition because of the author's extreme scepticism in regard to the credibility of Roman history down to the Samnite wars, and also because of the ingenious but not always convincing combinations by which he explained the growth of the accepted tradition. On the whole, however, Païs's critical principles approved themselves to the majority of scholars, and his work is the most important contribution to the subject since Mommsen.

After an interval of only eight years comes De Sanctis, whose aim is made clear in the dedication of the present work to Beloch, where he says that the field of Roman history is now the scene of a noisy con-

flict between a blind traditionalism and an equally blind desire to deny the credibility of all tradition at any cost. As Païs is the protagonist of the sceptics, a continual comparison of the two writers is inevitable. Païs is the brilliant destructive critic, who by virtue of his intellectual attitude, must perforce go to extremes. De Sanctis is the more sober observer, who with less critical acumen and originality would be glad to reconstruct out of the chaos left by his predecessor something that might fairly represent the truth so far as we can perhaps ever know it. He is less radical than Païs in his attitude toward the regal period, and considerably less so in his estimate of the amount of truth contained in the traditional account of the first century of the republic, but he is as far as possible from being a reactionary, and appears conservative only where Païs's scepticism is most radical. Thus he accepts the authenticity of the decemviral legislation, but rejects the details concerning the personnel and conduct of the board itself. The story of the embassy to Greece is an aetiological myth invented to account for the supposed elements of Greek legislation to be found in the Twelve Tables, and the tale of Appius Claudius and Virginia is only a bit of popular poetry. The history of the agrarian struggles and legislation of the fifth and fourth centuries is dismissed with the contemptuous statement (II. 13) that all these accounts, so tediously alike and dry, which become paler and paler as we approach the really historical period, deserve no credence whatever.

De Sanctis's treatment of the beginnings of Rome is very comprehensive, as may be inferred from the titles of the first chapters in his book—Italy and its Earliest Inhabitants, the Indo-Europeans in Italy, the Etruscans in the Po Valley and the Civilization of the Villa Nova Period. So too in the second volume much attention is devoted to the early history of Sicily and the Greek colonies. He is conversant with the results of recent archaeological and palaeontological research, and makes more use of them, especially of the latter, than any previous historian who has attempted to write a general history.

The internal history of the early republic, that of the political development of the commonwealth, is treated by De Sanctis with no great novelty in method or results. Any attempt to harmonize the conflicting statements in our sources about the political movements that resulted in the established order of the later republic is sure to be unsatisfactory. We know the results, and we can infer with certainty what general tendencies must have been at work, but the steps in the struggle between the classes are only conjectural. There is no agreement even now as to the constitution of the plebs. Still less satisfactory is the traditional account of the conquest of the peninsula, any analysis of which exhibits countless discrepancies and repetitions. Fortunately for the reader, details of this sort do not appeal strongly to De Sanctis, and he devotes as little space to their recital as general consent would probably allow any historian.

Of course there is not a chapter in the book that does not contain statements that may easily be challenged. We are dealing almost everywhere with varying degrees of probability rather than with ascertained facts. In general, however, De Sanctis seems to have succeeded in so guarding his statements and fortifying them with arguments which are at least plausible that the critic is more or less disarmed. He believes thoroughly in the existence of a considerable body of early popular poetry, from which were drawn the legends that afterwards became part of the accepted history of the Romans, and he asserts (II. 502) that we can form some idea of this poetry because we can reconstruct more than one of the old ballads from the traditional stories, eliminating only the falsifications and additions of the annalists. To this origin he attributes without hesitation the stories of Cincinnatus, Coriolanus, the defeat of the Fabii, Porsenna, Lucretia, the reason for the descent of the Gauls into Italy, the attack of the Gauls on the Capitol, the interference of Camillus, the duel between Manlius and the Gaul and many other famous tales. In fact, the application of this theory is one of the striking features of the book, for the author seems at times to carry it almost as far as Niebuhr did, and to lay himself open to the same objections.

Within the limits assigned to this review, no criticism whatever of any of De Sanctis's conclusions or opinions can be made, but I can not refrain from calling attention to his estimate of the one man whose personality seems to appeal to him, Pyrrhus, whom he compares (II. 416) to Alexander the Great to the disadvantage of the latter.

While De Sanctis's book is not as original or attractive as that of Païs, it is distinctly useful and well done, and Italian classical scholarship is to be congratulated on the production of such *κτῆματα ἐς ἀεί* as these two works are likely to prove.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Regesta Pontificum Romanorum. Iubente Regia Societate Göttingensi conguessit PAULUS FRIDOLINUS KEHR. Tomus I. *Italia Pontificia sive Repertorium Privilegiorum et Literarum a Romanis Pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII Italiae Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Civitatibus Singulisque Personis Concessorum.* I. Roma; II. Latium. (Berolini: apud Weidmannos. 1906. 1907. Pp. xxvi, 201; xxx, 230.)

IN view of its new critical edition of the privileges and letters of the Roman pontiffs inaugurated some ten years ago by the Göttingen Academy and confided to Dr. Paul Fridolin Kehr, this learned body found it necessary to begin with a new edition of Jaffé's *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*. In one way or another many new documents have seen the light, even since the second edition of Jaffé (1885-1888); new

sources of medieval papal correspondence have been opened, and much new pertinent material published. Moreover, Jaffé's *Regesta*, stupendous as it was for the time when it first appeared (1851) as the work of one unaided scholar, has, in both editions, grave defects. It lacks a list of the addressees of the enormous, though fragmentary, papal correspondence, and it reposes, to a great extent, on the printed works accessible to Jaffé and his later editors rather than on the original manuscripts or any serious efforts to reach a stage of tradition very close to them. In the two *fasciculi* before us the material of Jaffé is recast; the chronological order is abandoned for a logical order, *i. e.*, the papal documents of the *Regesta* are distributed under the titles of the churches, monasteries and persons to whom they are addressed, so that it is easy to control at once all known papal correspondence with corporations or persons, *i. e.*, up to 1198, the beginning of the pontificate of Innocent III., at which date Jaffé closed his labors. In the first of these volumes Dr. Kehr includes only the 586 papal documents pertaining to the city of Rome—its basilicas, churches, chapels and oratories (according to the regional division), including, however, a few addressed to Roman patrician families or dealing with municipal interests. In the second volume are found 677 papal documents addressed to the various churches and monasteries of Latium (taken in the medieval historico-ecclesiastical sense), and distributed under 25 diocesan titles, the 7 *suburbicariae*, 8 in the Roman Campagna and 10 in Roman Tuscany. In the last decade every effort has been made by Dr. Kehr to obtain the best manuscript authority for the documents thus rearranged, and in many cases he has been successful in his long and arduous *iter Italicum*. Each volume, besides an index of the addressees, contains an "elenchus pontificum romanorum quorum acta in hoc volumine continentur", or a table (in five columns) of the popes, whose documents are quoted, the addressees of each pope's privileges or letters, the dates of the documents, the page and number where found in this edition, the corresponding references in the second edition of Jaffé, and diacritical marks by which the reader may know that a given document is lost or merely known to have existed, also, on occasion, that Dr. Kehr considers it spurious, and moreover, whether the originals (*autographa*) still exist. The mere enunciation of the elements of this table suffices to show its immediate practical utility to every student of local papal history, and indeed to students of canon law, ecclesiastical archaeology and the fine arts. But there is more. The documents in each class, or rather subdivision, of addressees are preceded by a select critical list of specially useful works, amounting in the two volumes to an extensive bibliographical introduction to the history of the Roman basilicas, churches and monasteries, as well as of those of the immediate vicinity. Brief historical *notitiae* follow these bibliographies and serve as an orientation in the use of the documents that follow. Each summarized document, numbered as described, and dated, is fol-

lowed by the indication of its oldest manuscript or best printed authorities; the manuscript sources are properly described, and there follow occasionally brief critical remarks, the *nota* of spuriousness, cross-references, etc. No serious student of medieval Rome and vicinity, in any of their phases, can afford henceforth to be without the *Italia Pontificia*. If Jaffé's *Regesta* in its earlier form rendered great service to all workers in medieval history, in its new form, now available for Rome and Medieval Latium, it will render much greater service. No more attractive vestibule could be constructed for the vast edifice of medieval papal history. Future generations of historical students and research-workers will have every reason to remember with gratitude the author of a work that was not constructed without long and close devotion, much physical labor and the highest skill in the use of the delicate mental machinery now indispensable for the critical edition of ancient documents.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Israel in Europe. By G. F. ABBOTT, Knight Commander of the Hellenic Order of the Saviour. (London and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xix, 533.)

THE history of Israel in Europe differs in every fundamental particular from that of the other tribes and races that have passed from Asia across the Bosphorus. Every other people, provided always that it succeeded in saving itself from being absorbed by its neighbors, fastened on a more or less permanent territory, organized a government, maintained amicable or hostile relations with its neighbors, occupied itself with the arts and developed a civilization—these various matters, in fact, constitute its history, as we understand the term. Such obvious interests do not enter into the history of Israel in Europe. From the time when the bolt of war destroyed their temple, the Jews have had no state, no arts, no civilization, nothing at all constituting an acknowledged element of national history, except a religion, which, as antedating their invasion of Europe, lay outside the range of the present author's inquiry. His book, in consequence, reduces itself to a record of persecution varying in form and intensity through the ages, but uninterrupted from the day when Zion lay prostrate before the Emperor Titus, and though meeting at times with apparent success, terminating invariably in substantial failure before a stubbornness, endurance and racial exaltation which are without example.

In such a story of the persistent conflict of European and Asiatic prejudice, our first demand is for fairness. This demand the author succeeds in satisfying; in fact, strange as it may sound, he more than satisfies it; for, gratified with the consciousness of an uncommon virtue, he cannot refrain from accompanying the record of each fresh act of violence with sad reflections on the hopeless enslavement of men to hatred, exclusiveness, blood-thirst and all the narrow vices of primitive society. Moral attitudes, however splendid and superior, have

a disappointing way of missing their effect through iteration. Not only is the author's fervor of righteousness chargeable with some dull pages, but it accounts for a serious defect of composition. Concerned with moralizing, he cannot bother about mere facts. In the early sections, indeed, it is different. The chapters dealing with Hebraism in the colonial world are an admirably sober and critical story of the sowing of those dragon's teeth of prejudice from which sprung the giant brood of later days. In the medieval period reflection begins to gain the upper hand, until, when the nineteenth century is reached, the reader must laboriously fish up every penny-worth of fact out of a veritable ocean of comment.

If the author has, generally speaking, mistaken the relative importance of fact and discussion suitable to a work of history, he falls into another error when he fails to appreciate at its full value the Jewish Renaissance. Incomparably the most important event in the existence of the Hebrew race in Europe befell when, in the eighteenth century, Moses Mendelssohn proclaimed that the Jews must abandon the figment of being a people chosen and apart, and must become Europeanized. For seventeen hundred years they had maintained an isolation, splendid, perhaps, from more than one point of view, but terrible in the persecution which it invited and more terrible still in the dehumanization which it effected of the Jews themselves. Cut off from civilizing influences, what, except the human forms, distinguished the folk of the Ghetto from the beasts of the field? The Talmud, worshiped as a source of light, suspended a darkness over them wide and deep as Erebus. Out of this bondage to a book, worse than the bondage of Egypt, Mendelssohn, named Moses by a prophetic father, pointed a way by urging participation in the civilizing labors of Europe. Blot out seventeen centuries of Jewish history, and Europe would not be, except for the single Spinoza, himself an ostracized Jew, a jot the poorer; Mendelssohn's movement has effected a complete change. The Jewish share in modern life is immense and in a Jewish history deserves detailed consideration. Let no one look for it in these pages. Obsessed by his idea of persecution, the author cannot spare the space to recount the positive labors of the Jew in the field of letters, journalism, finance, invention and pure science.

These defects are offset by a personal enthusiasm and vivacity of tone unusual in a work of encyclopedic character. We relish the same, even though the dish arrests our appetite. The author frankly admits the derivation of his work from secondary authorities. If he had wrestled with the facts in the sources, his text might have profited, among other ways, by being somewhat less insistent on the animating theme of the total depravity of man.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

Bibliographie Générale des Cartulaires Français ou relatifs à l'Histoire de France. [Manuels de Bibliographie Historique, IV.]

Par HENRI STEIN. (Paris: Picard et Fils. 1907. Pp. xv, 627.)

THE great value of cartularies as historical sources has long been recognized by investigators. A large proportion of the documentary materials relating to the Middle Ages and early modern times has come down to us only in this form, and without the aid of such collections no one can hope to penetrate far into the institutional life or the economic and social history of these periods. The comparatively few cartularies, however, which have been printed have generally been brought out in little-known local publications, and the unprinted collections, even for a limited district, are often widely scattered, so that there are few fields where the student stands more in need of bibliographical assistance. How generously such aid is rendered in the present volume is at once evident from its amplitude—4,522 numbers—in contrast to the meagre lists hitherto available. The term cartulary. M. Stein quite properly restricts to collections of documents which, whatever their provenance, relate to a particular establishment, institution, or locality, thus ruling out registers, inventories and miscellaneous assortments to which the word has often been applied; but he includes both civil and ecclesiastical establishments, and factitious modern collections as well as those which were formed in the Middle Ages. Moreover he has extended the boundaries of France to cover adjoining territory which has at one time or another come under French influence, thereby comprehending Belgium, French Switzerland, and Germany west of the Rhine, as well as, though inadequately, the Spanish march. The bibliography is more than a simple list of titles. Shelf-numbers are given for manuscripts and exact information concerning printed collections, and the author has also got together a large body of references to later copies and extracts, a task which will earn him the gratitude of all who appreciate how largely we are indebted to the scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the preservation of documents which have since disappeared, and how difficult it often is to get track of these copies. Care has likewise been taken to note cartularies whose whereabouts are no longer known, in the hope that some of them may still come to light—a pious wish which we should like to repeat and extend to certain Norman cartularies which have escaped M. Stein's notice, namely a cartulary of Fécamp of the twelfth century, extracts from which are found in the Collection Moreau, and one or more cartularies of Lire, cited in the same collection and in the papers of Dom Lenoir and printed in part in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

It would be strange not to find some gaps in a work covering so wide a field, in spite of the hope which the author seems to cherish that the only additions to be made, apart from volumes in private hands, will be small fascicules lurking in the unsorted bundles of certain

archives. The reviewer has noted the following omissions in the field he knows best, that of the Norman cartularies: Cartulary of the chapter of Rouen (Rouen Library, MS. 1193); cartulary of the see of Bayeux, in the chapter library, MSS. 206-208; minor cartularies of Bayeux cathedral, in the same library, MSS. 199, 202, 204; *Cartularium Decani et Capituli de Baiocis*, in the Phillips Library at Cheltenham, MS. 21709; certain minor collections for St. Ouen in the archives of the Seine-Inférieure; the papers of Hippeau and the copies from Carlton Castle relating to St. Étienne of Caen, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale; the collections of the Abbé de LaRue concerning Caen in the public library and the Collection Mancel at Caen; the copies of Pierre Mangon relating to the Cotentin and adjacent portions of lower Normandy, now in the public library at Grenoble; and the papers of the Norman antiquaries Deville, Le Prévost and Léchaudé d'Anisy, preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The Norman rolls in the Public Record Office are as much entitled to mention as the Gascon rolls.

More serious than such omissions, because likely to deceive investigators, are the erroneous statements concerning the contents of cartularies. M. Stein has had the excellent idea of indicating the chronological limits of many of the cartularies he cites, but it is plain that this has often been done without personal examination and sometimes with misleading results. Thus he gives 1218 and 1211 as the earliest respective limits of the Great and Little Cartularies of Jumièges, whereas both of them contain documents of the twelfth century. The cartulary of St. Wandrille (no. 3604 in Stein), instead of beginning in 1204, is exceedingly rich in charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The fragment of a cartulary of St. Pair in the archives of the Manche, described as containing "only texts of the fifteenth century", includes at least one piece of the eleventh (*English Historical Review*, XXII. 647). The so-called cartulary of Philippe d'Alençon (no. 3243) contains two charters of Henry I. earlier than 1131 (Round, *Calendar*, nos. 5, 7). The earliest charter in the *Livre Noir* of Bayeux cathedral is of 1036, or thereabouts, not 1066. The cartulary of Troarn in the Bibliothèque Nationale does not commence with 1101 but contains documents of William the Conqueror. The second volume of the cartulary of St. Évrout in the same library (MS. Lat. 11056) is not missing; it was there last August. MS. 114 of the library of Alençon is, unfortunately, not a copy of the lost cartulary of Cerisy, but a collection of modern pieces in French. The cartulary of Notre-Dame-du-Désert in the archives of the Eure is now numbered G. 165. Moreover, though this is not the author's fault, the references to the archives of sees and cathedrals are, or soon will be, incorrect, since the separation law hands over these records to the departmental archives, and the work of transfer is in some cases already completed.

These errors of omission and misstatement have been pointed out, not because the book is a bad one, but because it is so sure to take rank

as a standard authority that those who use it should be put on their guard against trusting too absolutely in its completeness or its accuracy. M. Stein deserves the gratitude of all students of the sources of French history for the years of patient labor which he has spent in preparing this bibliography, for the convenience of its arrangement and for the care with which it has been put through the press. He has produced an indispensable bibliographical tool, and the reviewer is glad to acknowledge the assistance which he has derived from it in his own researches.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Mediæval London. Volume II. *Ecclesiastical.* By Sir WALTER BESANT. (London: Adam and Charles Black. 1906. Pp. ix, 436.)

THE bulk of the series of books descriptive of London to which this volume belongs and the long self-devotion of its author to the study of London naturally suggest to the critic that the work should be approached from the scholar's point of view. This inclination is somewhat shaken by finding a number of "fancy pictures", like those of John granting Magna Carta, and the offer of the crown to Richard II., scattered through the work. These, however, prove to be reproductions of modern historical paintings which, although absurd, are nevertheless hung in the municipal buildings of London, and may therefore claim a corresponding place in a history of London. Moreover there are many contemporary and very interesting and useful illustrations whose value may be set over against those which are fictitious and improbable. But an examination of the text soon discloses its unscholarly character. In a bibliographical chapter it is said on page 7 that "other Chronicles translation has made accessible, such as the 'Dialogue de Scaccario', published in full in Stubbs's *Select Charters*". But the *Dialogus* is not a chronicle, it is not translated by Stubbs, it had been published long before by Madox, and its name should be given all in Latin or all in English. "Dialogue" may however be a misprint, as is the meaningless expression "news and good men", on page 22, which is probably intended for "reeve and four men".

Although this volume is described in its title as "Mediæval London, Ecclesiastical", the first of its three parts is devoted to the history of the government of the city. Chapter two in this part is a rather irrelevant comparison of two early charters of the city, taken from an essay of Mr. Round, in which the minute differences of the two charters are enumerated, but nothing done toward describing the government of the city. It is quite evident that the author did not understand Round's discussion and is entirely unfamiliar with the technical points involved; which indeed have no proper place in such an outlined account as he is giving. The numerous quotations from secondary writers are frequently very ill-chosen, as for instance those concerning the gilds, which are taken at great length from Brentano, while neither Gross

nor Ashley are mentioned. Non-contemporary sources are constantly relied on, as for instance where Fabyan's chronicle, written in the fifteenth century, is quoted as authority for events which occurred in the twelfth. In general the Middle Ages are treated as a single whole and conditions characteristic of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are not discriminated from those belonging to the fifteenth or sixteenth. Thus, judged as a piece of scholarly investigation the book has nothing but vexation for the student who looks to it for some addition to our knowledge of its subject. Its author has no real knowledge of the matters involved and no standards of scientific accuracy.

On the other hand, if the work is looked upon as a mere popular compilation, this judgment must be much modified. The book includes much which ought to be praised. It is not, it is true, well or clearly arranged, but many of its detached chapters and much of its widely-gathered material is interesting and suggestive. Wherever personal incidents, such as the careers of William Longbeard and Thomas Fitz-Thomas and other city worthies, enter into the story, the narrative becomes spirited and picturesque; wherever definite incidents are to be recounted, such as the instance of a trial by ordeal given on pages 192-193, the account is vivid and life-like; the descriptions of buildings and localities are clear and comprehensible. Mr. Besant's training in the writing of fiction stands him in good stead.

Generally speaking, the second part of the volume, "Ecclesiastical London", is much better than the part devoted to the history of the government of the city. The hermits, the pilgrimages, sanctuary, miracle plays, funerals and others ceremonies are told of with much vivacious illustration. The third part, making up the latter half of the book, is devoted to a systematic description of the twenty-five or thirty religious houses, which, with the cathedral, the parish churches, the hospitals and the fraternities, make up the centres of religious life in London in the Middle Ages. Relatively full and interesting accounts are given of the Charter House, Holy Trinity Priory, St. Bartholomew's, the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, St. Mary Overies, Blackfriars, Whitefriars and other monastic houses, and there are three descriptive chapters on the smaller religious houses, the hospitals and the religious fraternities. Of the last named an interesting tentative list is given in an appendix.

There is no good history of London in existence. A scholarly, adequate and continuous narrative might certainly be written; the material exists for it, largely in accessible form. The series of large handsome volumes of which this is the last installment can certainly lay no claim to having filled this demand. Moreover, this volume is less meritorious than the previous numbers of the series. Nevertheless, while we are waiting for a better book we may acknowledge that this work contains the greatest body of information, the most varied

illustrations and the handsomest outward appearance of any existing work on its subject.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

Études sur l'Administration de Rome au Moyen Age (751-1252).

Par LOUIS HALPHEN. (Paris: Champion. 1907. Pp. xvi, 190.)

THOUGH in the last half-century there have been many contributions to the municipal history of medieval Rome, there was lacking hitherto a documentary and critical study covering the period from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the thirteenth century. Karl Hegel's history of the municipal constitutions of Italy (1847) is long antiquated, and Gregorovius's general history of the city of Rome (1892-1906) necessarily touches too lightly on the details of administration. Certain special researches like Rodocanachi's work on the communal institutions of medieval Rome (1901) begin too late, *i. e.*, with the fourteenth century, while the admirable studies of Charles Diehl (1888) and L. M. Hartmann (1889) on Italo-Byzantine administration stop with its disappearance from Central Italy about the middle of the eighth century. In this way the local government of Rome and its vicinity remains insufficiently illustrated during five turbulent centuries. Much useful material was brought to light in the published researches of eighteenth-century scholars. Modern editions of the medieval lives of the popes and of the papal correspondence have added to the store of available documents. The documentary histories of certain religious orders, of papal fiefs, of episcopal towns, of neighboring churches, of ancient abbeys, of ruling families, place at the disposal of the modern historian a respectable collection of public and private documents. But there is yet much unedited material to be found in the Vatican archives, and in the archives of local churches in and near Rome, in the archives of old Roman families and other repositories of medieval Roman documents. In the last thirty or forty years no little valuable material has been published in the *Archivio della Reale Società di Storia Patria* and in the *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, and important special contributions to the subject have been made. The meritorious dissertation of M. Halphen reposes on these sources, edited and unedited. It is divided into three parts, the first of which describes the municipal administration of Rome (prefect, consul, *duces*, *judices*) from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the twelfth century when the Roman Commune seized and finally kept a larger share of local administrative authority. In a similar way, the second part reveals, on the faith of documents henceforth somewhat more numerous and circumstantial, the municipal life of Rome as it developed (especially after 1188) under the control of the Senator, during the frequent absences and journeys of the popes, and amid the anti-papal pressure of the imperial power and the rapid development of a secular lay-temper fed from curiously mixed sources (often romantic and literary). Not the least

interesting and important of these sources is the *mentalité* of the medieval Roman people that despite numerous attempts no writer has yet outlined in a way at once accurate and picturesque, and with that touch of genius which the subject calls for. In the third part of his dissertation (pp. 89-146), M. Halphen gives a critically constructed list (420-1252) of the known officials of the early medieval or Lateran administration (the *septem iudices primicerii, secundicerii, arcarii, primi defensores, nomenclatores, saccellarii* and *protoscriniarii*, formal survivals of the imperial and Byzantine authority); also lists of the prefects of Rome from the tenth century to 1252, and of the senators of Rome from 1148 to 1252, at which date the appearance of a non-Roman senator heralds, in the judgment of M. Halphen, modifications in the concept of the municipal administration of Rome important enough to afford at least a breathing-place for the historian. M. Halphen disclaims any credit for a "tableau systématique et suivi" of Roman municipal administration in the given period. He is entitled, however, to much credit as the author of a work small in volume, but satisfactory for its method, assured results, critically digested and ordered material, judicious and helpful bibliography. It is just such a work as we should expect from a student of the French School of History and Archaeology at Rome, whose members are under the immediate guidance of Monseigneur Louis Duchesne, for whom there are few secrets in the "Forma Urbis", physical, administrative, or artistic, between Constantine the Great and Frederick II.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Institutions Politiques et Administratives des Principautés Lombardes de l'Italie Méridionale (IX^e-XI^e Siècles). Étude suivie d'un Catalogue des Actes des Princes de Bénévent et de Capoue. Par RENÉ POUPARDIN, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1907. Pp. 184.)

DR. POUPARDIN, the author of this monograph and of other important works on Lombard and Provençal history is an old student of the French School at Rome and has dedicated the fruit of his labors to Monseigneur Duchesne, the director of that noble institution. Having myself often climbed the broad stairways of the Farnese Palace and, by the courteous permission of the director, spent many fruitful hours in its well-furnished library, I heartily congratulate the school on the valuable contribution to historical science which has been made by its former alumnus.

The writer has, with praiseworthy self-denial, chosen for his field of research one of the most obscure and least attractive periods of Italian history; that which intervenes between the death of Charlemagne and the advent of the Norman conquerors of Southern Italy.

It is well known that the Frankish conquests in Italy near the end of the eighth century did not include its southern portion, the kingdom of Naples of a later day, but stopped short at the northern frontier

of that which the Lombard historian calls "The Samnite Duchy", but which is better known from its chief city as the Duchy of Benevento. Wavering between the Carolingian and Byzantine empires, and sometimes itself divided between the dynasties of Benevento, of Capua and of Salerno, that district nevertheless maintained a quasi-independence for more than two centuries till the Norman conquest of Apulia (preceding the Norman conquest of England by about forty years) imprinted its own unique character on the whole of Southern Italy.

It is to these seldom studied centuries that Dr. Poupardin has devoted his attention, mainly for the purpose of tracing the survival of Lombard law and Lombard institutions throughout that period. With this object he has compiled a catalogue of the diplomas emanating from the chanceries of the princes of Benevento and Capua: a catalogue which, for the student of this portion of history, may serve the same purpose which for the student of Anglo-Saxon history is served by Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* or Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*.

I may mention a few of the chief points touched upon by the author in his valuable preliminary observations. It is interesting to find that "it is under the name of Longobardi that the Beneventans (after the Carolingian conquest of Italy) continue to designate themselves in opposition to the Franci and the Galli, and that not only as against the inhabitants of North Italy or Gaul who composed the Imperial armies of Charlemagne or Otto, but even as against their neighbours and fellow-countrymen of the Duchy of Spoleto."

While Charlemagne, in taking the title of *Rex Longobardorum*, thought to exercise to the full the authority of his Italian predecessors over all Lombards under that designation, the dukes of Benevento showed, by dropping the title of duke and assuming that of prince, that they had no intention of recognizing any such right on his part. In fact they continued as against Charlemagne and his successors the same struggle for independence which they had previously maintained against the Lombard kings, but with much greater success than aforetime.

The life of the princes of Benevento was not a happy one. "From 774 to 1000 the greater number of them died by a violent death or were expelled to make room for usurpers." Their connection with the empire was slight. With a few exceptions the questions of succession among the Lombards were settled by election, by the association of a son with his father while still reigning, or by assassination, without the imperial or royal authority being invoked in the matter.

The Aldions, the descendants of the conquered Roman population, still remained in their semi-servile condition and were granted by the king to a nobleman or a monastery along with actual slaves or freedmen.

The early princes of Benevento kept up an almost royal state, having their *Referendarius* (Chancellor), their *Stolesaz* or Seneschal,

their *Marpahis* or Master of the Horse, and so forth. (The *Examinator* remains a mystery to our author. Is it possible that he was employed to examine the horses about to be purchased for the princely stables and thus corresponds to a veterinary surgeon of modern times?) The greater part of their grandeur disappears when, at the end of the ninth century, the hereditary prince of Benevento is dethroned by his subject Atenolf, count of Capua. These Capuan princes had no royal descent whereof to boast, but were only sprung from the Gastalds of the Campanian capital. About these Gastalds (a term of frequent occurrence in earlier Lombard history) the author has a good deal to say. He does not differ from the view previously entertained that they were originally local officers appointed by the Lombard kings to collect their revenue and look after the interests of the royal domain; but he thinks that their title gradually gave way to that of count or *judex loci* and that their office like that of so many other functionaries in the ninth and tenth centuries gradually became hereditary in their families. And thus it was that the Gastald of Capua became, first, the count of that city, and afterwards, the prince of the old "Samnite Duchy" (Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, VI. 575-578). The serious student of the history of Italy between Charlemagne and Robert Guiscard will find that much light is shed on some of the darker portions of his path by the conscientious labors of Dr. Poupardin.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

Innocent III. La Question d'Orient. Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1907. Pp. 303.)

THIS is the fourth volume in M. Luchaire's admirable history of Innocent III. The four chapters are entitled respectively: Le Pape, La Syrie Latine et Byzance; La Quatrième Croisade; La Cour de Rome et l'Empire Latin; L'Union des Deux Églises. Of these titles, the second and third describe the contents; the first and last are not so fortunate. The first opens with an account of the pope's interest in the crusading movement, and his relations with the Moslem world; then follow the subjects enumerated in the title, but in addition to Latin Syria and Byzantium, Armenia and Cyprus are treated. The fourth chapter includes a discussion of the efforts of Innocent to bring about a new crusade.

The main theme is the pope's zeal for the cause of the crusades. This was the constant objective of his policy (p. 265) and, according to M. Luchaire's interpretation, explains his attitude towards the Venetians, the Latin emperors, the Greek Church and the Greek rulers. By this interpretation the seeming contradictions in the pope's actions and utterances are reconciled; *e. g.*, his just condemnation of the attack upon Constantinople and his eagerness to profit by the *fait accompli*; his scathing denunciation of the excesses committed, and his readiness

to pardon the crusaders. The question whether Innocent used the crusade mainly to further his own political power, the author answers in the negative. He believes that the pope was sincere in his predilection for the crusade, although he realizes that "*Il y avait accord, ici, entre son devoir de chef de religion et ses visées de domination universelle, entre ses convictions et ses intérêts*" (p. 4).

Yet the pope's zeal was misdirected and damaged his cause. As our author says (p. 284), the pope seemed to return to a conception of the crusade which belonged to the eleventh rather than the thirteenth century.

In his relations with the Greek Church, Innocent was badly served by his legates, especially Pelagius. But the pope's policy of uniting the two churches was not feasible (p. 261) because of the divergencies of opinion, race hatred and the existence of free Greek states which served as a refuge for the defendants of national independence.

The method in general is the same as in the preceding volumes. The most important documents are analyzed or quoted in full. There are few notes. But in almost every case the source is so fully indicated that any passage can be readily found. In this respect the present volume is more serviceable as a guide than the preceding volumes. When the author has used material which is not included in the well-known collection, he has noted its provenance (see p. 183, note). He has in one instance (pp. 93-94) discussed the relative value of two excellent sources, and given his reasons for preferring to follow one. On the questions whether the Venetians had premeditated the diversion to Zara, and whether they had an agreement with the Marquis of Montferrat relative to the diversion to Constantinople, he expresses no opinion. In fact, he states that the problems are insoluble. Other disputed points which do not immediately affect Innocent's activity he omits. There is, for instance, no mention of the children's crusade.

All the material is made to contribute to an estimate of Innocent's character. The pope's trust in his own diplomacy is repeatedly emphasized. Occasionally there are brief, pregnant statements which portray some phase of Innocent's personality. Among these may be noted, "*le sens politique et la crainte des mesures extrêmes qui étaient la marque de son tempérament*" (p. 207); "*juriste méticuleux et soucieux des formes légales*" (p. 224); "*de pratiquer la tolérance et de convertir par persuasion. . . Cette politique était la sienne*" (p. 259). In fact, a collection of these apt phrases scattered throughout the four volumes would furnish the material for an accurate portrayal of the pope's character as described by M. Luchaire. This clear characterization is one of the merits of the work. Of still greater merit is the impartial and learned discussion of the different events with which Innocent was connected.

DANA C. MUNRO.

His Grace the Steward and Trial of Peers. A Novel Inquiry into a Special Branch of Constitutional Government. By L. W. VERNON HARCOURT. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xii, 500.)

MR. VERNON HARCOURT'S book is one for which we may be grateful however much we disagree with some of its details, or criticize its faults of form. One merit of detail certainly deserves to be mentioned, the copious quotation from unprinted materials. The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the steward, the second with the trial of peers. The first part traces the office of steward through the earlier dapifershship, and seneschalship, to the Lancastrian period when it becomes practically extinct. The author's principle thesis is that the stewardship in England never was, in any part of its history, a great political office, as at one time the seneschalship in France had been. It was never allowed to become more than a ceremonial office of dignity. This he seems clearly to have proved.

With much that the author says in his discussion of the early history of trial by peers the present reviewer is obliged to disagree. Mr. Vernon Harcourt has read widely in feudal law and in the charters of the feudal age, but he does not seem to have acquired a clear understanding of the fundamental principles of that law, nor of procedure in the feudal courts. The distinction between *Urteilfindung* and *Rechtsgesbot*, clearly perceived, would have saved him from some misapprehension. The very instructive record of the trial of the bishop of Durham in 1189 should have led to further conclusions regarding both law and procedure. The fact which is seen, that in the early history of the royal courts the king's justice was the baron's peer, is not rigorously applied either to the transitional stages of the thirteenth century or to the statements of Bracton. Nor is there any notice of the effect of the same fact in French constitutional history. Great difficulty is occasioned by c. 39 of Magna Carta both as to its roots in the past and its influence on the future. Mr. Vernon Harcourt apparently regards it as having something of a legislative character, at least as giving to the principle of trial by peers a prominence it had never before possessed, instead of being, if it had any purpose apart from its merely practical one, an effort to defend a form of procedure which was threatened with extinction. Much ingenuity is expended in the settlement of difficulties in the interpretation of the clause which occur readily to the trained lawyer of to-day, but which could never have troubled the men of 1215, and the fact is overlooked that the most natural and simple explanation gives us without doubt what they meant by it. As to the second "vel" of the clause, the author holds, as I understand him, that all instances of the medieval use of "vel" for "et" were blunders, as if one should write "cow" where the context shows plainly he intended "horse", and therefore "vel" in

c. 39 is disjunctive. The facts are certainly against this argument. Such an interpretation also overlooks the fact that "the law of the land", whatever may have been meant by it, is not an alternative to "judgment of peers". The only alternative to the latter, possible at the time, was the mode of trial which the barons desired to avoid. It is probable that "vel" is conjunctive in both places where it occurs in c. 39.

I am obliged to take equal exception to many details in the chapter on the trial of John, but this REVIEW has hardly the space for a full commentary. A new view as to the condemnation of John is added to those already advocated. As I understand the author, John was not condemned to forfeiture in 1202, or in 1203, either in consequence of the appeal of the barons of Poitou, or of the murder of Arthur, but he was so condemned in April, 1213, by Philip's court at Soissons, for his various nefarious acts. This theory, however, is based on interpretations of law and of language which cannot be admitted. One is surprised to learn that John might instantly have ordered Arthur's execution without form of trial, as a vassal in arms against his lord, and one would like to have chapter and verse for this law. A portion of the manifesto issued by Louis on his landing in England in 1216 Mr. Vernon Harcourt regards as a "highly creditable performance". There is really no difference in character between the different clauses of that document, and it is all highly creditable to the ingenuity of a man who wishes to come as near as possible to the truth in the form of words he uses while conveying a wholly false impression.

It is of these two chapters that the most serious criticism of detail is to be made. It must be added, however, that even in these chapters there is much interesting and valuable suggestion by the way, and this is particularly true of the chapters which follow them in which the history of the trial of peers is followed down to the establishment of the modern practice at the end of the Middle Ages. In these chapters will be found fuller accounts of some famous trials of peers in the period covered than can be found elsewhere, with long extracts from unpublished sources. In the case of the Earl of Huntingdon, who died in January, 1400, the author advances the interesting theory that the record of his trial before the lord high steward contained in the Year Books, and serving as the earliest precedent for trials of this form, was a deliberate forgery in the interests of Henry VII. to furnish historical justification for the trial of the Earl of Warwick.

GEORGE B. ADAMS.

The Great Revolt in 1381. By CHARLES OMAN, M.A., Professor in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1906. Pp. viii, 219.)

THE present work is the first complete monograph upon this important subject, all previous works having treated certain phases of the

revolt only. It may be characterized as a successful effort, and is not only a well written but also a reliable account, based throughout upon contemporary authorities. The narrative has profited much by the use of the researches of André Réville, and of the *Anonymous French Chronicle* published in the thirteenth volume of the *English Historical Review*. The critical value of the work frequently suffers by the author's failure to make use of all the testimony that the sources supply. It cannot be termed a final or even an exhaustive account of the Great Revolt. The few scattered remarks of the author upon the relative value of the sources do not satisfy the demands of the modern student. Nor has he used the entire literature of the subject. He seems to have been unacquainted with the *Studies in the Sources of the Revolt in 1381*, two articles published in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. VII. (1902), although Mr. Trevelyan used them in the new edition of his *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (1904).

The first chapter treats of the political and social conditions of England in 1381. The author rightly assigns great importance to the Statute of Laborers, but we cannot agree that the revolt was an unorganized movement, "chaotic in character", or of "sporadic nature". It is hardly accurate to say that manorial grievances had no part in the rising of the mesne towns against their spiritual lords, when we find the townsmen of St. Alban's, for instance, demanding free pasturage for their cattle, free hunting and fishing, and the abolition of the seignorial mill. The resistance to the Statute of Laborers was as bitter in the towns as in the country. The preliminary agitative activity of certain Londoners in Essex is well known. The circumstances that, on Corpus Christi and the day following, bands, or at least delegations, of insurgents arrived at London from all over England, even from counties as distant as Somerset and Oxfordshire (*Rot. Parl.*, III. 106; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1381, p. 16), points to a prearranged movement. There is evidence to show that Essex was the hotbed of the revolt which was probably organized from the country about Colchester, the home of both John Ball and Wat Tyler. John Wraw, the chief leader of the Suffolk revolt, was vicar of Ringsfield nearby. He appeared in Suffolk at the head of a band of Essex men, as did Tyler in Kent.

The second chapter is devoted to the Parliament of Northampton and the Poll-tax. Professor Oman here supplies some valuable information obtained from a writ of inquiry as to the Fraudulent Levying of the Poll Tax, dated March 16, 1381, from which, as well as from other sources, it appears that the population, especially as regards the unmarried women, was systematically understated. But he attaches too much importance to this writ when he states that without it "there would probably have been no single movement worthy of being called a rebellion". As Professor Tait has observed, its penalties only applied to those who impeded the commissioners in collecting the tax.

Chapter III. treats of the Outbreak in Kent and Essex; chapter IV.,

the Rebels in London. Based upon careful studies of the original sources, this is the best and most detailed account of the crucial part of the revolt that has as yet appeared. But even here the use of the sources is not exhaustive. Certain inaccuracies occur. There is convincing proof in the sources to show that the Conference at Mile End took place at the seventh canonical hour, 1 p. m., not at 7 a. m. (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VII. 282). In the narrative of the meeting of the king and the rebels it is a pity that the author failed to use the interesting version of the Monk of Evesham, whose usually independent account of the revolt he seems to have altogether overlooked, and that of the *Anonymous French Chronicle*. The latter, in addition to the demands of the insurgents otherwise transmitted, enumerates another which appears to be a demand for the annulment of the Statute of Laborers: "Che nul ne deveroit servir ascune home, mes a sa volunde de mesme-et par coueernant taille." In like manner the author has failed in his account of the conference at Smithfield, which resulted in the death of Tyler, to make use of a very important source, the memorial of the insurrection issued by the city council to record the mayor's important part in that event (see Riley, *Memorials of London*, 450-453). We cite these instances because the meetings at Mile End and Smithfield were the two crises upon which the fate of the revolt depended.

Professor Oman's attitude toward the insurrection and its leaders, although not unfair, is rather hostile than sympathetic. On one occasion he terms Tyler a ruffian, and he places more weight upon the hostile Walsingham's statement of the rebel leader's designs than its merits (p. 72). It is hardly just to speak of the insurgents who remained in London after the concessions at Mile End as "demagogues, criminals and fanatics" (p. 69). Now that we know the nature of the demands at Smithfield, it seems more just to say that they were the more radical of the insurgents, to whom the Mile End concessions were not sufficient, and, in particular, the advocates of a reformation of the Church in accordance with the doctrines of John Ball.

Chapters v.-ix. are devoted to the repression of the revolt in London and the various shires. The account of the local revolts contains little additional to the researches of Réville and Powell. The last chapter treats of the Results of the Insurrection. There are six valuable appendixes.

The Political History of England. In twelve volumes. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT and REGINALD L. POOLE. Volume V. *The History of England from the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of Henry VIII., 1485-1547.* By H. A. L. FISHER, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1906. Pp. xx, 518.)

THE appearance of this book marks the entrance of its author upon a comparatively new field; Mr. Fisher has been hitherto known chiefly

by his work on *The Medieval Empire* and his *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship*. A brilliant introduction to a translation of the memoirs of the Pomeranian notary, Bartholomew Sastrow, and a number of Oxford lectures on Reformation topics have already proved, however, that he has long been familiar with the sixteenth century in England and on the Continent, and the present volume at once places him high in the ranks of recognized authorities on early Tudor history.

First and foremost among the great and obvious merits of this book should be mentioned the saneness of its judgments and fairness of its verdicts. Naturally, one of the first points on which the reader seeks information is the writer's position on the question of the divorce of Katharine of Aragon and the origin of the English Reformation. Mr. Fisher's attitude, "more cautious than Froude's", closely resembles that of Professor Pollard; and is stated even more convincingly, though perhaps somewhat less positively. He holds that the lack of a male heir and the prospect of a contested succession were the original, and the attractions of Anne Boleyn the contributory, cause of the breach with Rome. Dr. Gairdner presents the other side of the case in the *English Historical Review* for April, 1907, but we think that there can be little doubt that Mr. Fisher's view will ultimately prevail. Nothing could be better than the last paragraph of the chapter on the Breach with Rome (p. 329) in which the author warns us against the man who would explain the English Reformation solely "on the hypothesis of lust and land-hunger masquerading in the guise of religion". Note-worthy, too, is the estimate of Wolsey, which deals the death-blow to the extravagant praises of Creighton and Brewer, and yet does not err on the other side. Doubtless some of the statements in chapter IX. (on the Balance of Power, 1521-1525) will evoke criticism and perhaps contradiction; but those who quarrel with Mr. Fisher will always find that he has a strong array of evidence to support his view of the case. And we hasten to add that the strength of the author's position is materially increased by the moderate, charitable and courteous language in which he expresses himself on controverted points. He seems to have avoided entirely the polemical style and over-insistence on trivial details which mar so many of our historical discussions to-day.

Next we would mention the author's thorough knowledge of the literature of the period with which he deals—a knowledge the more remarkable as he has not dealt with Tudor history extensively before. One receives an impression of wide and thoughtful reading of sources and secondary authorities in perusing the book; that impression is more than confirmed on examination of the admirable critical bibliography. Doubtless some publications have escaped Mr. Fisher's notice, and he does not always indicate the most recent authorities on every phase of his story; his omission of all mention of Professor Gay's remarks on Leadam's "Domesday of Inclosures" in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* for 1900, and of his article on "Inclosures in Eng-

land in the Sixteenth Century" in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for 1903 is a case in point. But lapses such as this are more than counterbalanced by the thoroughness of the author's mastery of the great sources and histories of the period, like the State Papers, Hall, Bacon and Froude. He has really lived in them, and made them a part of himself and his work.

Lastly we would call attention to the style; it is more than merely attractive; at times it is really inspiring. It is delightful, after perusal of the first 109 pages (the portion allotted to Henry VII.) to discover that one has absorbed the pith of the works of Professors Busch and Schanz without the enormous expenditure of time and patience which actual contact with those learned tomes involves; but that is by no means all. Mr. Fisher is more than an accurate and attractive summarizer. The real merits of his style are evident in those passages where he has a chance to show his own personality. He has a vivid imagination, he feels deeply the grandeur and pathos, the tragedy and comedy of the story he has to tell, and he has a rare gift of putting that feeling into words. And yet his love of a brilliant sentence or a clever phrase never runs away with the soundness of his judgment.

One feels throughout that the limits of the work imposed by the editor of the series must have weighed heavily upon the author. There are obviously a number of things which he could have told and would have enjoyed telling had he been able to give himself scope. A little more time spent in revision would probably have saved him some minor slips. Sir Edward Woodville, for instance, who was slain at St. Aubin du Cormier, was not "Lord Scales" (p. 28), despite the statements of contemporaries like Bernaldez and Peter Martyr. The title of Lord Scales belonged to his elder brother Anthony in right of his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas, seventh Baron Scales; but fell into abeyance in 1483 after Anthony's execution (*cf.* Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*, vol. VII., pp. 73-74). It is scarcely accurate to speak of the Star Chamber as "created" (p. 20) by the Act of 1487; it was rather given legal form thereby; the court and the name had been known since Edward III. The enthusiastic letter in which Mountjoy in 1509 describes to Erasmus the virtues of Henry VIII. is curiously misquoted in one particular: the effect of the substitution of the word "cheers" for "tears" (p. 158) is rather startling. Trifles like these however may easily be corrected in a second edition, and should weigh as nothing in comparison with the solid excellencies of this able and interesting book. It will certainly occupy an honorable position in the splendid series to which it belongs. In the opinion of the present reviewer there is no account of either of the first two Tudor reigns, of similar bulk, that can compare with it; it is certainly typical of the best that Oxford scholarship can produce; it has all the merits and almost none of the defects which are commonly associated with Oxford historiography: it should do much to enhance the reputa-

tion of a system in which Mr. Fisher, once a product, is now a most important producer. Finally, the book comes as a welcome evidence that concentration upon a single comparatively limited period is not necessarily essential to the best historical work, and that it is at least possible, despite many examples to the contrary, for a man to make more than one or even two fields of history sufficiently his own to be able to write with authority upon them all.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

A History of the Inquisition of Spain. Volume IV. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xii, 619.)

History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church. In two volumes. [Third edition, revised.] By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 481; x, 412.)

THE last of the four volumes of Mr. Lea's *Inquisition of Spain* appeared in October. It continues his account of the Inquisition's varied spheres of action. What he has to tell of its dealings with Mysticism is already known in large part from his pages on that subject in his *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*; but it is here revised in the light of further study, and is enriched by considerable excursions into the story of the Church's treatment of Mysticism in Italy and in France. There follows a long chapter on the unsavory subject of the Inquisition's relations with solicitation, another on its dealings with "propositions", or heretical utterances, and one on its treatment of sorcery and occult arts, showing clearly how, by taking seriously such superstitions and laying stress on their diabolic character and supernatural efficacy, the tribunal popularized and perpetuated them.

Strikingly in contrast with this Mr. Lea finds the Inquisition's treatment of witchcraft—for witchcraft, he reminds us, though the culmination of sorcery, was not the same. "The witch has abandoned Christianity, has renounced her baptism, has worshipped Satan as her God, has surrendered herself to him, body and soul, and exists only to be his instrument in working the evil to her fellow creatures which he cannot accomplish without a human agent." This mad delusion, whose rise Mr. Lea dates from the middle of the fourteenth century, and which fills with horror the annals of Christendom during the three or four centuries following, was, in Mr. Lea's opinion, as in that of most other students of the subject, "essentially a disease of the imagination, created and stimulated by the persecution of witchcraft". Now, no land seemed more exposed to the contagion of this epidemic than Spain; nor have the historians of witchcraft recorded her exemption from its ravages. But Mr. Lea demonstrates that in Spain they were far less than in most other Christian lands; and that the mania was "repressed and

rendered comparatively harmless" he thinks "due to the wisdom and firmness of the Inquisition". This could be done because the Inquisition soon won for itself exclusive jurisdiction in such cases. It *was* done, because in the supreme council of the Inquisition there were found a few men rational enough to have doubts, safe enough to dare to utter them and powerful enough to make them effective. As early as 1526 a half-dozen searching questions regarding the matter were submitted to a select "congregation" of ten; and their advice, though halting, inclined decidedly to caution and good sense. This policy of serious inquiry once entered on, enlightenment was sure to grow; and in 1612 a report submitted by a commissioner charged with the investigation of an outbreak of the panic in Navarre seems to have completed the Inquisition's disillusionment. From this time forward, while not denying the existence of witchcraft or modifying the penalties for the crime, it succeeded, by discouraging accusations and rejecting what elsewhere passed for proofs, in practically dispelling the insanity from the popular mind. What was not less, its influence seems to have been felt, though somewhat slowly, by its neighbor, the Inquisition in Italy, whose procedure, based largely on the Spanish, was similarly effective in dispelling the superstition. And all this despite the continued pressure of the theologians and the unwavering credulity of the popes. These interesting conclusions of Mr. Lea may be commended to the thoughtful study of those of his countrymen who still condone the witch-hunting of our ancestors, in Europe or in America, by making it but the fault of their age. There is reason to doubt whether for the faults of our age we are wholly guiltless; but the fact is that, throughout the witch period, skepticism, however timid, was always and everywhere abundant, and that credulity and cruelty, however intelligible, were culpable then if now.

But, if this be Mr. Lea's most surprising chapter, more widely interesting to historians is likely to be that in which he discusses the political activity of the Spanish Inquisition. That the Inquisition was primarily an institution of the state, and not of the Church, as apologists have so long maintained and historians too often admitted, he emphatically denies. The theory that it was the product of the rise of absolutism in Spain is, he declares, "wholly fallacious". True, "a tribunal whose undefined powers and secrecy of action fitted it so perfectly for use as a political agent could scarce exist for centuries without occasionally being called upon"; but the notable thing is "that it was so rarely employed and that the objects for its intervention were usually so trivial". Even the case of Pérez, which Mr. Lea relates with notable fullness and clearness, shows the Holy Office called in only as a last resort, and then proving itself more concerned to advance its own interests than to be the obsequious instrument of the royal will.

There follow chapters on the Inquisition's treatment of Jansenism, of Freemasonry, of Philosophism, of bigamy, of blasphemy, besides a

chapter of miscellanies—its bearing toward marriage in orders, personation of priesthood or of officialdom, demoniacal possession, insults to images, the worship of uncanonized saints, unnatural crime, lending at interest, betrayals of confession; then, in conclusion, a chapter on its decadence in Spain, from the culmination of its power, under Philip IV., to its final extinction by royal decree in 1834, and a chapter of retrospect, which reiterates and reinforces Mr. Lea's conviction that the Inquisition was, on the whole, a curse to Spain, crushing liberty and thought, putting orthodoxy above character, and substituting stagnation for progress. Yet he reminds his readers that the effort to enforce unity of belief, in the conviction that it is essential to human happiness here and hereafter, has been shared by nearly all Christian bodies; and he concludes that "after all, the great lesson taught by the history of the Inquisition is that the attempt of man to control the conscience of his fellows reacts upon himself".

Though this is Mr. Lea's last volume on the Inquisition in Spain, it is happily not his last on the Spanish Inquisition: it is to be followed by a volume, announced for early issue, on the Inquisition in the Spanish dependencies. And there is good hope that even this is not to be our last gift from his untiring pen.

Even while busy upon the proofs of his history of the Inquisition he found time for another task. A new edition of his *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy* left his hand in March last and was published in the autumn. It has been a classic since first it saw the light in 1867, and even the revision of 1884 has long been out of print. The third edition is again a revision and an enlargement. That two volumes now take the place of one is partly due to the larger type; but careful comparison shows that the added matter fills full fifty of their pages. There is no rearrangement of the work, and in its pre-Reformation portion the changes are very slight—here and there the addition of an authority, the excision of a phrase, the insertion of an episode, the recasting of a sentence. With the chapter on the Reformation in Germany begins more serious modification; that on the Council of Trent is notably enriched; that on the post-Tridentine Church is not only much revised, but its pages on the abuse of the confessional, swollen to thrice their bulk, are made a separate chapter under the title of Solicitation; into that on the Church and the Revolution is inserted a paragraph on the marriage of Talleyrand; and the closing chapter, on the Church of to-day, while not greatly enlarged, is in many places rewritten.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Histoire de Belgique. Tome III. De la Mort de Charles le Téméraire à l'Arrivée du Duc d'Albe dans les Pays-Bas (1567).
Par H. PIRENNE, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. (Bruxelles: Henri Lamertin. 1907. Pp. 489.)

IT is not surprising that this volume of his history has cost M. Pirenne more trouble than its two predecessors. For the first portion of it—the reign of Mary and Philip the Fair and the regencies—the author was confronted with the difficulty of few sources; for the latter part he was hampered by the mountain of contemporaneous data that exists and by the mass of opinions that have been expressed, more or less wisely, upon definite conceptions, founded and misfounded, on isolated portions of that data. The result of his labors is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the subject. His own research is industrious and reliable, his appreciation of others' work discriminating; and his conclusions are sane and convincing. This is especially true of the chapters treating of the period from the death of Charles the Bold to the abdication of Charles V. (1477-1555). Netherland history has suffered seriously from being taken in epochs. The general public has, moreover, been diverted by the readability of certain of our authors and has been satisfied with the impression that the decades illuminated by their pens were the only ones worthy of consideration. Intermediate phases, all-important for due comprehension of the workings, and the outcome of national and bi-national machinery have been left in darkness. No narrative history has been so out of proportion as that of Holland, Belgium and their sister governments. Especially has the eighty years war weighed down the eighty years preceding it so as to throw many of the events of the former totally out of perspective.

Several points are brought out in this volume with trenchant clearness. Among the many loosely written dissertations on the Netherlands and their touch upon political development, no one item has been more often misconceived than the document called the Great Privilege signed by Mary of Burgundy at her accession in 1477. It is continually compared to Magna Carta. As a matter of fact it was a simple affirmation of local self-government. It was a protest against centralization, a "particularist" reaction, essentially petty and hampering to general welfare in its selfish restrictions. Moreover, all that it abolished went into effect promptly, while what it pretended to organize failed to be materialized. The projected Grand-Council never acted and the States-General never convened in accordance with their chartered right. Furthermore, the anxious provisions aimed to protect each political unit really severed *de facto* the bond between the various territories so that the deed practically dissolved into a series of individual privileges and, in so doing, virtually annihilated the few general regulations adopted.

This rating of the Grand Privilege in contra-distinction to its over-

praise is not new but M. Pirenne, himself one of the authorities on the subject, has stated it with great precision here in the natural course of his narrative.

Again, the origin of the States-General is capitably set forth and so is the total absence of any democratic principle at their base. Their earliest convention in 1463 was wholly for the convenience of Philip of Burgundy, a device to save him the trouble of visiting his divers capitals and convening the individual assemblies on their native ground. The constituents were by no means pleased at his invitation to meet their fellows. They objected both to the theory and to the practice. The mileage of the deputies was paid by the towns with many grumbles and remonstrances. They thought their count ought to come to them with his requests for money in accordance with immemorial usage instead of making them pay travelling expenses in addition to their unwilling grants. Yet there is some reason for the respect shown to the mention of the States-General in the Grand Privilege. For the article which secured to this reluctant gathering of local dignities, the right of self-convention was a convenient plank for a later platform. The reactionists of 1477 builded better than they knew. In 1572 the States-General—looking backward for precedent not forward to a bold innovation—seized this disused and neglected article and urged it as a justification for their initial steps of independent federal government when the Netherlands revolted against Spain.

The course of events in the years of the regencies is sketched skilfully with attention to the portraits of Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary. The former was an intelligent vicegerent in her nephew's behalf, while the latter was simply a faithful agent to her imperial brother, not venturing on unadvised action. The lieutenantancy of both enabled the nobles to become active and important counsellors as they might not have done with a resident sovereign.

It is because M. Pirenne has followed the development of his subject slowly, point to point, instead of starting with the revolt, that he is able, at this stage of his narrative, to give full significance to the part played by the nobles at the accession of Philip II. Charles the Bold did not succeed in breathing a vital spirit into a new nationality. He failed to erect a kingdom called Burgundy but he left Burgundians behind him in the court-circle where he had found Flemings, Hollanders, Brabanters, Burgundian-French. After a century's lapse the descendants of his contemporary nobles were animated by a spirit of cohesion which proved an excellent substitute for love of a concrete *patria* when the unincorporated state of Burgundy slipped out of the control of imperial sovereignty into that of the would-be absolutist, Philip of Spain. It is plain why the revolt of the Netherlands was an aristocratic rather than a popular movement. Another contribution of the fifteenth century helped to maintain this detached upper class nationality. The Order of the Golden Fleece was undoubtedly an element of union among the greater nobles.

The thread of narrative of the political events from 1555 to 1567 is not particularly original but the presentation is fairly vital, far more so that in the more expanded story of M. Gossart. M. Pirenne agrees with the latter in his general opinion that political causes were more potent than religion in bringing about the revolt. The chapters on the social, economic and artistic life are interesting, though rather less so than those upon these topics in the first and second volumes. They touch Belgium as closely as possible, leaving the conditions in the northern Netherlands to Professor Blok's sister history, which, as well as Pirenne's, appears in the series entitled *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*.

Geschichte Spaniens unter den Habsburgern. Erster Band. *Geschichte Spaniens unter der Regierung Karls I. (V.)*. [*Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*, herausgegeben von K. LAMPRECHT. *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, herausgegeben von A. H. L. HEEREN, F. A. UKERT, W. v. GIESEBRECHT und K. LAMPRECHT, I. 36, I.] Von KONRAD HÄBLER. (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 1907. Pp. xvi, 432.)

THIS volume, though edited under new auspices and a different title, is in reality the continuation of the *Geschichte Spaniens* up to 1516, in seven volumes, published by Heeren and Ukert, 1831-1902, and written (vol. I.) by Friedrich Wilhelm Lembke, (vols. II., III.) by Heinrich Schäfer and (vols. IV.-VII.) by Friedrich Wilhelm Schirrmacher. Its author, for some years past one of the librarians of the Königl. Öffentliche Bibliothek in Dresden, is already well known as the writer of upwards of half a dozen monographs on Spanish economic history and bibliography, among the best known of which are *Die Wirtschaftliche Blüte Spaniens im 16^{ten} Jahrhundert und ihr Verfall* (Berlin, 1888), and *Die Geschichte der Fugger'schen Handlung in Spanien* (Weimar, 1897).

The present work supplies adequately a long-felt want. The different biographers of Charles V., from Robertson to Armstrong, have laid stress rather on the international aspects of the reign than on domestic affairs, and Spanish historians, in writing of their native land in the sixteenth century, have for the most part, in their patriotic desire to emphasize the more glorious side of their national development, followed the same tendency; with the result that we have not hitherto possessed any satisfactory account of the internal history of Spain under the emperor, save at crises like the Revolt of the Comuneros. Professor Häbler has written his book from precisely the opposite standpoint. He has succeeded in cutting down his account of foreign affairs to less than one quarter of his entire volume; his principal interest is obviously the internal administration of Spain and of her colonies. There is much to applaud and little to criticize.

The verdicts on the emperor throughout are extremely favorable: the author sees in Charles a far-sighted and benevolent ruler, who wrestles manfully with the hopeless task of educating his obstinate and slow-moving Spanish subjects to appreciation of and participation in his broad and statesmanlike plans for their welfare and that of Europe. At times he overstates his case—especially in his generalizations about the emperor's respect for representative institutions—and his conclusions should be controlled by those of historians who have dealt with Charles's career from other standpoints. A fuller knowledge of the French and American literature on his subject would have improved his book. Such capitally important works as Mignet's *Rivalité de François I^{er} et Charles Quint*, and Gounon-Loubens's *Essais sur l'Administration de la Castille* are not mentioned. A more careful perusal of Bourne's *Spain in America* would have caused Professor Häbler to modify some of the statements in his chapter on the colonies.

The chapters on finance and on the crown's policy in regard to the American Indians form the best part of the work. Students in this country will be particularly grateful for the dozen pages dealing with the early development of the *encomiendas*. In his treatment of the very difficult financial problems of the reign and more especially of the attitude of the Cortes thereto, the author develops and enlarges the views first presented in his *Wirtschaftliche Blüte Spaniens*, in 1888. He shows clearly that Charles was anxious, from the outset, to abolish the exemption from taxation enjoyed by nobles and clergy, the chief result of which was to overburden the mass of his subjects; also that he realized the blighting effect of the *alcabala* or tax on sales, and was willing to surrender it in return for a more equitable and less injurious form of impost. For various reasons the Cortes refused several advantageous propositions which he made them, until matters finally came to a crisis in the famous session of 1538. In return for a *sisá* or tax on the necessities of life, to be voted for a special purpose and to be incident for the first time on the privileged orders as well as the commons, the emperor offered the Castilian estates a far wider share in the government and administration of the realm than they had yet enjoyed—privileges, in fact, similar to those enjoyed by the far more independent Cortes of Aragon. This far-sighted proposal, however, was not accepted, owing to the obstinacy of the estates; with the result that instead of gaining the increased power which Charles had offered them, the Cortes rapidly declined, and a golden opportunity was irretrievably lost. Another interesting phase of the question, which Professor Häbler touches tentatively, but fails to carry through to any very definite conclusion, is the evidence afforded of the emperor's desire to secure greater uniformity in the institutions of the different realms comprised in the Iberian peninsula, and break down the barriers that separated one from another. The worst fault of the Hapsburg despotism in Spain was its decentralized character: the nation reaped

all the disadvantages and few of the benefits that may reasonably be expected to accompany an omnipotent kingship. That Charles should have perceived this fault and tried, though ineffectually, to correct it, is surely a lasting claim to greatness.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens: Portugal et Espagne (jusqu'au Début du XIX^e Siècle). Par CHARLES DE LANNOY, Professeur à l'Université de Gand, et HERMAN VANDER LINDEN, Chargé de cours à l'Université de Liège. (Bruxelles: Henri Lamertin. 1907. Pp. 451, with Maps.)

THIS useful volume is, according to the plans of the authors, one of a series dealing with the history of the colonial expansion of European peoples. An introduction treating in general terms the expansion of the peoples of antiquity will be followed by various volumes on medieval, modern and contemporary fields. The two monographs included in this volume are therefore published out of chronological order. They deserve attention, however, not only for their intrinsic merit but because of the earnest they should furnish of the scope, method and general value of the work as planned. The authors have in general made use only of printed material but by numerous foot-notes and a bibliography of some three hundred titles have shown their familiarity with the great collections of documents and with the better secondary sources and special studies. The result is a general introduction to the subject, a résumé of the chief facts, and not in any sense an exhaustive study. The history of the various colonial establishments of Portugal and Spain to the beginning of the nineteenth century is not attempted; and attention is concentrated on the processes of expansion, the administrative and economic policies involved and the results of colonial empire for the home countries. In each case, only ten pages are devoted to the transplanted civilization of Europe.

The method is good. Physiographic, economic, political and social conditions at home are first reviewed. Then in each case the early history of the respective colonial ventures is treated and, thanks to caution and accuracy, the book is free from many persistent and misleading generalizations. On special disputed points the authors have followed the conclusions of one expert or another (generally it appears the better), but have usually summarized the opposing view in a foot-note. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that in the case of Asia more attention was not given to reviewing the local conditions which were to exercise such a profound influence on the European settlements. The possibilities of the colonial *milieu* do not seem to have been properly realized. The sections on economic policy, especially in the case of Portugal, do, however, show both accuracy and appreciation of the questions involved. The value of such a volume and indeed of the whole series depends upon the ability of the writers to reach conclu-

sions only after investigations of wide range, on the preservation of proper proportions as between policies and events and as between government and economics, both of which require a sure foundation in history. Here we have less history than in the corresponding volume by Zimmermann, but other aspects equally important are not dismissed in a scant section. The bibliography is better than in Zimmermann, as are the maps, though that of Mexico leaves much to be desired, and more physical detail in the map of India ought to have been given. On the whole the present volume is better than any other single book of corresponding scope and much is to be found in it which is otherwise badly scattered. The other volumes of the series will be looked for with interest.

Turning now to a few of the more important matters specifically treated we can at the same time gain a better notion of the point of view and contents of this volume. Portugal claims 238 pages and Spain 198 pages. On the whole the Portuguese section by de Lannoy is of greater value to the student, both because of the lack of other good books on the subject and because of its contents, than the Spanish section by Vander Linden. De Lannoy lays the foundations of Portuguese expansion in the Ceuta crusade, but is inclined to minimize the religious motive in the subsequent movement. He properly rejects the story of the early Sagres school of geography, and judges the motives of Prince Henry as of a slow development with the prospect of at least alternative results, should one object or another prove beyond reach. In the days of Albuquerque the disproportion between means and object is already clear to the student and, though it was not perceived at the time, the seed of failure was already sown. Save Brazil, the Portuguese colonial domain was a long shore-line empire, whose links could be broken by the enemy and which at no time rested on a proper appreciation of the *Hinterland*. The emancipation of Portugal in 1640 was the signal for its permanent and greater work in the development of Brazil, which, however, does not receive proportionate treatment at the hands of the author. In the chapters on administration, the evidence, mainly from Portuguese sources, supports the estimate and character usually given. A significant touch on the evils of local administration is given (p. 110, n. 2) by the citation of the order of 1612 forbidding colonial governors to take their sons with them to their posts. Graft had naturally become a family matter.

In economics the undue restraint and over-regulation of trade continued long beyond their possibly normal term. At no time indeed did Portugal derive the maximum of possible advantage from her colonies. On the other hand, that Portugal would have done better in the long run never to have had a period of colonial expansion and activity is strenuously denied. The work done in Brazil and the glory of Camoëns are among the reasons cited.

The Spanish section follows the same arrangement of topics and

relative emphasis. The colonial work of Castile, stimulated in large part by physiographic conditions, is well brought out. In the matter of discovery the Toscanelli letter is accepted without discussion, and in colonization the usual mingling of economics, love of adventure and missionary propaganda is found. In like manner are estimated the character of Spanish government and the influence of the economic régime. The truth that many of the Spanish colonies, though now in large part independent, have never undergone a real social or political revolution is a corollary to the facts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as here presented. The history of the Spanish colonies is, to a large degree, an extension of the history of Spain.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Socialism before the French Revolution: A History. By WILLIAM B. GUTHRIE, Ph.D., Instructor in History, College of the City of New York. (London and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xviii, 339.)

THAT the general sources of modern scientific socialism lie back of the nineteenth century is a proposition no longer open to debate, but whether any earlier system of social philosophy may be called strictly socialistic is not so clearly settled. The author of the present volume does not hesitate to class as socialistic the body of literature which he here studies. Without pretending to cover the social philosophy of the whole period, he has examined certain leading phases of speculation between the Reformation and the end of the French Revolution, his attention being centred chiefly on four types, More's *Utopia*, Campanella's *City of the Sun*, the pre-revolutionary philosophy in France of which Morelly is the best type and the Revolutionary Radicals. He has also attempted to outline the economic conditions in the midst of which these writings grew and of which they were to some extent the index. More's *Utopia* must be considered as a tract for the times rather than as a vague picture of ideal society. It was a protest against the changing political and social order of the Reformation period in England. Between More and Campanella there was a close parallel, due allowance being made for the lapse of a century and for widely different political environments. More was most concerned with the social-economic, Campanella with the political, point of view. Campanella was deeply influenced by the Jesuit philosophy and particularly by the Jesuit state experiment in Paraguay. Like Plato but unlike More, he demanded so complete a surrender of the individual to the state as to leave no room for the private family. He would have carried this principle even to the extent of giving the state absolute control of the breeding and rearing of children.

In the chapters on French radical philosophy before and during the Revolution, Mr. Guthrie is evidently more at home than in the earlier

period, and his work is more scholarly and better organized. He is almost the first to give in English any adequate account of the social teachings of Morelly. So completely has the name of Rousseau overshadowed the pre-revolutionary era that the more definitely radical philosophy of Morelly has had but scant attention. Sharing with Helvétius and D'Holbach in the denial of innate ideas, he proceeded to a denial of the resulting right of private property. While much nearer to the world of actual experience than the early utopians, he shared their fascination with the remote and the primitive. He was largely responsible for the reigning fetish of the time, "le bon sauvage", and for the worship of the state of nature. Like his contemporaries, he was deficient in exact historical knowledge and like them he attempted to supply the defect by what has been well termed "conjectural history". His claim to rank as a predecessor of the modern scientific socialists rests chiefly on his insistence on collective ownership of production goods only, as distinguished from the universal communism of his contemporaries.

In connection with his treatment of the Revolutionary Radicals, Mr. Guthrie has given a brief but, on the whole, an adequate presentation of the socialistic tendencies of the Revolution. He is unquestionably right in his contention that much of the revolutionary legislation which is often classed as socialistic was in reality not based on any economic philosophy but was an outcome of the pressing necessities of the time. His emphasis on the importance of Barnave's contribution to socialistic thought is perhaps a shade too pronounced, and he has hardly given sufficient weight to Saint-Just's social programme.

The book, particularly in the earlier chapters on More and Campanella, loses some of the readable quality by reason of its labored style and frequent reiteration of statement. The generalizations are usually accurate and suggestive. But it is hardly correct to say that "a large part of the discussion of socialism up to the work of Ferdinand Lassalle may be called academic" (p. 34), for Mr. Guthrie has himself shown that a definite class-conscious movement even antedated the Revolution. Nor is it quite accurate to state that Babeuf was "out of sympathy with those who had liberty as their ideal" (p. 296), since Babeuf's later communistic programme was but an amplification of his earlier devotion to a narrowly political type of reform. But these minor defects do not seriously detract from the genuine merits of a book which must be welcomed as a really important contribution in a neglected field.

ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY.

The Strength of Nations: An Argument from History. By J. W. WELSFORD, M.A. (New York, London, Bombay and Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. x, 327.)

"IN this book an attempt is made to examine the fiscal question in the light which European history from the commencement of the

Christian era sheds upon it." Many statements in the book are open to criticism, but none is more misleading than this, the first sentence of the preface. The book is not an examination of the fiscal question in the light of European history, but an examination of European history in the light of the fiscal question, or rather in the twilight of a partizan view of fiscal reform. It is not history, but as its subtitle truthfully says, "An Argument from History".

The argument, in brief, is as follows. Production and trade are two distinct things. Trade is not necessarily an evil, but it is dangerous. "In the past, trade, when unregulated by the State, has always ended by ruining national production, which is the only permanent source of national strength." The Western Roman Empire fell because the metropolis was not productive; it received its imports as tribute, and gave no exports in return. Constantinople enjoyed a longer life, because it depended on trade as well as tribute, but it prepared its own decline by conceding commercial privileges to the Venetians. This "fiscal madness", by the way, was repeated by England in the French commercial treaty of 1860. "The fatal legacy of international trade" passed to the Italian cities; and Italy was ruined by free importation. Germany had an opportunity to rise to the position of a great power, but the movement toward national unity was associated with a movement for tariff reform, and when the plan of an imperial customs system was rejected the way was paved for the troubles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Spain imitated Rome. Holland sacrificed strength for wealth, and declined because it supported trade rather than production. France became strong in the seventeenth century under a protective system. She prospered even in the eighteenth century. Her fall, however, was being prepared by the "Circle-Squarers", as the author terms the Physiocrats, and the acceptance, under their influence, of the Eden treaty of 1786 brought on the Revolution. "Free-trade historians probably scored their greatest triumph when they obscured the simple causes which led to the Reign of Terror. They have made people believe that a peculiarly oppressive feudal system existed in France in the eighteenth century", but the author sets us right on that as on many other points of recent history.

Mr. Chamberlain's proposals have roused such feeling in England that a participant in the discussion of fiscal reform can scarcely be expected to approach his subject in a judicial temper. It is hard, however, to find excuses for the utter heedlessness of this historical essay. The author lists altogether some four score books as authorities for his statements. Scarcely a dozen of these belong to the field of economic history. The author has selected what facts he wanted, from any convenient repository, and has put them in a setting which is entirely of his own fabrication. The contributions which scholars have made to our knowledge of the history of commercial policy are ignored. Even when the author cites a book of recognized authority,

such as Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, he culls from it only the statements which he can use to further his own argument, and disregards all others. Mr. Welsford's book can be recommended to classes which are studying the pathology of history, and want a morbid specimen for examination; it can serve no other good purpose.

CLIVE DAY.

The Political History of England. In twelve volumes. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A. Volume VII. *The History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Restoration (1603-1660).* By F. C. MONTAGUE, M.A., Astor Professor of History in University College, London. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xix, 514.)

ALMOST side by side the two co-operative histories of England now appearing, the six-volume series edited by Professor Oman, and the twelve volumes under the direction of Mr. Hunt and Mr. Poole, approach completion. Last year was issued Mr. Trevelyan's *Age of the Stuarts* in the one, and now comes Professor Montague's *Political History of England, 1603-1660*, in the other, covering the first half of the period pre-empted by its predecessor. It would seem at first glance that this was an unfortunate situation. Yet, so variously does the historical muse present herself to her followers, almost the only point of contact between the two volumes in question is the sense of contrast inevitably roused by their almost simultaneous appearance. Two books, covering the same period, dealing, presumably, with the same set of fairly well-known facts, and, if one may judge from editorial utterance, with much the same purpose, could not well be more different. Professor Montague's book is, in other words, pre-eminently what its title implies, a political history. In it, social, economic, literary, intellectual, even religious elements are subordinated to political and constitutional interest. Mr. Trevelyan's book, on the contrary, laying its stress on precisely those matters which are mere corollaries to Professor Montague's main theme, is almost everything but political in the usual sense. But, different as they are in more ways than this, they unite in one thing, if only one. That is the demonstration of the dictum that "it is ill gleaning after Gardiner". It does not often happen that any one is able to make any field so completely his own as the historian of the Puritan Revolution. Not Macaulay, nor Ranke, with all their great and varying talents, were able to do as much. It is, in consequence, no easy task, in many ways it is not a desirable one, to do more than epitomize Gardiner's work, illuminating it with additional matter drawn from the monographs of other writers on separate phases or events of the period. This, in no small measure, is what Professor Montague has done, and, on the whole, done

well. But he has done, also, much more. A great amount of the source-material has been re-read, evidently with much care. The constitutional side has been much emphasized, and its points stated with clearness and force. Many of Gardiner's judgments have been revised, and a considerable amount of new material included. The result is a careful, scholarly and accurate account of the period from 1603 to 1660, put clearly and convincingly in a compass available for the ordinary reader or student. "This is a sober people", said Charles I., and this, one may repeat, is a sober narrative. It contains no purple patches, no journalistic *tours de force*. It is plain and unadorned, written in a style simple to severity, clear, direct, often inclining toward legalism. On the whole it improves as the book advances and the tragedy of the Revolution unfolds. Above all it is eminently logical and convincing. Perhaps it leans too much toward these qualities. One misses something of the life and energy lent by direct quotation. The vigorous language of the advice of James I. to Charles and Buckingham, for instance, here appears so decorously dressed after the English fashion as to be almost unrecognizable (pp. 118-119), and the accounts of the great days of the Commons, under the leadership of Eliot and Pym, might have been enlivened with such historic fragments of eloquence as stirred men then and since, with no loss to the truth or dignity of the work.

With respect to the more salient differences between this and other works on this period, perhaps the most striking is the greater severity of Professor Montague's judgments. Against the authority of both Gardiner and Spedding, he condemns Bacon with little reserve (pp. 83, 96, 100). While he does not defend the "grand apostate to the Commonwealth" view of Strafford, his strictures on that statesman are more than usually strong (pp. 219, 224, 241). There, as in some other matters, he takes distinctly advanced Puritan ground. On the other hand, Cromwell's attitude toward parliaments and lawyers is set forth in all its baldness, and nowhere can any charge of bias fairly be made. One may question whether the adjective "frantic" precisely expresses the intellectual twist which was the peculiar possession of that strange compound of legal antiquary and zealot, Prynne (p. 186). And in regard to some other matters more serious questions might be raised. The account of the Grand Remonstrance (pp. 256-257) would not have suffered from the inclusion of some of the material in Professor Schoolcraft's monograph on its origin. A little more might have been made of the effect on the popular mind by the seizure and publication of the king's papers after Naseby (p. 310). As to whether Sir Edward Dering, who moved the first reading of the bill to abolish episcopacy (p. 243) is "a man now wholly forgotten", one may venture to dissent on the ground that he occupies a respectable niche in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, if on no other. The "New England winter which taxes modern art and luxury to make it endur-

able" (p. 108), may seem to some a little too severe language for the mildness generally supposed to have prevailed between November, 1620, and May, 1621, about Plymouth. But these are trifling matters. It is more to the purpose to note that this eminently usable narrative is accompanied by three maps: England and Wales in the Civil War; Scotland, illustrating the distribution of the clans and the campaigns of Montrose and Cromwell; and Ireland during the rebellion of 1641 and Cromwell's campaigns. An appendix on authorities notes, among other matters, that Gardiner, although "the greatest of historical investigators", suffers from "grave defects of style and arrangement" which "will always repel the general reader from these monumental works", and that his "judgments upon individuals are sometimes difficult to accept". The usual index completes the volume. And it is interesting to observe in it the absence of such words as Puritan, Pilgrim, Marston Moor, the Dunes, Carisbrooke, Dunbar and Newbury, among others. This is doubtless no fault of the author. To him we are under obligation for the best account in such compass of an important and difficult period in English history.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Deutsche Geschichte. Von KARL LAMPRECHT. Der ganzen Reihe neunter Band. Dritte Abtheilung. *Neueste Zeit. Zeitalter des subjektiven Seelenlebens.* Zweiter Band. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1907. Pp. xiv, 516.)

As it approaches completion Professor Lamprecht's history gains in interest because it gives us a better basis for judging the real merit of his novel method. For with Lamprecht, it is the method rather than the mere content that is of interest to the historical student. It is already apparent that his innovations are not so revolutionary as they appeared ten years ago, but his history is sufficiently out of the ordinary to be ranked as epoch-marking. It is neither a philosophy of history nor strictly a culture-history; it is not mere economic history or historical sociology or folk-psychology; it is a combination of all of these. No genuine historian works without some definite fundamental principle to guide his interpretation. It has remained for Lamprecht to go into the very *penetralia* of a people's soul to find the secret of history. Conceiving that the national *Seelenleben* has changed in successive ages, he groups the events of German history into social-psychic periods (symbolism, typism, conventionalism, individualism, subjectivism), much as the psychologist would arrange individual psychic phenomena connected with infancy, youth and old age.

The work has now reached the middle of the final or subjective period. The eighth volume was the first of this group (see this REVIEW, vol. XII., p. 633). It dealt with the initial phases of subjectivism, covering what may be roughly called the last half of the

eighteenth century, and outlined the higher cultural activities of the transition period. Volume nine completes this analysis and carries the investigation through the Napoleonic era to the end of the Vienna Congress. It comprises the twenty-third book and is divided into five chapters. The first three chapters contain a discursive study of the social and intellectual forces of the age, while the last two chapters approach as nearly to a narrative of military and political events as Lamprecht ever admits to his pages. Chapter one takes up new developments in social, educational and political theory during the early subjective period. As in many another age of reform, the emotionalism of the time turned into a passion for and a belief in the potency of universal education. The lower schools were already (1769-1803) becoming public institutions. A generation before this, superannuated soldiers from Frederick's army had been accounted competent to serve as schoolmasters. The barren methods of the older pedagogy now felt the vivifying influence of Pestalozzi's ideas. Lamprecht's appreciation of Pestalozzi's relation to the sentimental phase of educational history is entirely adequate. In the realm of political ideas, Wolff, Kant and Schiller, each in his way, exerted a large influence, but Lamprecht finds in Wilhelm von Humboldt the first matured expression of subjective political philosophy; "a humanitarian optimism guides his pen; he expects everything from the social-psychic application of individual spiritual (*seelische*) activities; preferably he would dispense with the idea of state action: like so many noble thinkers of the early subjective period, especially Kant, he regards the state an only a necessary evil" (p. 118).

Chapters two and three discuss the break-up of the old empire, the disorganization of Prussia after Jena and the dissolution of old economic and political forms. While the war of 1806 was in no sense a "Volkszug", its consequences were the liberation of the imprisoned forces of national sentiment and the re-creation of an outworn administrative system. Liberty and equality in both economic and social life became the watchword of the new subjectivism.

In the two chapters on the wars of liberation is to be found some of the most spirited writing of Lamprecht's whole work. Occasionally he appears to forget his position as a passionless interpreter of national life and to sink the historian in the man and the patriot. There are passages which stir the blood and which, did the modern historian not taboo the word, could only be described as eloquent; for example, the account of the Tyrolese insurrection (p. 362), the burning of Moscow and the French retreat (pp. 397-398) and Schill's heroic fate (p. 365). Since the author does not feel responsible for the reader's knowledge of facts it is inevitable that his narrative should often be meagre and out of proportion. Passing at will from minute detail to the barest outline, the impression of unevenness is not always relieved by any distinguishable plan of emphasis. A curious instance of this is found

in the mention of the capture of Napoleon's hat and sword by the Prussians the day after Waterloo, at the end of a dozen sentences describing that battle (p. 485). The outburst of patriotism attending the war of liberation was certainly one of the most striking phenomena of subjectivism, but here for once Lamprecht largely depends on events to interpret themselves, as they so readily do in this instance. He uses the poetry of the time freely, he assigns the proper place to the influence of Arndt, Kleist and Körner, he studies the Tugendbund, but he undertakes no exhaustive analysis of the psychic aspects of the movement. Not so easily understood, however, is the reason for the slight attention given to Stein.

With a book which does not pretend to set forth new facts, but only new interpretations, and which contains no reference to the standard sources, the ordinary canons of criticism fail. The author's profound knowledge and deep insight into social movements are unquestioned, but whether his judgment on any given point is sound must remain a matter of opinion. It goes without saying that as his history approaches the present, the point of view which he has chosen seems more in harmony with that of the age of which he writes. This after all is one of the chief points in the present Lamprecht controversy. Lamprecht's method is broader than that of his predecessors in that it calls into its service those newer results in psychology and sociology which are broadening the historical horizon.

ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY.

The History of the World. A Survey of Man's Record. Edited by Dr. H. F. HELMOLT. Volume VIII. *Western Europe—The Atlantic Ocean.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1907. Pp. ix, 432.)

It will be recalled that Dr. Helmolt rejects as unhistorical and unscientific all chronological or racial divisions of history, and all "epochs" resting on arbitrary hypothetical "stages of progress", whether political, economic, or folk-psychic. His divisions are therefore "anthropogeographical", or, in the words of Brinton (I. 19), "zones of the distribution of races, broadly enough constructed to allow the tendency of a group or the civilization of an age to be clearly seen and demonstrated". Starting from the great dividing line of the Atlantic Ocean and moving ever westward, the editor arranges his survey of man in eight volumes: I. Early History, America, the Pacific Ocean; II. Oceania, Eastern Asia, the Indian Ocean; III. Western Asia, Africa; IV. The Mediterranean Nations; V. Southeastern Europe, the Slavs; VI. Germans and Romans; VII. Western Europe until 1800; VIII. Western Europe in the Nineteenth Century, the Atlantic Ocean.

As volume VII. closed with a chapter on the Rise of the Great Powers from about 1650, it is natural that volume VIII. should open

with a chapter on the French Revolution, Napoleon and Reaction. It is by Dr. Kleinschmidt and is disappointing; in the midst of a multitude of names there is no guiding thread of interest and no inkling of the great ideas of the era. The style has not the dignity of the rest of the work: the Revolution is "that terrible picture of sin and retribution, full of light and shade, beauty and blood, of fair ideals and foul crimes, and original in the widest sense of the word"; in 1788 "Necker did not come down from his curule chair . . . but stared vacantly into the distance . . . while the whole nation was already hurrying to the voting urns"; Danton "foams like a wounded boar" and Robespierre is "like a cat creeping to pounce upon its prey". The name of Zwiedineck-Südenhorst is a guarantee of better things in the second chapter on The Political and Social Changes in Europe between 1830 and 1859; it is interpretative and not merely narrative; it sets forth sharply and succinctly the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 as they vary from country to country. The Unification of Italy and of Germany from 1859 to 1866 are detailed with spirit by Heinrich Friedjung; Napoleon III. and the Crimean War receive only incidental attention. In the eighty pages of the fourth chapter, Professor Gottlob Egelhaaf aims to give "a summary account of every event of importance which occurred in Western Europe between 1866 and 1902". No mention is made of any of the reforms of Alexander II. in Russia nor of any of the changes in the Balkan Peninsula which one would naturally expect to find in this chapter; one must turn back to volume V. On the other hand, there seems to be no good reason for the repetition of the account of the Kulturkampf which has been fully given already in volume VII., nor for the disconcerting interjection into the midst of a discussion of Napoleon III. and the Roman Question of a page on English Parliamentary Reform and punitive expeditions to Abyssinia.

All four chapters are more or less open to two points of criticism. First, none of the writers has shown at all satisfactorily the great influence of religion, romanticism, capitalism and the improvement in the means of communication in shaping the history of the nineteenth century; they too often lapse into the conventional juiceless political narrative. The fault is not theirs but the editor's; they fear to be guilty of repetition, in as much as these subjects have already been completely developed as separate topics in volume VII. In the second place, the point of view and the allotment of space seem excessively German. Many things in the French Revolution are summarily condemned as "senseless"; in an account of the Franco-Prussian War it is an injustice to France to follow Von Sybel implicitly and to reiterate some of Bismarck's purposely misleading statements in the *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*. The French Revolution from the accession of Louis XVI. to the death of Robespierre is given only 21 pages; almost as much space is given to the military events alone of the Franco-Prussian War, and nearly twice as much to the Holy Alliance

and the dreary congresses from 1815 to 1823. The number of pages allotted to England, France and Germany since 1871 are 3, 2½ and 18, respectively. Such Teutonism is natural enough in a work written by Germans and dealing with a period in which Germans have played so splendid a part; but it is no merit in an English edition, and a positive demerit in a professedly unbiassed teleological survey of all mankind. Thus, while these chapters are disappointing in that they rather fall from the lofty principles and novel features of the earlier volumes, they nevertheless deserve a place among the best scholarly one-volume accounts of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, the plan of the work forbids all foot-notes, bibliographies and critical apparatus. There are several excellent maps and mediocre portraits. This volume does not refute a common charge that co-operative history is heavy reading; it weighs five and a half pounds. The average *Cambridge Modern History* volume, with twice as many pages, weighs but three and a half pounds.

It remains to speak of the last chapter by Dr. Karl Weule. In masterful fashion he suggests, without describing, the significance of the Atlantic Ocean in history (1) as a great dividing barrier, (2) as the training school of nations and (3) as a medium of world commerce. He points out the characteristics and influence of the principal attempts to cross and control this ocean from the days of the legendary Brandan and early Norsemen to the contemporary rivalry of the Morgan, Cunard and Lloyd lines. He then shows how the Baltic and Mediterranean have exercised "a retrograde influence on humanity" inasmuch as they were so easy of navigation that the inhabitants along their shores were never trained to take the lead upon the ocean. The stormy Atlantic, on the contrary, has ever been a hard and invaluable training school to those who have ventured upon it and thereby raised their nations to greatness. Finally, by reasoning again from the commercial history of the Mediterranean and the Baltic, and by taking into consideration the Panama Canal and the great economic development of America, he concludes that the Atlantic is losing its old character and becoming a great American Mediterranean. "The prospects before the Old World seem somewhat doubtful; even today many an individual might find good reason for characterising the once boundless ocean as a future *mare clausum*, access to which is to depend on Yankee favor" (p. 410). This admirable chapter (whether one accepts all Dr. Weule's conclusions or not) is full of the freshness of the salt sea itself. In bringing the reader back to his starting point in volume I., it completes his *tour du monde*, and forms a very fitting and characteristic ending to this remarkable *History of the World*.

SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY.

Denkwürdigkeiten des Fürsten Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst. Zwei Bände. Im Auftrage des Prinzen Alexander zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH CURTIUS. (Stuttgart und Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1907. Pp. viii, 440; 565.)

Memoirs of Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst. Two volumes. Authorized by Prince Alexander of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst and edited by FRIEDRICH CURTIUS. English edition supervised by GEORGE W. CHRYSTAL, B.A., formerly exhibitor of Balliol College, Oxford. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: William Heinemann. 1906. Pp. ix, 405; ix, 519.)

By inherited position, by talents and by training, Prince Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst was peculiarly qualified for German public life. As head of one branch of a great South German house, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was still a reigning house, he was in theory of equal rank with the kings and emperors whom he served. His means were not indeed so large as to permit him to assume, without regard to salary, positions which entailed heavy outlays for representation, but they were large enough to enable him to live in comfort and dignity without office. His perceptions were quick and his judgment was sound. His natural abilities were conscientiously developed; he was not only an educated man but, in the fullest sense of the word, a man of culture. He was never a maker of winged words, but he attained the power of clear, forcible and even eloquent speech. His industry was unusual, even in Germany. Bismarck's standard of industry was not a low one, and he spared his associates as little as himself; but in 1880, when Hohenlohe had acted as the chancellor's substitute through the summer, Bismarck told him that he had made only one mistake—he had worked too hard (II. 306).

In character Prince Hohenlohe stood even more conspicuously above the average of public men. He was faithful to the causes which he espoused, loyal to the rulers whom he served, honest and above-board with his fellow-workers.

Professedly and sincerely religious, his religion was independent of dogma. A Roman Catholic, he received the doctrines of his church as matters of faith—"the acceptance of that which the church has prescribed" (II. 453). As regards the relations of church and state, he stood always, as he wrote to his brother in 1872, "on the side of the Ghibellines" (I. 91). Like most nineteenth-century Germans whose ancestors were "immediate to the empire", he was strongly nationalist in his sympathies: he was a German first, a Bavarian afterwards. Finally, although socially an aristocrat to his finger-tips, he was by education and by conviction a liberal in politics.

These data not only explain his political career, but make it seem so necessary that it might conceivably have been predicted. It is noticeable, indeed, that for every important post which he held his name had long before been suggested. The antitheses which he had reconciled, or at least surmounted, in the attainment of his own views prepared him for the part which, if not the most brilliant, is still perhaps the most useful that a public man can play, the part of mediator; and in this part his evident integrity, commanding the confidence of all with whom he came in contact, contributed largely to his success. As mediator between the Catholic South and the Protestant North, between dynastic particularism and national patriotism, between monarchic authority and popular aspirations and finally, at the end of his career, between a somewhat headstrong young emperor and the princes and parliamentary parties of Germany, he rendered services which entitle him to a high place among those who created and consolidated the new empire.

In spite of the prince's eminent qualifications for public life, his first attempts to open for himself a political career were unsuccessful. In 1848 he threw himself into the movement for German unity and undertook a diplomatic mission in behalf of the provisional imperial government. This course excluded him from office during the ensuing period of reaction; and until the close of the year 1866 his sole political activity was as a hereditary member of the Bavarian upper house.

The events of 1866 necessitated a change of ministry in Bavaria which needed as its prime minister a man who represented the now dominant national idea. Prince Hohenlohe assumed the premiership at the end of the year 1866 and retained it until 1870. During his conduct of Bavarian affairs he held loyally to the Prussian alliance, strove to make such preparations as were possible for the ultimate inclusion of Bavaria in a reunited Germany, and attempted (apparently with little hope of success) to bring about that federal union of the South German states for which provision had been made in the Peace of Prague.

When, after his retirement from office, the Franco-German War and the irresistible pressure of the national idea forced the South German states to come into the new empire on practically the same terms as those on which the smaller North German states had entered the North German union, Prince Hohenlohe found no difficulty in accepting this result. During the next four years his principal political activity was in the Imperial Diet, of which he was chosen first vice-president. He was one of the founders of the Imperial party (*Reichspartei*), which was practically the right wing of the Liberals and which supported Bismarck's policies.

During the last year of his premiership in Bavaria, Prince Hohenlohe had endeavored to secure joint action on the part of the European states with Catholic populations against the impending declaration of papal infallibility. In this he was unsuccessful; but in the Imperial

Diet he continued to oppose Ultramontane tendencies and warmly supported the law expelling the Jesuits from Germany.

In 1874 he was appointed ambassador in Paris. He retained this post while acting as temporary head of the Imperial Foreign Office in 1880, and gave it up only to become governor of Alsace-Lorraine in 1885. In 1894 he became chancellor of the empire, succeeding Count Caprivi. When he assumed this responsible and difficult office, he was a few months older than Bismarck had been when he relinquished it; but despite his age he held it for six years. "Need of rest I really have not", he wrote to a friend in January, 1899; but he was determined that his official career should be ended of his own motion, and he twice asked to be relieved of his duties: first in the spring of 1899, on the completion of his eightieth year, and again in the autumn of 1900. On the second occasion his resignation was accepted; with decent regrets, indeed, but with a promptness which showed him that it was "*die höchste Zeit*". Learning that Bülow was to succeed him, he "drove home with [his] mind at rest". The contrast between Bismarck's tempestuous exit, ten years earlier, and this serene withdrawal is eminently characteristic of the two men. To life itself Hohenlohe bade farewell with the same cheerful tranquillity. He had been as fortunate in his home life as in his public career; and in the year before his death he wrote to his sister: "I have thankfully to look back upon a happy life, such as has been allotted to few mortals" (II. 541, 542).

Prince Hohenlohe not only preserved all papers which seemed to him of value but also kept a diary. There were few men of political importance whom he did not meet; and the confidence which he inspired was so great that monarchs and statesmen, foreign as well as German, talked to him with unusual unreserve. Such conversations the prince recorded, often putting the utterances of his interlocutors in quotation marks. The internal evidence of the fidelity of his reports is very strong; the persons whom he quotes speak with their own voices, not with his. In reporting Bismarck, for example, Hohenlohe's record is as phonographic as Busch's. The diary when published in full will be a source of the first importance.

In accordance with the prince's instructions, his youngest son, Prince Alexander, to whom his papers were entrusted, secured the assistance of Friedrich Curtius in the compilation of the present *Memoirs*. For the period 1866-1890, copious extracts from the diary are given; and these, with correspondence and other documents, throw much light upon German and European affairs, particularly upon the relations between South Germany and the North German Federation, upon the conflict between the German states and the Roman Catholic church and upon the movement of French politics from 1874 to 1885. Above all, the *Memoirs* help us and will help the future historian to realize the personalities of many of the leading actors on the European political stage. After 1890, for obvious reasons, the material given

us is less full and less interesting; and for the period of the prince's chancellorship, although the editor had abundant notes at his disposal (II. 516), the extracts which he has ventured to publish are brief and politically unimportant.

It is not wholly clear why Prince Alexander should have fallen into disgrace for permitting the publication of these *Memoirs*. There are, indeed, a few passages concerning the parents of the reigning emperor, their relations to one another and his relations to them, which he can hardly find pleasant reading. Nothing is told that was not already known or surmised, but in some instances what was previously unattested gossip is now based on the most competent testimony. Passing to slighter things: the emperor can hardly like to have it recorded that at his own table he "talked incessantly" (II. 533); or that at the end of one of his after-dinner speeches Moltke quoted to Hohenlohe Goethe's "*ein politisch Lied ein garstig Lied*" and expressed a hope that the imperial utterances would not get into the newspapers (II. 463). On the other hand there is much in these *Memoirs* that should gratify the emperor. No account of the breach with Bismarck has been published heretofore that sets William's action in so favorable a light. Apparently the Bismarck dynasty had become impossible: Herbert was more overbearing than his father and it was necessary that both should go. In the ensuing quarrel, Hohenlohe thinks William's conduct wise. In general he found the young emperor "*klug und pflichttreu*" (II. 445). It is probable that the emperor was angered not so much by the contents of the *Memoirs* as by the fact that they were published without his approval.

All the foregoing references are to the German edition. The English version is so unsatisfactory that no writer who values his reputation for accuracy can safely cite it without examining the German text. The translation seems to have been made in great haste and by a number of different persons. Of these, some were unaware of the meaning of common German words; more were hopelessly perplexed by idiomatic turns and figurative phrases; all were at sea as often as any knowledge of German law or politics or history or geography was required. Division of labor among persons equally incompetent to deal with technical terms has produced some amusing results; for example, "*Landesausschuss*" is translated in eight different ways, all wrong. There are also numerous omissions. To mistranslations and oversights add misprints, which are numerous and occasionally grotesque, and it is clear that the English edition of the *Memoirs*, in its present state, is a book which should not have been put upon the market.

MUNROE SMITH.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

English Colonies in America. Volume IV. *The Middle Colonies.* Volume V. *The Colonies Under the House of Hanover.* By J. A. DOYLE, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 447; xvi, 497.)

THE earlier volumes of Mr. Doyle's history have long been familiar to scholars and their merits and demerits have been so adequately presented and discussed that no comment on the work as a whole is necessary here. After the publication of volumes two and three so long a time elapsed that scholars abandoned the hope of seeing the completed work and the history promised to remain but a fragment. Yet despite advancing years—Mr. Doyle was sixty-three at the time of his death in August last—despite distractions in the way of farming, dog-breeding, rifle-shooting and interest in politics, education and sport, and despite residence in southern Wales, away from London and other library centres, Mr. Doyle succeeded in finishing his task, a noteworthy accomplishment in the face of advancing ill-health.

During the forty years that have elapsed since Mr. Doyle first turned his attention to American history, and particularly, during the twenty-one years since the second and third volumes were published, the study of our colonial period has made rapid strides in the direction of sounder scholarship, wider range of material employed and more thorough appreciation of the problems involved. Neglected periods and neglected subjects have received attention, and points of view, once parochial, are becoming imperial; in a word, colonial history has shared the general advance of scientific historical study in America. How far Mr. Doyle has co-operated in this movement and how far these volumes, issued after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, are representative of the historical standards of the present day are naturally our first concern when we approach this work for purposes of review.

From Mr. Doyle, as an Englishman, we have a right to expect at least two important contributions to our subject: first, a full and accurate description of the British organs of government, legislation and administration so far as the colonies were concerned, together with an account of the system and incidents of British colonial control; secondly, a thorough and scholarly use of the material in British record repositories, and a consequent addition of new information and new ideas. In view of this expectation, it will surprise the reader to learn that Mr. Doyle has failed to take adequate advantage of the opportunity which residence in England furnished; in nearly all respects his work might better have been written in America than in England; his point of view is persistently provincial; his account of the British system and management is limited to a few scattered paragraphs; and his

material is drawn chiefly from printed books, not always the best or the most recent. As might have been anticipated by students familiar with those libraries, the Bodleian and the British Museum frequently failed to furnish Mr. Doyle with books that would have been readily accessible in America; and although he has made a limited use of the Colonial Office papers in the Record Office, he shows no familiarity with other manuscript material, and his only reference to the Privy Council Register is to a quotation in Palfrey's *History of New England*. Of the *Calendars of State Papers* he has used only those relating to America and the West Indies, and these sparingly and without discrimination. Of the *Calendars of Domestic and Treasury Papers* he apparently knows nothing.

Mr. Doyle's treatment of the problem of British control is open to more serious criticism. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that his volumes should have made their appearance in the same year with Professor Osgood's third volume, which marks the highest point reached thus far in the scientific interpretation of colonial history. Professor Osgood deals with the acts of trade, the councils and committees of trade and plantations and the British management of the royal colonies as an integral and component part of an entire volume. Mr. Doyle pushes them aside as only incidental, massing the greater part of what he has to say in a chapter entitled Administrative Development, a *potpourri* of all sorts of things "administrative", whether local, central, or imperial. The portions of that chapter dealing with the acts of trade are so confusing and incorrect as to be almost unintelligible. The act of 1650 is omitted entirely; the list of enumerated commodities mentioned in the act of 1660 is wrongly given; the account of the act of 1663 says nothing of imported commodities from the Continent, the most important feature of the act; no mention is made of the act of 1672, and, as far as one can tell, Mr. Doyle seems to think that the "plantation duty" was imposed by the act of 1696. In any case, the three lines and a half devoted to that act are otherwise meaningless. Even the Molasses Act is not given correctly. That Mr. Doyle has very little knowledge of the British official establishment in America is shown by his remarks about the few officials whom he mentions and by his failure to discuss in any adequate way the subjects of customs, vice-admiralty, woods and the organization of the royal provinces in general.

It is evident, therefore, that when tested by modern standards Mr. Doyle's work falls far short of the ideal. Volume IV. contains histories of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania from earliest times to 1714, a date selected because it marks the succession of the House of Hanover. Volume V. contains a history of Georgia from 1732 to 1752, an account of the conquest of Canada to 1759, which, curiously enough, refers only incidentally to the fall of Quebec, and a series of chapters containing information on all sorts of subjects, gathered dur-

ing a wide reading of printed sources and arranged under headings that are more or less appropriate. General Conditions of the Colonies, Administrative Development, Economical Progress, are fairly comprehensive terms, and Mr. Doyle has used them to cover everything that he could not put elsewhere, furnishing, as he says, "a convenient, though not a scientific, arrangement of facts". He defends these chapters by saying that "in the eighteenth century the main interest is not internal but external", a statement with which all will not agree. In fact, the leading interest from 1714 to 1755 is internal and not external, and the limitation or exclusion of the powers and functions of the legislative and executive bodies, the adjustment whether by conflict or compromise of the relations between the various members of the bodies politic, and the growth in wealth and experience of the men who were to share in the later conflicts are the leading features of colonial history in the first half of the eighteenth century. These "internal" aspects of his subject Mr. Doyle has, in large part, ignored, and in so doing has but followed the other writers who saw nothing in the middle period of colonial history other than wars and religious revivals.

The narrative histories are good and in some parts excellent. The account of Leisler's rebellion is admirable, and the chapter on Georgia, while diffuse, is well worth reading. Less praise can be given to the chapters on New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which are made unnecessarily uninteresting, particularly in the later portions, while the chapter on the conquest of Canada shows, even more than do the histories of the individual colonies, how much Mr. Doyle has missed in failing to use the great mass of letters, despatches and other documents in the Public Record Office, some of which have recently been printed in the *Pitt Correspondence*. In style, Mr. Doyle has improved upon his earlier work, and his treatment is more direct and less confused. His comments on persons and situations are frequent, and, though somewhat dogmatic in tone and occasionally based on insufficient knowledge of his subject, are thoughtful, judicious and in most cases fair. All that he has to say about Nicolls, Dongan, Hunter, Penn, Shirley, Hutchinson and Oglethorpe is open to little modification. His comments on Andros incline to severity but are not conspicuously unjust. He overstates Bellomont's weaknesses as a party leader and underrates his influence as an administrator and the difficulties of the situation in New York. In judging Nicholson, he seems to leave out of account that governor's later career; and few will agree with him in charging John Winthrop with "a characteristic incapacity to see the real point at issue", with "characteristic compliance", or with "characteristic readiness to substitute his own opinion for the authoritative voice of the colony". He deems the conquest of New Netherland "an unrighteous outrage", as it was, but he is unjust, with an unjustness born of ignorance, when he rebukes Berkeley and Carteret for their "unscrupulous greed" in obtaining New Jersey. To Berkeley, it was but a fair recompense for

the £3500 which he lost in purchasing the Earl of Stirling's rights in Long Island; to Carteret it was but a poor return for his services to Charles I., Charles II. and the Duke of York, for as early as 1649 Charles II. had promised in most affectionate terms to compensate Carteret for his devotion to the late king, and the Duke of York owed something to the man who in 1650 turned his own family out of his castle in Jersey to make room for the duke and his retainers. Mr. Doyle would have spoken more respectfully of Conrad Weiser had he ever read Mr. Walton's life of that interesting personage, and he would probably have been less severe in his comments on the Quakers in Pennsylvania had he consulted Sharpless's *Apologia* for Quaker government or approached the subject from other than the military side. His opinion of North Carolina as the seat of a "dull unreceptive barbarism" and his constant slurs on the people of that colony will not be approved by North Carolinian historians.

Toward the colonies as a whole his tone is sympathetic, indeed almost too much so, for Mr. Doyle has little patience with British stupidity, incapacity and ignorance (*cf.* V. 217, 418, 449).

It is unfortunate that Mr. Doyle's volumes are marred by a large number of errors of fact, misspellings of personal and place names, and offenses against consistency and good form in the make-up of his foot-notes. An enumeration of these blemishes, nearly all of which might have been removed had the proof passed through the hands of a competent American scholar, would occupy too much space and cannot be attempted here. That they are due to carelessness and ignorance and not to faulty proof-reading is evident from the presence in the volumes of but few typographical errors ("essential", "sumbit", IV. 80, 143; "entitled", and "2875" for 275, V. 43 n., 104 n.). It is hard to understand why an Englishman cannot write Guilford instead of "Guildford", New Haven instead of "Newhaven", New Hampshire instead of "New Hants", but it is harder to see why a scholar should spell Eliot "Elliot", Johnson "Johnstone", Loudoun "Loudon", Phips "Phipps", etc., should locate towns, bridges, ferries and fords where they never existed, should misquote passages taken from original texts, should give wrongly author's names and works (Stainer, Crosse, "Bury" for Barry, Mr. Elking's monograph, *The Dutch Village*, etc.), and should refer to the same volumes or series of volumes in half a dozen different ways. Even more irritating are references to "Pennsylvania Records" and to "Laws of Pennsylvania" without series, volume or page, to "The Colonial Records" without section, volume or bundle, or to such a title as "Colonial Papers, Pennsylvania, 559", a form that I cannot identify; it may be *America and West Indies*, 599, Pennsylvania. References to the printed *Calendar* are often equally obscure, and such sources as "Callaghan", "Mass. Hist. Collection", "Political Quarterly" are to be met with. But we cannot pursue this phase of the subject further. The student

familiar with the literature and sources of colonial history will generally recognize the works to which Mr. Doyle refers and will probably have little difficulty in looking up his references if he care to do so.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony. Canada and the American Revolution. In two volumes. By JUSTIN H. SMITH, Professor of Modern History in Dartmouth College. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. xv, 638; xvii, 635.)

RARELY has an author taken more pains to know thoroughly the subject he writes about, than has Professor Smith in his study of the attempt during the Revolutionary War to secure Canada as a member of the American union. Not content with ransacking every known collection of printed material on the subject—government documents, pamphlets, newspapers, biographical matter of every kind—the author has visited the archives here and abroad and has made a tireless examination of every source available. Moreover, he has visited the scenes of the historical events and as a result tells his story with a vividness which adds greatly to the clearness with which we see the historical events. As a result of the great care taken in investigation, we have in these two volumes a definitive account of the subject, amply fortified with references, and with critical notes at the end of each volume. It is a cause for real regret that the author's strivings for literary effects of the tinsel variety have seriously vitiated his work.

So serious are the literary defects of the book that the reviewer cannot honestly pass them by; though he has such real admiration for Professor Smith's zeal and thoroughness in research that he would gladly ignore the errors in taste. To understand this stricture we must have before us some of the examples. A falls (I. 541) becomes under Professor Smith's fine-writing pen "the Ultima Thule of the salmon". A babe, whom the soldiers pass in the forest (I. 540), is "a wee, soft bud on the top shoot of civilization". The men do not prosaically fish, but "many a line dropped its barbed invitation into the water". Nor was this mere vulgar water, but "glowed with a pale, golden-blue flush, brightened with quickly vanishing stars where countless invisible wings dipped into invisible dust, and radiant here and there with dimples and smiles" (I. 555). Many such descriptions are thrown in *gratis*, and not because the historical narrative is made more vivid thereby. The soldiers, for example, do not camp in a humdrum place, but where (I. 560) "a pair of great pines towered above some fluttering birches like the cathedral spires above Chartres with a fine young elm keeping guard in front of them all, a soft maple, full of low, rich tones, bending from the point like a Sicilian girl at the fountain".

Not only does the history abound in Theocritean passages of this sort, but there are Dantesque pages as well (I. 592-595; II. 345) where horror piles upon horror, and the sources are ably seconded by the undismayed pen of the author. On page 324 of volume two, "fright, famine, shame, helplessness, the foe, the plague, . . . the dire prospect of total ruin, the grim visage of bloody death,—a ghastly brood,—all shook their black, foul, creaking wings over this wretched débris of huddling, fainting humanity". Lest the reader become too horror-stricken, Professor Smith reassures him (I. 138) "That one yell merely curdled [*sic*] a dream or two." Lest the eye accustomed to the newspaper, the novel and the magazine be displeased with solid pages of print, there are pages with one-line paragraphs of the following sort:

"But arms were needed. A battle against fearful odds, Yes; mere slaughter, No." (II. 278).

Yet the author tells us (I. viii) that his "intention has been to keep the requirements of critical investigation steadily in mind, and accept literary elements only for their sound historical worth". Here we ought to say that the work is not always so critical as it is exhaustive. In a number of cases the elements of several conflicting stories are combined to make one dramatic yarn upon which no critical care has been bestowed (I. 139).

In spite of the serious literary faults, and a considerable amount of material not subjected to rigid criticism, we are not likely to get a better account of this group of events in our Revolutionary history. From the point of view of United States history the whole matter is important chiefly because of what might have been. Yet the reaction of the results or failures of this project upon other affairs in the course of the Revolution have perhaps never been realized as Professor Smith's work will enable us to realize them hereafter.

An outline of the book will suggest the main topics which interest the student of the Revolution. In the chapter called "Roots of Bitterness" the old French régime and the new British régime are outlined to get before us the state of mind of the Canadian people when the struggle began. The second chapter continues this study, with special emphasis on the effect of the Quebec Act, both in Canada and in the thirteen colonies. Professor Smith does not agree with those who argue that the act contained no menace to the colonies southward, and his point is well supported by facts. Ticonderoga and the raids into Canada take up two chapters, and thereafter the attitude of Congress to these acts is fully treated. The wavering attitude of the different classes of Canadian people is shown, and then Congress's decision to send troops to Canada and the assembling of an army under Schuyler is related. The attitude of the Indians in the border country is ably discussed. After a chapter on Schuyler's early efforts "the curtain rises", and the struggle between Carleton and Montgomery is fully detailed, followed by four or five chapters on Arnold's famous expedi-

tion up the Kennebec and the joint assault with Montgomery on Quebec, closing with a series of chapters on the long, weary fight out of Canada. Several following chapters deal with work of the committee sent by Congress, and the Lafayette campaign which Gates made a fiasco. Near the end is the great French-American scheme of co-operation in driving Great Britain from all her American possessions. There are a few plans of Washington's never carried out, and when at last the attempts to win Canada in the peace negotiations fail, the story ends. There is a good index and an uncritical bibliography.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Leading American Soldiers. By R. M. JOHNSTON, M.A., Lecturer in History at Harvard University. [Biographies of Leading Americans, edited by W. P. Trent.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1907. Pp. xv, 371.)

THE thirteen chapters of this work are descriptions of the military careers of the thirteen leading soldiers in the history of the American colonies and of the United States. A just sense of proportion and perspective is equally characteristic of the work as a whole, and of the treatment of the several personages. The first two chapters, covering the Revolutionary War are devoted to Washington and Greene. The next three, carrying the reader to the Civil War, are given to Jackson, Taylor and Scott. Of the remaining eight chapters, five are assigned to Northern generals, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, McClellan and Meade; and three to Southern generals, Lee, Jackson and Johnson. These chapters set forth in concise, fluent and effective language the principal achievements of their respective heroes, accompanied with brief general considerations of their merits or defects.

No attempt is made to link the chapters into a consecutive military history of the United States, or into a partial history of the art of war. The class of readers to whom the work is addressed may perhaps be judged from the fact that it contains but six small maps, and is set off with thirteen portraits. The delicate task of comparing the leaders one with another and pronouncing upon their relative ability is judiciously left to the reader. Owing, however, to the lack of maps and plans, the reader will be discouraged from following the author in his descriptions of operations, and be disposed to judge both the latter and the generals executing them by the estimate expressly or apparently placed upon them by the author. Whether he do this or form his own judgment with the aid of suitable maps, he will rise from the perusal of this work with a comprehension of American military character and history which he could hardly acquire from any other single work. He will be confirmed, if need be, in the recognition of George Washington as the Father of his Country, and of Lee and Jackson as the two greatest soldiers produced by the Civil War. He

will be impressed with the brilliancy of Scott's campaign in Mexico, and with the seriousness of the handicap imposed by political exigency upon the generals of a republic. The author's impatience, not to say intolerance, of the latter cannot be commended to an American officer aspiring to high command. There are statements of fact, too, and expressions of opinion, in which he is not altogether reliable.

On August 1, 1864, when Sheridan was detached from the Army of the Potomac to operate against Early in the Shenandoah Valley, Lee was not restricted, as is stated on page 218, to a single line of supply "running due west towards the valley of the Shenandoah". It is admitted a few lines further on that he still had an "avenue of supply and of escape" in the "line of rail running from Petersburg to Lynchburg". In addition, he had at this time the James River Canal, the Richmond and Danville railroad and the Weldon railroad.

It is stated on page 262 that Lee, in resigning his commission in April, 1861, "took the course that was followed by nearly every Southern officer in the United States army". At the outbreak of the Civil War most of the officers of the army were West Point graduates, and there are records to prove that one hundred and sixty-two who were appointed from the South, nearly half of the Southern graduates, remained loyal to the North.

In the Campaign of Chancellorsville, while Jackson was making his flank march towards Hooker's right, Lee remained with a fraction of his army in Hooker's front. This force the author gives on page 293 as a bare 10,000 men and on page 341 as only 10,000 bayonets. Allowing for losses in action the day before, the force under Lee must have numbered about 15,000 infantry besides six batteries of artillery (24 pieces) and a regiment and a half of cavalry.

It is stated that Jackson placed 25,000 men in line of battle in the rear of Howard's corps and of the whole Federal army. Jackson succeeded in placing about 20,000 infantry and some artillery on the flank—not in the rear—of Howard's corps. His artillery for the greater part, he could not use. Coming to the ignominious termination of this campaign, we read: "Hooker, for once, seized the opportunity and did the right thing with promptness: that night he decamped, and on the 6th of May was safely back on the northern bank of the Rappahannock." No greater blunder can be charged to Hooker than this final one. Had he been in position on the morning of his withdrawal, his long wished-for opportunity would have come. Lee would have attacked him on his own ground and would have been easily and sharply repulsed.

The Writings of Samuel Adams. Volume III. Collected and Edited by HARRY ALONZO CUSHING. (New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. xvii, 419.)

THIS volume is in some respects disappointing. The first two volumes were so well filled with papers of the first consequence that

one was unwisely tempted to hope that succeeding volumes would be of like character. We have here the writings from March, 1773, to December, 1777, years full of activity, danger and success. But while the progress of the Revolutionary movement up to 1774 can be traced in the letters and public papers that came from the ceaselessly flowing pen of Adams, as soon as the scene is shifted from Massachusetts to Philadelphia and we find ourselves in the midst of national politics and war, the letters of the great conspirator are of interest and of incidental assistance rather than of indispensable service to the historian of the period. There was in fact no wisdom in hoping that this third volume would contain the wealth of material found in the earlier ones. Those contained public papers, protests and resolutions of the town, scathing attacks on Bernard and Hutchinson, and comparatively few private letters. This volume contains chiefly private letters, some communications from the committee of correspondence and only a few public papers. In most cases the committee of correspondence contents itself with transmitting well-chosen periods concerning the value of civil liberty, the unpleasantness of arbitrary power and the worth of union and persistence. The private letters are in a good many instances, if not in all, not very illuminating. To be sure he must talk politics and enlarge upon the vices of those "born and educated among us"; he cannot write to a friend congratulating him on the appearance of a new daughter in the family without leaving the domestic question as soon as decency permits to remind the young father that he should now be more interested than ever in the cause of liberty. The truth is, however, that Samuel was less garrulous and less vain than John, but more wily. He did not care to communicate his political opinions freely to his dear Betsy, as did John to his Portia. In fact even of his conjugal opinions he was chary: "You will believe, my dear Betsy, without the formality of my repeating it to you, that I am, most affectionately." We should much like to know something of the real situation at Philadelphia from the time when Adams first went there till Howe marched in. But you get the slightest comfort from these letters. He probably had the politician's shrewd dislike of writing when isolated oral communication was possible. Probably, too, the story told by John Adams is true: "The letters he wrote and received—where are they? I have seen him at Mrs. Yard's in Philadelphia, when he was about to leave Congress, cut up with his scissors whole bundles of letters in atoms that could never be reunited and throw them out of the window to be scattered by the winds. This was in summer when there was no fire."

Malignant as Adams was, untiring in his denunciation of Hutchinson and unwearied in his endeavor to keep alive resentment to what he considered tyranny, there is no more evidence here than in the earlier volumes that he was far ahead of the other radicals in his desire for independence. In a letter to Arthur Lee, written April 9, 1773, there

is a possible intimation of coming independence; but another year passes before even in his correspondence with Lee he indulges in open threat of separation: "And if the British administration and government do not return to the principles of moderation and equity, the evil which they profess to aim at preventing by their rigorous measures, will the sooner be brought to pass, viz: *the entire separation and independence of the colonies*" (p. 100). As late as this, April, 1774, he was speaking of reconciliation, based on the acquisition of an explicit bill of rights. Even in January, 1775, he declared in a letter to Lee that he earnestly hoped that Lord North "would no longer listen to the Voice of Faction". In short the evidence from these papers appears to be conclusive that far from plotting for independence as early as 1768, as is commonly said on the authority of Wells, he was until 1775 desirous of continuing the union, if it could be maintained on principles that appeared to him just.

A. C. McLAUGHLIN.

Judah P. Benjamin. By PIERCE BUTLER. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1907. Pp. 459.)

It does not often happen that a book designed to form part of a popular historical series is of great use to the special student of history. The present work is such an exception, and may be commended from both points of view.

Prominent as Benjamin was throughout his active public life, its records present a very unsatisfactory account. Though no recluse, he had no intimate friend whose testimony would be of value in revealing the real personality of this man whose exterior was more than usually illusive; and his extreme care to destroy all letters and personal data forces the student to seek the man in the contradictory public records of his political and legal career. These sources of information are widely scattered and not easily accessible. Mr. Butler's life is the first published attempt to collate all available material and to present the career of the great lawyer and politician as a whole and in detail. The thoroughness with which the work has been done will make this book an excellent guide to the original investigator. The general reader, for whom it is primarily intended, will find it readable and entertaining as well as full of important matter that is likely to be new to him.

Many students will be grateful for the author's researches among the New Orleans newspapers which cover the important political period during the twenty years that precede the Civil War. Here, in the local history of Louisiana, is reproduced with great distinctness an image in miniature of the vast political struggle which foreran the crisis in national affairs. Benjamin's active part in local contests and constitutional conventions is typical of his whole political course. Mr. Butler's account is admirable; but it is doubtful whether he has been

able to dispel much of that vague cloud of suspicion which always overhung Benjamin's actions as long as he took part in politics.

Benjamin's service in the Senate of the United States and his part in secession are told with justice and full appreciation of historical values; but Mr. Butler is less successful in his narrative of Benjamin's diplomatic activity as Secretary of State to the Confederacy. The scarcity of personal data is no doubt responsible for the fact that Benjamin is almost lost sight of in the historical background. For that matter, his part in the government of the Confederacy was in reality not very great. President Davis was the state, and Benjamin played a very secondary, though efficient, part.

Although Mr. Butler's aim has naturally been to give more prominence to the political and historical aspects of Benjamin's life, it is very probable that most readers will find greatest interest in that portion of the biography which describes Benjamin's achievements at the bar of England after the fall of the Confederacy. His career as statesman and politician, though brilliant, has never been freed from charges of intrigue. Nor was he ever, in a high sense of the word, a leader. Being governed too much by expediency, he followed, rather than directed, the course of events and the opinions of his constituents. Nothing but his shrewd facility of foreseeing political changes enabled him to act so promptly as to seem to lead where in reality he was merely drifting with the current. After all, it was as a supremely great lawyer that he won his most worthy distinction; and the hard beginning of his new life in England, after the loss of all political power, reveals for the first time to its full extent the real heroism as well as the supreme ability of the man. His character stands out nobler, stronger and more certain, as if he had found himself and his true work. Most sympathetically and inspiringly has Mr. Butler told this story of struggle and triumph. Here indeed the true greatness of the man appears in the free exercise of his natural powers in the work for which he was specially and supremely endowed.

If Mr. Butler had done no more than collect for the first time all the available material for this important life, his work would be of great value; but in addition to remarkable diligence and accuracy in gathering and presenting his facts he has shown the requisite breadth of view and justice in dealing with the controversial points which come up. Moreover, he has written with great care for the literary construction of his work, and has produced a most readable, as well as a most valuable, book.

ALBERT PHELPS.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume XXIII. *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (1865-1877). By WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph.D., LL.D., Lieber Professor of History and Political Philosophy, Columbia University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1907. Pp. xvi, 378.)

THE frontispiece of this volume is a portrait of Thaddeus Stevens. Seven maps assist the exposition in various ways. There are twenty-two chapters, the last an invaluable Critical Essay on Authorities, naming and appraising all the important documents on Reconstruction now accessible. There is an author's preface and an editor's introduction.

Chapters I. and II. deal with the Southern whites and state governments, and with the negroes, as factors in the post-bellum situation at the South; III., IV. and V. with the presidential and the congressional policy for reconstruction; VI. and VII. with the actual process thereof; IX. and X. with various domestic and international matters from the war to 1873. Chapters XI. to XVIII. consider negro suffrage, evil social, economic and political conditions, South and North, and the Southern upheaval bringing suppression of black suffrage; while XIX., XX. and XXI. detail the Hayes-Tilden presidential struggle and electoral commission.

Mr. Dunning's book is of extraordinary excellence. If his style in the earlier chapters is at points a bit cumbrous, it is forcible and smooth enough as he warms to his work. His mastery of the subject and of its literature is ideally thorough. His analysis of causes and situations is keen and correct. He admirably seizes and states essential problems, "nutshell" explanations of imbroglios and knotty points being his forte. The leading episodes and questions connected with reconstruction, the attempted impeachment of President Johnson, the Credit Mobilier, the Whisky Ring fight, the campaign of 1872, the many puzzles long attaching to the 1876 election, and so on, receive here the neatest brief and accurate presentation extant. The account of the great court decisions touching reconstruction is peculiarly valuable.

Both subjects and men are treated with eminent fairness and justice. Few will longer balk at the author's view that the Lincoln-Johnson project for rehabilitating the Southern states after the war was saner than the "radical and revolutionary" policy brutally pushed through by Congress. The book cordially recognizes the patience, patriotism and, in the main, wisdom shown by the Southern people proper in the terrible and to a great extent, needless sufferings through which they were made to pass.

Dunning gives considerable praise to President Johnson without, however, making him a saint or a sage. Seward's splendid services after the war receive due mention. Stanton he considers (p. 91) a

"strange personage, whose amazing record of duplicity strongly suggests the vagaries of an opium-eater".

The character and administration of President Grant, "a narrow, headstrong and politically untutored military chief", some will think painted too dark, but, we fear, the author is essentially right. He certainly is in his thought of Sumner, who, he says (p. 87) "lived in the empyrean, and descended thence upon his colleagues with dogmas which he discovered there. . . . He would shed tears at the bare thought of refusing to freedmen rights of which they had no comprehension, but would filibuster to the end of the session to prevent the restoration to the southern whites of rights which were essential to their whole conception of life. He was the perfect type of that narrow fanaticism which erudition and egotism combine to produce." Butler, Greeley, John Sherman, Thaddeus Stevens, Henry Wilson and Colfax are freely criticized.

"The failure of the effort to get rid of Johnson was due to the votes of seven senators" who had voted with the radicals. Of the seven, Fessenden, Grimes and Trumbull opposed impeachment "on the highest considerations of statesmanship". Ross and Van Winkle also voted to save the President but subsequently tainted their act by seeking favors from him, "in a suggestive contrast to Fessenden, who declined to endorse a friend's application for a place on the express ground 'that such an act would, under the circumstances, expose me (him) to offensive imputations'".

While much more might be said in praise of Professor Dunning's performance, a word of contrary tenor will perhaps not be amiss.

Would not the title of chapter XVIII., "The Nadir of National Disgrace", read more felicitously thus: "The Acme of National Disgrace", or thus: "The Nadir of National Honor"?

It would seem that no loss but much gain must follow the disuse, in discussing the Civil War and its results, of expressions like "rebel", "conquerors" and "conquered". Pacific terms, equally clear and scientific, are at hand. To the word "rebel", in particular, strong objection is possible on historico-legal grounds.

The criticism of the Supreme Court (p. 256, 257) for what appears on the surface a shifty course in dealing with unconstitutional acts of Congress during reconstruction, seems to us over-severe. The court's procedure under the distressing circumstances will, we believe, be generally pronounced wise.

The author's thought of his field is not quite self-consistent. It wavers between "the process" and "the period" of reconstruction, the treatment not exactly answering either conception. He of course omits much history belonging to the period, yet brings in not a few matters, like the Beecher scandal and the construction of the first transcontinental railway, which are remotely if at all connected with the process of reconstruction.

On the other hand—a worse fault and the only one we find in the book that is at all serious—his presentation falls short at one point of what his task would seem to call for in any view whatever. It is somewhat onesided and “northern”, not in temper or purpose, in both which respects it is commendably broad, but in matter. The extreme and dangerous “bumptiousness” of the freedmen as a cause of Southern troubles is not sufficiently described or emphasized. Also too little effort is made to present from the inside the Southern whites’ reaction; to show how their rise from the stupor of defeat and the menace of black rule was inspired, stimulated, guided, organized—the “underground work” of all sorts that must have been performed in homes, shops, stores, lodges, clubs and other private circles to have led Southern Saxondom to its victorious rally against threatening barbarism. Materials for such a portrayal are no doubt difficult to gather. They exist, however, and can be reached. A chapter or two of this nature displaying the historian’s power as the actual book does would much enhance its value, already great and lasting.

E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS.

The Campaign of Santiago de Cuba. In three volumes. By Captain HERBERT H. SARGENT, U. S. A. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. 1907. Pp. xii, 274; 236; 268.)

THE first of these volumes contains, besides a short preface by the author, a discussion of the strategic problem, including a consideration of the relative strength of the Spanish and American navies and the state of our coast defenses; a historical review of the British descents upon the island of Cuba in 1741 and 1762; and an account of the operations of the American fleet up to the blockading of Cervera’s fleet in Santiago harbor. The second volume describes the military and naval operations from the sailing of the Fifth Corps under Shafter to the destruction of Cervera’s fleet off Santiago. The third volume contains one chapter devoted to the siege and capitulation of Santiago and the re-embarkation of the Fifth Corps, and one of eighty pages made up of general comments on recent changes in the military art, the fortune of war, the military policy of the United States, the navy and the army. The remaining eighty-four pages are appendixes. These are followed by an index, from which such important words as Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Insurgents, Insurrection, Volunteers (except Spanish) are omitted.

Each chapter ends with a section entitled Comments. These, together with the chapter on General Comments, are nearly equal in volume to the narrative portion of the work; together with the appendixes they exceed the narrative portion. The text is illustrated with a dozen excellent maps, which, though they do not generally represent the troops, enable the reader to follow the narrative without difficulty.

The work is dedicated to Elihu Root, "in admiration of what he did for the improvement of our little army when he was secretary of war". The author has not set forth the shortcomings of the army before the war in a way to impress the reader with the magnitude of the reform to which he refers in his dedication. He seems disposed to avoid or disregard the faults and defects of the old army and the old militia. Referring to the *ante bellum* training of the army, he says: "it was carefully and persistently drilled; and as far as circumstances would permit, practised in field manoeuvres and tactical problems, under conditions resembling as nearly as possible those of actual war. . . . The majority of the officers, too, impelled by a sense of duty, and a love for their profession, had through hard work, become highly proficient in their duties. . . . Fortunate is the nation that can always in time of peril command the services of as able and highly-trained officers as were those of the United States army at the beginning of the Spanish-American War." One might think from these statements that there was not much in the army to reform, that it was pretty well governed and administered. No, the army was not practised in field exercises as far as circumstances would permit; and while the officers who had attained a high degree of proficiency in their duties may have constituted a numerical majority of those on the army list, their number may be considered as overbalanced by the rank of those who were sadly deficient in attainments. These higher officers in many cases could not have become proficient by any amount of work. They had not the troops, the *terrain*, the supplies, in short, the means of gaining the practise necessary to the attainment of proficiency. The author is silent on the rampant nepotism and political influence that governed for a time the appointment of officers to the volunteer army. He says nothing about the "embalmed beef" and the war investigating commission, about the difference between Sampson and Shafter as to the plan of co-operation agreed upon; he exhibits, but refrains from characterizing, General Wheeler's violation of orders in marching his division ahead of Lawton's, and bringing on the engagement of Las Guasimas. He passes lightly over the discreditable behavior of the 71st N. Y. at San Juan. Regarding the questionable tactics of the 33d Michigan, he says: "This attack was intended merely as a feint for the purpose of detaining the Spaniards at Aguadores, and thus preventing any of them from reënforsing Linares." But he does not tell us whether the attack accomplished this purpose or was executed in a form, or with a spirit, suited to its accomplishment. The Sampson-Schley controversy is not mentioned.

On the other hand, he describes and discusses the grand strategy and tactics of the campaign with great clearness, showing a strong grasp of his subject in all its aspects, naval, military, historical, geographical, statistical, etc. The works that have appeared heretofore, treating of the Spanish-American War, have been seriously defective in their

numerical data. The work before us is about perfect in this respect. In addition to the figures distributed through the text, we find in the appendixes a wealth of statistics on the campaign, obtained through the State Department from the Spanish government. These are invaluable to the student of the war, and are probably nowhere else to be found published together. Among the other valuable tables in the appendixes is one of distances in nautical miles and in statute miles between important points in the theatre of war, and a statement of the casualties in Shafter's army by regiment. One of these documents, however, appendix X., is likely to prove misleading. It consists of a table and comments taken from an article in the *North American Review*. The table gives the several wars in which the United States has been engaged and for each of these a row of statistics under the headings Regulars, Militia, etc., Opponents, Cost, Pensions. There is nothing to indicate whether the figures under the first three headings stand for naval as well as land forces, or whether those under the last two headings cover the naval as well as the land expenditures, as they may be presumed to do; nor whether those under the first two headings stand for men in the service at any particular time, or for men enlisted in the course of the war, or for enlistments (including re-enlistments) during the war.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, the American authorities did not know even approximately the number of troops in Cuba. Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee testified before a Senate committee that there were probably ninety-seven or ninety-eight thousand Spanish soldiers in the island. General Miles came nearer the truth, estimating the number at one hundred and fifty thousand. When Shafter landed in Cuba with his 16,887 officers and men, the Spanish troops in the island, regular and irregular, numbered about 200,000, and those in the province of Santiago 36,582; the Cuban insurgents in the island numbered but about 15,000, and those in the province of Santiago about 5,000. Of the latter, about 1,000 joined General Shafter and co-operated directly, but not very actively, with him. Yet, with these tremendous odds against them, the Americans outnumbered their opponents in two of the three engagements that took place—the attack of El Caney and the attack of San Juan. The former, only, was seriously resisted. Here the Spaniards numbered about 600, the American more than 6,000. General Lawton had engaged to take the place in a couple of hours, and was kept at it from half past six in the morning until about half past four in the afternoon, the enemy having lost in killed and wounded 49 per cent. of his strength, including the gallant General Vara de Rey, in command. The American loss was 7 per cent. of the force engaged. The emergency justified a heavier loss, and called for more vigorous tactics on the part of the offensive. Had General Lawton been “as far as circumstances would permit, practised in field

manceuvres and tactical problems, under conditions resembling as nearly as possible those of actual war", he would not have spent ten hours in carrying a position, with a preponderance in infantry of ten to one, and in artillery of four pieces to none, over the enemy. The artillery supporting the attack was but a fourth of the force accompanying the expedition. Being short of ammunition before the action commenced, it fired only intermittently, and with black powder at that.

The battle of San Juan was little else than an outpost affair. The Spanish forces actually engaged numbered about 1,200 officers and men. Practically all the fighting, says the author, was done by the first line, which consisted of about 521 officers and men. The American forces actually engaged numbered about 8,400 officers and men.

Las Guasimas was a rear-guard action in which the Spaniards numbered 1,500 and the American 964. "The records show", says Captain Sargent, "that the Spanish general had no intention of making a determined stand there. . . . It is clear now that if General Wheeler had not pushed forward so hurriedly from Siboney, no engagement would have taken place at Las Guasimas. . . . But at the time, it appeared to the Americans that the Spaniards at Las Guasimas were very anxious to maintain their position; and the fact that they were apparently driven back after two or three hours of determined fighting greatly encouraged the American troops."

Captain Sargent is the author of a history of *Napoleon Bonaparte's First Campaign* and of *The Campaign of Marengo*. The distinction which he has justly earned from these works is likely to be enhanced by the popular appreciation in store for *The Campaign of Santiago de Cuba*.

JOHN BIGELOW, JR.

History of the Canal System of the State of New York, together with Brief Histories of the Canals of the United States and Canada. In two volumes. [Supplement to the Annual Report of the State Engineer and Surveyor, 1905.] By NOBLE E. WHITFORD, Resident Engineer. (Albany: State Legislative Printer, 1906. Pp. viii, 1025; vi, 1029-1547.)

THE author has here presented a voluminous history of the canal system of New York. The text is based largely upon canal reports and assembly documents. The authorities have manifestly been very closely followed—too closely at times for the best results. The unceasing quotation in great length from the opinions of engineers, auditors and governors, and the annalistic form rather weary and confuse the reader. However, the work is probably what the author would claim it to be—a documentary history of the building, enlarging and improving of the canals from the beginning to the recent decision for a barge canal system. The fact that the author is an engineer determines that great attention has been given to the minutiae of canal improvement

from the engineer's view-point. That portion of the work which is devoted to the various official experiments and the prizes offered for private demonstrations upon different forms of mechanical propulsion for canal boats and improvements in lockage devices, constitutes by itself an important contribution to existing literature on the subject. To the students of transportation, the competitive struggle of the state canals and private railroad undertakings and the methods employed by the state to protect its property in the unequal contest, are of exceptional value. New York went into the canal business with the expectation that it would pay in revenue returns, and when it saw these shrinking before railroad competition it forced the latter to reimburse the treasury for the losses. Railroads were required to pay to the canal fund the same tolls as were charged by the Erie Canal. The legislature did not remove the protective tax until 1851 and then only after a long legislative fight between the interested parties. Another important element of canal policy in New York which has been emphasized was the gradual growth of a toll-free list carried by the canals. This culminated in the constitutional amendment which took effect January 1, 1883, prohibiting all tolls. From that date the state ceased to derive any revenue from its canals. That is, to save an expensive canal system the state made them free highways. The Erie Canal unlike a great many others seems to have been a good financial undertaking for the state of New York (I. 837).

One chapter treats of the economic and social influence of the Erie Canal. Elaborate statistical tables from which the author deduces his conclusions are published in the appendix. "Literal precision" in the conclusions upon the influence of canals is very properly disavowed. At times there seems to be a tendency to disregard other forces than the canals in effecting the distribution of population and the development of land values and business interests. It is a complex and difficult problem to estimate the relative influence of causes in the rapid development of a new territory. It must be said, however, that the author's conclusions are very moderate and sane. The first volume ends with a chronological résumé of important laws and events connected with the canal system. The second volume is a miscellany of statistical tables and diagrams of canal structures of interest to engineers, biographical sketches of canal engineers of no more than local interest and passing value, a bibliography, and historical sketches of canals in other parts of the world. The portion of the latter that is devoted to canals in the United States contains many errors. For the canals outside of the United States, selections from Mr. O. P. Austin's *Great Canals of the World*, published in the *Summary of Commerce and Finance*, U. S. Treasury Department, May, 1902, are reprinted by permission. The bibliographical list of canal literature in the New York State Library and the New York Law Library is excellent for completeness, practical arrangement and useful explanatory notes.

If the author had seen fit to condense, sift and correlate his material more thoroughly with reference to certain larger aspects of the subject in state policies, the work would appeal with greater force to scholars. As it is it is worth the doing. The whole is so well indexed that the reader can easily discover the subjects of special interest.

ELBERT JAY BENTON.

MINOR NOTICES

History of the Langobards, By Paul the Deacon. Translated by William Dudley Foulke, LL.D. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1907, pp. xliii, 437.) This is volume III. of the new series of translations and reprints published by the University of Pennsylvania. A translation of the *History of the Franks* by Gregory of Tours also is announced, so that this series is evidently to include translations of whole chronicles.

The volume in hand contains a complete translation of the *Historia Langobardorum*, with an introduction on the life and writings of Paul the Deacon, and three appendixes (Ethnological Status of the Langobards, Sources of Paul's History, and Paul the Deacon's Poems in Honor of St. Benedict). Appendix II. includes a translation of the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*; the poems in appendix III. are those inserted by Paul in the text of the history, book I., chapter xxvi.

Mr. Foulke's translation is correct, but rather commonplace. It is of course easier to make such a criticism than it is to establish within the limits of a brief review the justice of it, or to show how the fault criticized should be avoided. It does seem, however, that the translator has been content with producing a literal rendering of the Latin, when the search for real English equivalents and for happier turns of expression might have resulted in the production of a translation at once accurate and pleasing.

There are a great many foot-notes to the translation. The longer notes (some of them cover four or five pages with only one line of the translation on each page) are very largely made up of paraphrases of the authorities consulted, always, to be sure, with references to the sources from which they are taken.

This is true also of the introduction and the first two appendixes—they are mainly paraphrases of the work of the principal authorities on the Lombards and on the writings of Paul the Deacon. The result is that they do not have the tone and the interest of original work.

When all is said and done, however, Mr. Foulke has presented an accurate translation (the first one in English) of this important source, and has supplied it with very full "apparatus". This is to render a genuine service to teachers and students of medieval history.

E. H. McNEAL.

Catalogue des Actes d'Henri I^{er}, Roi de France. Par Frederic Soehnée. [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques. 161^e fascicule.] (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 145.) M. Soehnée's slender volume is apparently all that we are destined to see of the *Étude sur la Vie et la Règne d'Henri I.* which he presented as a thesis at the École des Chartes in 1891. The plan of a general work upon the reign seems to have been abandoned, and the catalogue of acts appears without the diplomatic introduction which one has a right to expect in such a publication, indeed, without any introduction whatever. Still the catalogue was worth preparing, and with the publication of M. Prou's long-expected volume on Philip I., we shall at last have the series of *regesta* for the Capetian sovereigns complete to the accession of St. Louis. Only those who have tried to do similar work will realize how much search through manuscript collections and out-of-the-way publications has been necessary in order to get together the one hundred and twenty-five documents or mentions of lost documents which constitute the catalogue. No new originals have been found, and of those which exist in copies only eight charters (nos. 16, 19, 32, 61, 62, 74, 83, 100) and four references (nos. 13, 20, 34, 93) are not already in print. M. Soehnée fails to observe that no. 27 has been printed by Delisle (*Histoire de S. Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, pièces, no. 8), and he could have made its date more precise if he had seen the original, which exists, along with a *vidimus*, in MS. Lat. 16738 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. No documents are printed in full, but the labor of analyzing, dating and identifying place-names seems to have been carefully done, and the various copies and editions are scrupulously indicated.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Guibert de Nogent. Histoire de sa Vie (1053-1124). [Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire.] Publiée par Georges Bourgin, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1907, pp. lxiii, 249.) Few works in the splendid *Collection de Textes* have probably been looked forward to with more impatience by students of medieval history than Guibert de Nogent's *De Vita Sua*. Hitherto it has only been available in Bouquet and Migne, though Guizot included it in his convenient collection of translations. The appearance of a critical, annotated edition in a single volume is very welcome. Always an inimitable source of French history at the time of the first crusade, Guibert de Nogent has acquired new value in these later years because of the light he casts upon the culture side of history. M. Bourgin has prefaced the edition by an elaborate and critical study of the text and added a bibliography upon Guibert de Nogent which extends to three pages—enough in itself to show the value and interest in him. It is to be regretted, however, that Guibert's treatise on relics, *De Sanctis et Pignoribus Sanctorum*, which is only available in D'Achery's edition of 1651, could not have been included in the present work.

A Short History of Wales. By Owen Edwards. (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1907, pp. xii, 139.) Mr. Owen Edwards, whose services to Welsh literature, both as author and as editor, are numerous, has already produced two short histories of the principality, *Hanes Cymru*, written in Welsh and not yet brought down to include the modern period, and the volume entitled *Wales* in the "Story of the Nations" series. The latter of these, in spite of some serious defects, is the best existing popular account of Welsh history, and the *Short History* now in hand is really only a briefer presentation of the same material. It covers the ground in 128 small pages. The reader, according to the preface, is assumed to know nothing of the subject, and the tone of the book is most elementary throughout. Brevity and simplicity have been successfully attained, but clearness is occasionally sacrificed to the extreme condensation. The reader is not always supplied with necessary information. In the chapter on Howell Harris, for example, Mr. Edwards generalizes about the work of that religious leader without once stating clearly what he did; and in another place, similarly, the activity of Vavasour Powell is referred to without any definite explanations. All the important phases of Welsh religion—paganism, the conversion, monasticism, the Franciscan revival, the Reformation, the Catholic reaction, Puritanism and Evangelicalism—are passed in review in a single page, which must convey very inadequate notions to such readers as the book is meant to serve. In these ways the *Short History* is less clear and less adapted to beginners than the earlier volume, which was itself small and inexpensive; and there has been an accompanying loss in interest. Still the outline cannot fail to be of use to many readers. The material is well chosen with a view to its importance, and the treatment is by no means dry. There is, if anything, too much expression of personal judgments and too little objective recital of facts. But, due allowance being made for this quality, the account is in general trustworthy; and the present volume is free from some of the faults, such as a bias toward the interests of North Wales, which were criticized in the earlier work.

Études et Documents sur l'Histoire de Bretagne (XIII^e-XVI^e Siècles). Par l'Abbé G. Mollat. (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 254.) The Abbé Mollat has plainly been inspired by the work of the late Father Denifle in preparing this collection of documents. The kind of manuscripts he has chosen to edit and the method he has adopted are evidence of this to one who is familiar with the great work of the late prefect of the Vatican archives, although the editor does not state this fact until he reaches the fourteenth century (p. 185).

The selections chiefly illustrate church law and institutions, especially the finances of the church, in the later Middle Ages. No. 24, which deals with the provisioning of the papal court at Avignon, and no. 32 on the collection of the annate in the diocese of Nantes, are

particularly interesting. The first of these is in the nature of a *pièce justificative* to the author's recent study, *La Fiscalité Pontificale en France au XIV^e Siècle* (1905). The second one consists of a large number of excerpts from the *Collectoria*, illustrating the mechanism of church finance, but their bearing can hardly be perceived from the mere reading of them. They need to be studied in the light of the Abbé Mollat's recent article in the *Annales de Bretagne*, and his larger work alluded to above. The violence of the age is illustrated by the first selection in the book, which deals with a conflict between the bishop of Rennes and a rebellious vassal against whom the bishop attempted to proceed according to the laws of the church, and for this purpose delegated his powers to a priest. The ferocious viscount burst into the monastery of St. Melaine, seized the luckless priest and, putting his sword to his throat, compelled him to eat the letter of the bishop.

John Locke: Ses Théories Politiques et leur Influence en Angleterre. Les Libertés Politiques; L'Église et l'État; La Tolérance. Par Ch. Bastide, Docteur és Lettres, Professeur Agrégé au Lycée Charlemagne. (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1907, pp. 397.) This volume is a detailed study of the political ideas of Locke with especial attention to their relation to contemporary currents of thought. Locke is presented as the great champion of religious toleration, the official apologist for the Revolution and the most important political philosopher of his time. His theory of toleration is developed at some length and a degree of importance attached to his work, which, in view of what had been already accomplished by Milton and Spinoza, seems scarcely justifiable.

The political doctrines of Locke are less lucidly expounded by the author than his religious ideas. The description of the political phases of his philosophy is not very effective and Locke's position in the general field of political theory is not very clearly stated. In particular, the influence of Pufendorf and Spinoza is not appreciated or even mentioned in a discussion which includes many other less important writers.

On the whole, this study, although carefully and laboriously wrought out in its details, really adds little to the knowledge of Locke's political theory and influence already available in works like Professor Dunning's *History of Political Theories*, and Graham's *English Political Philosophy*. The author fails to appreciate that harmonious relation between Locke's philosophy and the English constitutional system which was the prime cause of Locke's immediate and extended influence in England, as well as the explanation of some contradictions and inconsistencies in his theories.

Goethe als Geschichtsphilosoph und die Geschichtsphilosophische Bewegung seiner Zeit. Von E. Menke-Glückert. [Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, herausgegeben von Karl Lamprecht. Erstes Heft.] (Leipzig, R. Voigtländer, 1907, pp. 146.) It is the aim of Menke-Glückert to prove that Goethe so far from being indifferent to

history, as has so often been believed even by historians of note, was as original a thinker in his conceptions of history as he was in his conceptions of nature. The author shows that both the poet's native city, Frankfurt, and the scene of his early studies, Alsace, were fraught with historical reminiscences which bred in him a powerful interest in the past; so much so that in 1770 Koch and Oberlin, historians living in Strassburg, suggested his becoming private docent in history at the university there. For a time, however, his desire to comprehend the physical universe absorbed his attention to the exclusion of the historical interest. Later, by applying his scientific method of approach, he attained to a conception of human phenomena as an organic growth subject to unvarying laws; and to an appreciation of the great importance of environment, as in his biographies of Cellini, Winckelmann and in the story of his own life. The question may well be asked: Had anyone before written biography in so modern a spirit? The author should here have pointed out that even as early as 1786-1788, years before the publication of his historical studies, in his *Tagebücher aus Italien*, Goethe constantly tries to understand the appearance, habits, customs, history of the people as resultants of forces.

The scientific bias again appears in Goethe's intensely critical attitude towards all historical tradition, and his fear of a subjective interpretation of documents. Hence his apparent hostility to history and historians. The author has excellently developed Goethe's originality in the field of the philosophy of history. His zeal carries him too far, however, when he claims for Goethe a real comprehension of the culture-value of the Middle Ages or of Gothic architecture (p. 48). This he may be said never to have exhibited, in spite of the *Goetz* and the youthful essay on the Strassburg cathedral. Both of these were expressions rather of enthusiasm for powerful individualities. On the other hand, Menke-Glückert brings out the fact—often overlooked—that Goethe, through his *Anhang zur Lebensbeschreibung des Benvenuto Cellini, bezüglich auf Sitten, Kunst und Technik* was a pioneer in the critical study of the Renaissance and the inspirer of Burckhardt.

CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

Kléber en Vendée (1793-1794). Documents publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par H. Baguenier Desormeaux. (Paris, Picard et Fils, 1907, pp. xxxvii, 565.) Possibly that Kléber was an Alsatian, and moreover a Strassburger, not only by birth but also in his personal characteristics, has added somewhat to the genuine interest which should attach to this able and patriotic general. The biographies of Lubert d'Héricourt (1801), Ernouf (1867), Pajol (1877) and Klæber (1900), and Desprez's *Kléber et Marceau* (1857, second edition, 1881), besides no less than a score of popular accounts, testify to the importance and popularity of Kléber. A collection of 325 letters and orders of Kléber appeared in the volume *Kléber et Menou en*

Égypte edited by F. Rousseau and published in 1900 by the Société d'Histoire Contemporaine. Now the same society presents a second volume containing the documents which cover his career in the Vendée from August, 1793, to May, 1794. Kléber arrived in the Vendée in command of the advance guard of the garrison of Mayence and for six weeks was employed in the region southeast of Nantes between Montaigu and Cholet. After the victory of Cholet (October 17, 1793), which was largely due to his efficiency and courage, he followed the Vendéans across the Loire, and shared in the pursuit and skirmishes during the two months of the Vendéans' march to the sea and back to the Loire, and in their final defeats at Le Mans (December 12) and at Savenay (December 23). The cowardice and incompetence of Léchelle and Rossignol, and his devoted friendship for the brilliant young Marceau compelled Kléber to bear the brunt of this trying but successful campaign. In January, Turreau, the new commander, rusticated Kléber to the unimportant command of Chateaubriant because of his disapproval of the policy of the "infernal columns". The next month, Rossignol summoned him to direct the mobilization of a force at Saint-Malo for an attack upon the Channel Islands. The withdrawal of troops from interior points for this futile scheme permitted the rising of the Chouans. Kléber forthwith turned his attention to the distasteful task of hunting down these Chouans in the vicinity of Fougères, Vitré, Laval and Craon. After six weeks of this uncongenial employment, Kléber welcomed the opportunity he had long sought of accepting a command in the Army of the North, and left the West about May 5, 1794.

This volume contains an introduction by the editor, whose name is already familiar through some studies in Vendéan history; the Memoirs of Kléber on his Vendéan campaign to the battle of Savenay, probably compiled with Savary's assistance during the weeks of enforced leisure at Chateaubriant; the orderly-book of Kléber; sixty miscellaneous documents relating to Kléber in the Vendée; abundant editorial notes with valuable biographical and geographical information; an index and a map; but no table of contents. Some typographical errors have not been listed among the errata, and a few blunders may be noted.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Les Sources de l'Histoire de France depuis 1789 aux Archives Nationales. Par Charles Schmidt, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales, Docteur ès Lettres. Avec une Lettre-Préface de M. A. Aulard. Professeur à l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 288.) A few years ago M. Schmidt published in the *Revue de la Révolution Française* an article on the "Sources de l'Histoire d'un Département aux Archives Nationales". His present book has grown out of this article in the sense that the general use made of the article has been a most effective argument for such a book. It is also intended partly as a

supplement to *L'État Sommaire* published in 1891 by M. Servois, then director of the archives. The special aim of M. Schmidt's book is to serve students of French local history, who have explored thoroughly the local collections and who look to the National Archives for further material, because, as M. Schmidt remarks, "Toute affaire un peu importante aboutit administrativement à Paris." It also aims to serve students of the period since 1789 who desire to investigate the whole situation, both central and local, at a given moment.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first contains a description of the archives and the building in which they are installed, and explains the steps by which the searcher for material must begin his work. The practical value of these indications is apparent to any who have had the experience of beginning researches there without "knowing the ropes". The inexperienced are warned especially against inscribing on the *bulletins* requests for documents on general topics. The first part of the volume also includes bibliographical directions in regard to the printed and manuscript inventories which are accessible in the *salle de travail*, with mention of others in course of preparation. Part II. is equally helpful to the beginner, for it contains summary indications on the principal series which should be consulted by one investigating any of the important phases of French history from 1787 to 1856. These twenty-two pages are actually a little guide to the proper investigation of French contemporary history. The third part gives in alphabetical order the series in which are classed the documents relative to the same period. This must be used in connection with *L'État Sommaire*, for M. Schmidt does not duplicate the indications furnished by that work. It is noted, whenever necessary, whether the departmental material is classed and inventoried or whether this work is in process of completion. By combining the suggestions given in part II. with the indications of this part, the searcher should have no difficulty in discovering all the material available in the archives. He is occasionally informed that as a particular series is being classed it will be necessary to utilize the services of the archivists to learn exactly what is available. Wherever printed works may help the searcher, M. Schmidt mentions these in a note. He adds a brief bibliography of them at the end. Incidentally he argues for the enlargement of the building in which the archives are housed, in order that material now scattered in the archives of the various ministries and of other services may be concentrated at the National Archives.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

The Bibliographer's Manual of American History, containing an Account of all State, Territory, Town and County Histories relating to the United States of North America, with Verbatim Copies of their Titles and useful Bibliographical Notes, together with the Prices at which they have been sold for the last forty years. Compiled by

Thomas Lindsley Bradford, M.D. Edited and revised by Stan. V. Henkels. Volume I., A to E, nos. 1 to 1600. (Philadelphia, Stan. V. Henkels and Company, 1907, pp. ix, 340.) Mr. Henkels in his introductory remarks says that this book is "the most valuable bibliography that has ever been placed before the American public", and the author himself, in a portion of his long title which has not been quoted above, admits that his compilation forms "an Invaluable Reference for the Use of the Librarian, the Historian, the Collector, and the Bookseller". In reality, it is not quite all this. On the contrary, its usefulness is impaired by some serious defects. Yet almost any bibliography which makes an approach to being what it purports to be is a useful instrument, and this one in particular may be received with gratitude, though with some reserves. It is not at first easy to be sure just what the volume may be expected to contain. The title quoted above shows in how restricted a sense it is "a bibliographer's manual of American history". The preface makes further limitations, but with a decided want of clearness. "Church history has been omitted, unless also especially devoted to town history" (which it usually is). "Books entirely devoted to genealogy and biography are not included unless in cases in which they are supplemental to town history." On the other hand, state gazetteers have been included. The main general defect, from the point of view of students, as distinct from book-buyers, is that the arrangement is alphabetical by authors, regardless of the geographical subject, though the latter is the all-important thing, in a book which is practically a list of local histories. That an alphabetical subject-index will at the end be presented in a separate volume alleviates the student's inconvenience, but no more. Great pains have been taken to ensure correctness in the titles. In the case of titles in other languages than English, however, there are many errors, and the punctuation often shows that the compiler does not understand such titles. In no. 8 (Acrelius) there are thirteen errors, and the naïveté of the annotations is shown by the quoting here, from an old catalogue of Frederik Muller's, of a lament that no complete translation exists, while no. 9 is Reynolds's complete translation, published thirty-three years ago. The prices, a large feature of the book, are quoted in no order. At no. 163, A. S. Bachellor should be A. S. Batchellor, and should therefore be placed no. 286. None of Alexander Brown's important works on Virginian history are cited. Nos. 615 and 616, well-known Illinois pamphlets by W. H. Brown, are attributed to Dr. William Hand Browne of Maryland. No. 667 is set under the name of Charles Todd Burr, instead of Charles Burr Todd. No. 1524, *New Englands First Fruits*, should not be attributed to John Eliot without new-found reasons.

Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618. Edited by W. L. Grant. [*Original Narratives of Early American History*, edited by

J. F. Jameson. Volume IV.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xiii, 377.) The fact that the previous training of the newly-elected Beit Lecturer on Colonial History at Oxford made him an obviously appropriate person to edit a volume dealing with early Canada, rendered it none the less a most graceful act on the part of the general editor of the "Original Narratives of Early American History" to ask Mr. Grant to prepare the Champlain volume for that series. The result justifies the confident impression already well established that much sound historical work may be expected from this innovation in the English university equipment. Mr. Grant's introduction and notes are scholarly and sufficient, and well within the bounds of what is called for by the necessary limitations of the general reader, for whose use, quite as much as for that of college students in history, this series is designed.

Like some of the other volumes of the series, the Champlain, despite the excellence of Mr. Grant's work, will perforce suffer in popular estimation from the limitations inevitably imposed upon serial trade publications. The naïveté of the explanations of the reason for omitting certain portions of the original texts, while endeavoring to convince the reader that he is getting all that he would be interested in, and the omission of any explanation regarding the inclusion of only two illustrations and one map, although excellent reasons for omitting the other twenty-odd will suggest themselves to any one familiar with the originals, must operate to produce a certain doubt in the user's mind and a desire to see for himself what is left out. To those who cannot have access to the more bulky and less readable volumes of the French text or the complete edition of the translation reprinted in this series, Professor Jameson has rendered a service of great importance, by placing within the reach of every one quite as much of these texts as will interest any who are not engaging in special research.

G. P. W.

German Religious Life in Colonial Times. By Lucy Forney Bittinger. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1907, pp. 145.) This work, like *The Germans in Colonial Times* by the same writer, is a compilation made to a large extent from secondary sources, and presented in popular form for the lay-reader. The title of the book is misleading. A more appropriate title would have been "Historic Sketches of the German Sects in Colonial Times". The work presents brief summaries of general facts relating to the external history of the Separatists (Mennonites, Dunkers, etc.), the church people (Reformed, Lutherans), the Moravians (with some reference to the Schwenkfelders) and the Methodists. Another chapter is devoted to the German sects during the Revolution. The book closes with a general conclusion to the preceding chapters. The matter is presented in a readable form, enlivened here and there by an unexpected touch of humor.

Naturally, such a number of sketches covering a century in so few pages would leave abrupt transitions and important gaps, which only the uninitiated could fail to see at the first glance. It will doubtless appear anachronistic to Lutherans to find the labors of Schlatter given such precedence to those of Mühlenberg. The Lutherans seem not to have received due stress during the period before Mühlenberg's arrival.

The term, "churchly Separatists", even though borrowed, is objectionable as here employed in as much as its relation to "church Pietists" is not made clear. The use of "enthusiasm" for the German *Schwärmerei*, which was employed with a decided bias, seems unfortunate; *fanatic zeal* might have come nearer the mark for this eighteenth-century meaning. A number of other details might be challenged, such as "a collegia pietatis"; the use of "Teutonic", as in "Quakers of Teutonic nationality", "Teutonic settlements", etc., as equivalent to German or Dutch; the orthography of proper names, such as "Koster" instead of Köster, "Strasburg" instead of Strassburg, and misprints, such as "von Wahren Christenthum", "Blütige Schauplatz".

But these minor matters are far less important than the main fact that the great subject of the book, the inner religious life of the Germans in our colonial period, is left practically untouched. This book, like most of its predecessors, and the sources from which it is taken, follows the beaten track of antiquarian and lay-work. As we look over this wagon track of American history, we welcome the more serious studies of Professor Hoskins in the *Princeton Review*, and of other trained investigators, of whom there are now a number in the field who are taking the trouble to go back to first sources, and who are able, when they have found the sources, to treat them in a scientific manner, and thus make permanent contributions to the history of religious thought and life in America.

M. D. LEARNED.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Volume VIII., 1777, May 22-October 2; Volume IX., 1777, October 3-December 31. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, pp. 375-760, 761-1132.) Among the most important matters dealt with in volume VIII. are the preparation of the address to the inhabitants of the United States, May, 1777, the fresh regulations for the commissary's department and the office of clothier-general, the report of the committee to repair to the camp, the dealings with the Pennsylvania Quakers, and with Silas Deane, and the commissioning of John Adams. In volume IX. nothing is so important as the final shaping of the Articles of Confederation, which is illustrated by presenting in parallel columns the second report of that document and its final form, and also a photographic facsimile of the first print, with manuscript amendments. The volume ends with a supplementary list of standing committees, the usual careful bibliographical

notes and the index to the year 1777. Its annotation is of the same excellent sort as that of previous volumes.

The Life of Chief Justice Ellis Lewis, 1798-1871. By Burton Alva Konkle. (Philadelphia, Campion and Company, 1907, pp. viii, 285.) In this neatly printed and copiously illustrated volume, equipped with foot-notes and accompanied by an excellent index, the author presents in fifteen chapters the leading facts in the life of one of Pennsylvania's ablest jurists, a "warm friend and nearly life-long counsellor" of Buchanan, an early friend and loyal supporter of Jackson and Taney.

After devoting four chapters (50 pages) to the family history and early career of Ellis Lewis down to the time of his admission to the bar in 1822, the author sketches the political situation in Pennsylvania in 1823—all too lightly, the rapid rise of Lewis in the profession, his work in the state legislature in 1832-1833 when he was prominently instrumental in bringing about the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and his work as attorney-general under Governor Wolf. An account of Judge Lewis's work as president judge of the eighth judicial district, and of the Lancaster district court, respectively, fills two other chapters. Perhaps the most valuable part of the *Life* is the chapter describing the movement and campaign for an elective judiciary in 1848-1850. Three other chapters present proof of the extraordinary industry of Judge Lewis as a member of the first elective supreme court of the state; evidence of his popularity with his colleagues on the bench, with the bar and general public; and extracts from decisions—rather too numerous—illustrating his lucidity and directness of statement and intellectual grasp.

Had Chief Justice Lewis been a jurist only, we are told in the preface, "the author would have felt no mission to present his career"; but before he took a seat upon the bench, Lewis was "a great power in Democratic counsels, and seldom wholly lost touch with the ablest leaders of that party during the rest of his life as his correspondence indicates". Nevertheless, this *Life* of Lewis is almost wholly devoted to his career as a jurist. Of his influence upon the tortuous course of Pennsylvania politics we get only occasional and fleeting glimpses which whet the appetite for more.

The author has had access to contemporary newspapers and to the correspondence of Judge Lewis, and reproduces a few letters, highly interesting and of historical value, from George M. Dallas, Henry M. Stanton, Jeremiah S. Black, Roger B. Taney and James Buchanan. Whether or not more of this correspondence was available for publication does not appear; but if available, its reproduction would have materially enhanced the value of the work. Space might easily and profitably have been found for it by various omissions as of statistics of decisions rendered, appeals taken, judgments affirmed or reversed, at each term of the supreme court, *seriatim* (chapters IX., XI., XII.),

and of long excerpts from Judge Lewis's opinions (chapters XI., XII.). By such omissions, space would also have been gained for a more thorough treatment of contemporary Pennsylvania politics, of which the discussion, as the work now stands, is regrettably inadequate and disappointing, especially during Jackson's second administration.

P. O. RAY.

Robert E. Lee. By Philip Alexander Bruce. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs and Company, 1907, pp. 380.) Like the biographers of Lee in general, Mr. Bruce portrays his hero as a man with a quite unhuman freedom not only from faults but from foibles. His military genius is well nigh unerring. Rarely indeed is there a suggestion that the general-in-chief might have done better. If complete success is not reached, it is because Stuart has gone off apparently on his own volition; or because A. P. Hill has shown want of judgment, or because Ewell is hardly adequate to the command of a corps; or, more often than any other reason, because Longstreet has come miserably short. Longstreet is the especial scape-goat upon whom Mr. Bruce unloads the misfortunes of Lee's campaigns. The Georgian at Seven Pines, on the eve of Lee's assuming command, had balked a Confederate victory; at Second Manassas his "opinionativeness" prevented complete success; at South Mountain he was "characteristically slow"; at Suffolk while in independent command his movements were ill-judged; at Gettysburg came the climax of his sluggishness, insubordination and obstinacy. Nor does he escape blame even for his conduct in the wilderness, although it is the usual Confederate view that Longstreet was involving the Federals in a new Chancellorsville when he was struck down and baffled by wounds from his own men. Even here Mr. Bruce does not praise. He should have been on the field the evening before. Our author's treatment of Longstreet is in marked contrast with his treatment of Stonewall Jackson. We believe it to be a matter of easy proof that the latter during the Seven Days in 1862, frustrated Lee's efforts by culpable inaction, especially at White Oak Swamp. Mr. Bruce, however, does not hint at condemnation here or anywhere. Jackson is throughout the perfect lieutenant. We have no space to combat in detail Mr. Bruce's conclusions, but will only inquire, as to Gettysburg, what did Lee's pathetic exclamation mean, as he met Pickett's men returning repulsed from Cemetery Ridge; "It is all my fault"—that and his subsequent depression in which he sought to resign in favor of some one younger and abler—what does this mean except that Lee felt conscious of having made a mistake himself, and was far enough from shifting the blame for his defeat upon his corps-commanders?

Great generals heretofore have not conducted campaigns without errors. Certainly Napoleon and Frederick did not; no more did Lee. To mention but one instance. As to grand strategy, General E. P.

Alexander shows impressively that the Confederacy did not use as it might have done its interior lines to reinforce East and West, as occasion might require, by the transfer of troops across the mountains back and forth between Virginia or Tennessee. Here Lee failed to seize opportunities out of which much might have come.

We think Mr. Bruce's book an interesting story of the life of a great soldier and an heroic, if misguided, man. We regard, however, as more illuminating, the books of such veterans as Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, and E. P. Alexander, *Memoirs of a Confederate*. These high officers, admiring to the full their great chief, write with discrimination from their own knowledge, and do not hesitate to uncover the flaws in the general management. To the world, Longstreet's *From Manassas to Appomattox* seems a straightforward and manly book. The reader of Mr. Bruce's strictures may profitably seek out here what Longstreet has to say for himself.

Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. Volume II. Virginia Series, volume I. *Cahokia Records, 1778-1790*. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois. (Springfield, Illinois, Illinois State Historical Library, 1907, pp. clvi, 663.) It is a familiar fact that the history of institutions—social, legal, political and economic—in the Mississippi Valley largely remains to be written. It is a pleasure to commend Mr. Alvord's stout volume, not alone because intrinsically it represents a task well performed, but also because it sets a lofty standard for the much needed exploitation of similar riches in the archives of states, counties and towns. Aside from a few minor documents, the materials presented (in both the original French and an English translation) are: (1) the Record of the Court of the District of Cahokia, 1779-1790; (2) a long extract from the Registers of the Magistracy of Cahokia, as preserved by the notary-clerks of the court, 1778-1788; and (3) a varied collection of letters, petitions and memorials, covering the decade 1779-1789.

The court of Cahokia owed its origin legally to the organization of the County of Illinois in 1778, though it represented in fact a mere continuation of the courts established in the previous year by George Rogers Clark. There were, after 1778, three such courts in the county—those, namely, of the districts of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes. Each consisted of six justices from the principal village and a few representatives from the other communities of the district, all elected popularly for a year. At first weekly, later monthly, sessions were held, and the law administered was essentially that of the *Coutume de Paris*, modified at some points by the legal system of Virginia. The records of the Cahokia court alone are known to have survived and they will be found to fill a gap in our knowledge of the political and judicial arrangements in the Illinois country during the first generation of American control.

The well-written introduction which Mr. Alvord has prefixed to his book comprises a careful survey of the history, and especially of the institutional development, of the Illinois country in the period covered by the accompanying documents. Drawn, as we are assured it has been, from unpublished and largely unused sources (the Kaskaskia Records, the Draper Manuscripts, etc.), it represents a real contribution to a subject which has too commonly been glossed over by writers for the obvious reason of lack of information. A useful bibliography is appended, though the principle on which it has been made up does not appear.

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives (Simancas, the Archivo Historico Nacional, and Seville). By Professor William R. Shepherd. (Washington, The Carnegie Institution, 1907, pp. 107.) This book, just published as we go to press, presents first an introduction on general archive-conditions in Spain, then describes in order the three principal repositories of material relating to the history of the United States. It states briefly the processes by which each collection was brought together and gives titles of the various printed and manuscript inventories. In each subdivision of each of the three sections, devoted respectively to the archives of Simancas, to the National Historical Archives at Madrid and to the archives of the Indies at Seville, a descriptive statement is given, followed by lists of the principal items relating to United States history which the compiler found. A brief general bibliography and a somewhat full index follow.

TEXT-BOOKS

History of Mediaeval and Modern Civilization to the End of the Seventeenth Century. By CHARLES SEIGNOBOS, Doctor of Letters of the University of Paris. Translation edited by JAMES ALTON JAMES, Ph.D., Professor of History, Northwestern University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xi, 438.)

WHAT are the features of this work? As the title implies it does not dwell upon events. It contains rather "selected topics of a nature to make the customs of each society clear, and explanations intended to make it understood how these customs were formed, modified and scattered". Many events are indeed briefly recalled, but only because of their special connection with the movement of civilization. The larger lines of political development are indicated, and a résumé is given of the essentials of mediæval and early modern history with reference to institutions, customs, ideas, art and letters. Government of the Barbarian Kings, The Church in the Middle Ages, Royal Authority in France, Struggle between the Houses of France and Austria, The Renaissance, International Relations—thus run some of the chapter-

headings. Furthermore, the work was written—now some twenty years ago—to meet the requirements of the history programmes in certain branches of secondary education in France, “enseignement spécial” and “enseignement des filles”. So that what we have here is really a history of civilization under the yoke, though not the guise, of a text-book. Be it added that it is a text-book marked alike by high scholarship and by simple, clean-cut exposition.

What use may we reasonably expect to make of this work in our schools, now that it is accessible in English? It is not likely that we shall employ it as a text-book. Most of us think that an historical manual should set forth not the history of civilization as such, abstracted from general history, but the general story of men with emphasis upon their civilization. The French hold the same view, for the most part, and Professor Seignobos has lately written a series of manuals which exemplify it admirably. Probably the only sphere in which use of the work will be contemplated among us is that of collateral reading. Here, though, one encounters the practical purpose it was designed to serve. Being written to be a text-book, it must needs be brief and at the same time cover the whole field. Of necessity its treatments of most topics are very short, and of none very long. Of necessity, further, it adds relatively little to what is to be found in our better manuals, which make topics concerning civilization part and parcel of their account and dwell rather extensively upon the more important of them, like the Church in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Yet its matter is presented sometimes more truly than in our manuals and often much more effectively; and the translators have rendered, though not always with unswerving accuracy, on the whole with commendable success, both the sense and the style of the original.

EARLE W. DOW.

A Brief History of the United States. By JOHN BACH McMASTER, Professor of American History in the University of Pennsylvania. (New York: American Book Company. 1907. Pp. 434, xxx.)

IN this history of the United States for elementary schools, Professor McMaster has presented, as he says, “the essential features of our country’s progress” and also “many things of secondary consequence which it is well for every young American to know”.

The book shows a balance in the discussion of events that is noteworthy. Accounts of wars are reduced to a minimum. Western settlement and its influence are given an amount of space not heretofore seen in texts of this grade, and the leading features of industrial development are noted.

Of the forty-four chapters, the six most worthy of commendation are entitled: Our Country in 1789, Growth of the Country, 1789–1805,

Rise of the West, Growth of the Country from 1820 to 1840, State of the Country from 1840 to 1860 and Growth of the Country from 1860 to 1880. The presentation of such material for pupils of the grammar school age makes it probable that they will gain an incentive for further reading and study instead of rating history as a subject consisting merely of facts and dates which is straightway to be forgotten.

It is to be regretted that the author has in many instances so condensed the material in his paragraphs as to leave the discussion without life and certainly over-difficult for pupils who are expected to use the text. Eight lines are deemed adequate for an account of the First Continental Congress (p. 157). Four of them read: "met in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia in September, 1774, and issued a declaration of rights and grievances, a petition to the king, and addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the people of Canada, and to the people of the Colonies". The following description of the establishment of the judiciary also illustrates this tendency to over-compression (p. 222). "A Supreme Court was organized with a Chief Justice and five associates; three Circuits (one for each of the three groups of states, Eastern, Middle, and Southern) and thirteen District Courts (one for each state) were created, and provision was made for all the machinery of justice."

A special and praiseworthy feature of the book is the definiteness of the suggested readings. They are found in the foot-notes directly accompanying the subject-matter. But while in sympathy with this plan, the reviewer questions whether many of the leading references would not be more suitable to pupils of high school age. It is believed that only in the best schools where there are especially prepared teachers could grammar school pupils be expected to read with profit Rhode's *History of the United States*; King's and Pinckney's orations on the Missouri Compromise; and the speeches of Calhoun and Webster. Little supplementary biographical material is suggested other than that found in the numerous poems and novels cited.

Besides the twelve colored maps, four of which occupy double pages, there are forty-one well-executed maps of various sizes in black and white. They give all the essential information without being overcrowded with names. There is also an abundance of other well-selected material, chiefly photographs of articles found in museums and historical societies.

The single misleading statement is conspicuous (p. 42 n.); wherein the story of the saving of the life of John Smith by Pocahontas is given sanction as "according to Smith's account". No doubt is raised as to the authenticity of the tale.

JAMES ALTON JAMES.

COMMUNICATION

The Mecklenburg Declaration: What Did the Governor See?

[THE following communication has been received from Dr. George W. Graham of Charlotte, North Carolina, and is inserted at his request. The reader may profitably compare its statements with those made in the article by Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., in the last number of the REVIEW (XIII. 16-43). ED.]

IN May, 1775, delegates, elected by the voters of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, met in Charlotte and adopted a set of resolutions. In June following, these resolutions were printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury*, a newspaper published in Wilmington, N. C. On June 30, of the same year the colonial governor of North Carolina sent a copy of the *Mercury* containing the resolutions to the Earl of Dartmouth, who filed the paper in the British archives.

In 1819 a controversy, which has lasted until the present time, arose as to the purport of the resolutions printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury* of June, 1775, some disputants claiming that they were a Declaration of Independence, while their opponents contended that the resolutions made no demand for a separation of Mecklenburg County from Great Britain.

In order to settle the controversy some of the friends of the Declaration visited the British State Paper Office in order to examine the resolutions printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury* filed there. They found the paper gone and in its place a note in pencil containing this memorandum, "Taken out by Mr. Turner for Mr. Stevenson August 15th., 1837".¹

Who was Mr. Stevenson? Evidently a follower of Thomas Jefferson, whose friends were doing their utmost to hinder the establishment of the genuineness of the Mecklenburg Declaration and thereby prevent that statesman's being deemed a plagiarist, for according to Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography* Hon. Andrew Stevenson was born in Virginia in 1784, belonged to the Democratic party and was a prominent member of the state legislature and of Congress for twenty years just previous to Mr. Jefferson's death in 1826.

At the time Mr. Stevenson borrowed the *Mercury* from the British archives that gentleman was United States minister at the Court of St. James, and, it seems, was suspected of having more than a passing interest in the Declaration controversy. For in the year 1838, the year after Mr. Stevenson obtained the *Mercury* from the archives and

¹ Page 54, Draper's manuscript in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society at Madison.

while he still resided in London, the book, *Memorials of North Carolina*, appeared. And its author, J. Seawell Jones, who has evidently heard of the minister's search for the *Mercury*, gives way to his vexation thus: "It has been intimated to me by a friend that the present Envoy Extraordinary of the Government of the United States, near the throne of England, had been entrusted with a commission to explore the Archives of the Colonial Office for evidence against the Mecklenburg Declaration. Under whose superintendence and advice this exploring expedition was gotten up it does not behoove me to say, but I can certainly wish it's worthy commander whatever success he may deserve. He may depend upon his deserts being fairly and thoroughly canvassed whenever the fruits of his expedition shall be disclosed to the public."

That Mr. Stevenson borrowed the *Cape Fear Mercury* from the British archives is beyond question, for Lyman Draper in the manuscript already referred to remarks: "Upon Colonel Wheeler's return to this country he applied to Hon. J. W. Stevenson of Kentucky, son of the deceased Minister to England, concerning the missing copy of the Cape Fear Mercury, and the answer was, though the missing copy could not be found, dispatches and other memoranda among the deceased Minister's papers indicates that the copy had once been in his possession."

Notwithstanding J. Seawell Jones's reflections upon Minister Stevenson, that dignitary lived through nearly twenty years of the Mecklenburg controversy, dying in 1857 without divulging the contents of the *Cape Fear Mercury* to his opponents or the public, and thereby raised a presumption against himself.

In 1838, the year after Mr. Stevenson obtained the *Cape Fear Mercury*, Colonel Peter Force of Washington, D. C., discovered some resolutions that purported to have been adopted at Charlotte on May 31, 1775, and on account of their date are known as the Thirty-first Resolves. The fact of their discovery was announced in the *National Intelligencer* in December, 1838. Immediately upon this find, the doubters, as the opponents of the genuineness of the Mecklenburg Declaration are called, contended that the resolutions brought to light by Colonel Force were identical with those printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury*. Yet Mr. Stevenson, who had read the resolutions in the *Mercury*, and, for that reason, could have settled the controversy for all time, remained dumb throughout the entire discussion, which continued through the remaining years of his life.

While it is to be regretted that Mr. Stevenson, for reasons best known to himself, did not let the public know whether the resolutions that he saw in the *Mercury* were a Declaration of Independence or the Thirty-first Resolves, we are not without information as to the intent of the resolutions printed there.

Fortunately for us the Governor of North Carolina in 1775, who read the proceedings at Charlotte printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury* and then transmitted the newspaper to the Earl of Dartmouth, has

left on record several such minute descriptions of the contents of that paper that there is no mistaking his meaning.

We find the first reference of the Governor to the publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* on pages 38 and 39 of volume X. of the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*. There, in an address to the Executive Council on June 25, 1775, two days after the resolutions appeared in the *Mercury*, the Governor, after enumerating several unlawful occurrences in the province, continues: "And the late, most treasonable publication of a Committee in the County of Mecklenburg explicitly renouncing obedience to His Majesty's Government and all lawfull authority whatsoever are such audacious and dangerous proceedings, and so directly tending to the dissolution of the constitution of this Province, That I have thought it indispensably my Duty to advise with you on the measures proper to be taken for the maintenance of His Majesty's Government, and the Constitution of this country, thus flagrantly insulted and violated."

Of course, these remarks of the Governor can in no way be applied to the Thirty-first Resolves. For, as the opponents of the Declaration contend, the Thirty-first Resolves do not renounce obedience either explicitly or otherwise to "all lawfull authority whatsoever". And, as the doubters also contend, neither do the Thirty-first Resolves tend "to the dissolution of the constitution of this Province". On the contrary the Thirty-first Resolves, in Rule 18, positively declare that they are only intended to "be in full Force and Virtue until . . . the legislative Body of *Great Britain* resign its unjust and arbitrary Pretensions with Respect to *America*". So those resolutions are evidently not the ones that the royal executive saw in the *Mercury*. Now let us see how that official's language applies to what is known as the Mecklenburg Declaration. That Declaration explicitly renounces obedience to His Majesty's government and tends "to the dissolution of this Province", in Resolve 2 as follows: "We the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the Mother Country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown."

Again on page 48, volume X., of the same records we find a copy of the letter that accompanied the *Cape Fear Mercury* to the Earl of Dartmouth. It is dated June 30, 1775, and in part says: "The Resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburgh, which your Lordship will find in the enclosed Newspaper, surpass all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of this Continent have yet produced."

Here again the Governor makes no allusion to the Thirty-first Resolves, for, as the doubters claim, those resolutions are not treasonable. But as their preamble sets forth, they were intended "To provide in some Degree for the Exigencies of the County in the present alarming Period". The Declaration, however, fulfills the language of the letter as to treason in Resolve 3, where among other things it declares: "That

we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent People." In the same letter the Governor tells Dartmouth: "A copy of these Resolves I am informed were sent off by express to the Congress at Philadelphia as soon as they were passed in the Committee." This information the Governor, of course, obtained from the *Cape Fear Mercury* which he had before him when writing. For Resolve 6 of the Declaration reads: "That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by Express to the President of the Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia, to be laid before that body." The Thirty-first Resolves do not mention Philadelphia.

The next reference to what the Governor saw in the *Cape Fear Mercury* is found in his proclamation of August 8, 1775, pages 144 and 145 of the same North Carolina *Records*, where he recites: "Whereas I have also seen a most infamous publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* importing to be resolves of a set of people stiling themselves a Committee for the County of Mecklenburg most traiterously declaring the entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country and setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the Laws and subversive of His Majesty's Government," etc.

Now we have the assertion of the doubters that the Thirty-first Resolves are neither "subversive of His Majesty's Government", nor do they declare "the entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country". So according to the testimony of our opponents the king's governor did not refer to the Thirty-first Resolves in his proclamation. Then his proclamation must have reference to the Declaration of Independence which meets the language of that manifesto when it declares in Resolve 4 that "the Crown of Great-Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities or authority therein."

The Thirty-first Resolves were intended as a substitute for laws wholly suspended by an act of the British Parliament.

Those in the *Cape Fear Mercury* declare the laws of Great Britain abrogated by the citizens of Mecklenburg County.

The Thirty-first Resolves are limited as to time and power. Those in the *Cape Fear Mercury* are treasonable and permanent in their action.

The Thirty-first Resolves, declare the doubters, are meant to be purely provisional, temporary and contingent in their force and virtue.

Those in the *Cape Fear Mercury*, according to the royal governor who saw them in that paper, declare "the entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country".

The Thirty-first Resolves, say our opponents, do not contemplate anything like a formal or definite separation from Great Britain.

Those in the *Cape Fear Mercury*, the Governor tells the Executive Council, explicitly renounce obedience to His Majesty's government.

Now, it is easy to infer which set of resolutions the Governor saw in the *Cape Fear Mercury*.

GEORGE W. GRAHAM.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

David Masson, historiographer royal for Scotland and emeritus professor of English literature in the University of Edinburgh, died on October 6 at the age of 84. His career as journalist, author of various works on literary topics and professor of English literature at University College, London, and later at Edinburgh, does not concern us here. He made important contributions to history in his exhaustive *Life of Milton, in connection with the History of his Time* (six volumes) and in the fourteen volumes of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, edited by him.

William Thomas Davis of Plymouth, Massachusetts, for several years president of the Pilgrim Society, died on December 3, aged eighty-five. Among his historical writings are *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth*, a *History of Plymouth* and a *History of the Bench and Bar of Massachusetts*. He also edited the *Plymouth Town Records*, and shortly before his death, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, which is about to appear as volume six of "Original Narratives of Early American History".

Moncure Daniel Conway, author and lecturer on a wide range of subjects, died in Paris on November 15, aged seventy-five. To the historical world he is known chiefly from his lives of Edmund Randolph and Thomas Paine.

Dr. Oliver P. Chitwood has been elected professor of history in West Virginia University, to take the place held by Professor W. L. Fleming, who, as mentioned incidentally in our last number, has taken the chair of history in the Louisiana State University.

Professor Louis Madelin, the historian, arrived in the United States in November, to deliver at a number of American universities a series of lectures under the auspices of the Alliance Française. His subjects pertain chiefly to the Napoleonic era.

In connection with the celebration at the Laurentian Library, Florence, on November 3, of the eightieth anniversary of the historian, teacher and publicist, Pasquale Villari, there was prepared an illustrated memoir by Francesco Baldasseroni, *Pasquale Villari, Profilo Biografico e Bibliografia degli Scritti*. The bibliography comprises more than 400 items.

A volume of nineteen *Anthropological Essays* (London, Frowde, 1907) by distinguished authors was presented to Professor E. B. Tylor

in honor of his seventy-fifth birthday on October 2. Among the articles are "The Place of the 'Sonder-Götter' in Greek Polytheism", by L. R. Farnell; "Folk-lore in the Old Testament", by J. G. Frazer; "Concerning the Rite at the Temple of Mylitta", by E. S. Hartland; "Australian Problems", by Andrew Lang; "Is Taboo a Negative Magic?" by R. R. Marett; "The Ethnological Study of Music", by C. S. Myers; "The Sigynnae of Herodotus: An Ethnological Problem of the Early Iron Age", by J. L. Myres; "A Museum of Anthropology", by C. H. Read; "Who were the Dorians?" by William Ridgeway; "On the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationships", by W. H. R. Rivers. Miss B. W. Freire-Marreco has contributed a bibliography.

An Index of Archaeological Papers, 1665-1890, compiled by G. L. Gomme, and published under the direction of the Congress of Archaeological Societies and the Society of Antiquaries, has been issued by Messrs. Archibald Constable. The work, which forms a guide to the archaeological and historical publications of some ninety learned societies, ends where the annual *Index of Archaeological Papers*, published under the same auspices, begins.

The Italian Society of Archaeology and of the History of Art, which was organized at Rome two years ago, has published the first volume of its periodical *Ausonia* (Rome, Loescher, 1907, pp. xiii, 203) containing twelve articles, accounts of recent discoveries, summaries of periodicals, reviews and notes.

The second volume of *Proceedings* (Frowde) of the British Academy covers the two years 1905 and 1906. Among the contributions are papers by Sir John Rhys on "The Celtae and Galli" and "The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy". Professor Ridgeway has an essay on the "Cuchulainn Saga" and Professor Haverfield on the "Romanization of Roman Britain". A paper on the Moghul Empire read by Sir Alfred Lyall is represented only by a summary.

The third volume of *Sociological Papers* (Macmillan, 1907, pp. xi, 382) consists of the papers read at the meetings of the Sociological Society, held in London during the session of 1905-1906, together with reports of the discussions and some written communications. While most of the papers deal either with the relations of sociology to biology or with sociological aims and methods, two have an historical interest. One of these, "The Russian Revolution", by Mr. G. de Wesselitsky, is mainly an historical sketch of the development of autocracy in Russia; the other, an interesting paper on "The Origin and Function of Religion", by Mr. A. E. Crawley, gives some of the results of a survey of religious phenomena, which starts from a study of certain savage peoples. The conclusion is reached that religion, which may be defined as a psychic temper, has for its origin the vital instinct, and for its sociological functions "the affirmation and consecration of life", the

intensification of personality, the keeping of man in harmony with the earth and the raising of human nature to a higher power.

Under the title *L'Europe Préhistorique: Principes d'Archéologie Préhistorique* (Paris, Lamaire, 1907) an important work of the late Sophus Muller has been translated from the Danish by E. Philipot with the collaboration of the author.

Professor Martin Philipsson has published the first volume of an important work on the *Neueste Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig, Fock, pp. 392), covering the first half of the nineteenth century. This forms part of a series, *Grundriss der Gesamtwissenschaft des Judentums*, which is to consist of thirty-six works dealing with the language, history, literature and religion of the Jewish people from their origins to the present day.

A bulletin of recent works relating to the history of Christianity is contributed by Ch. Guignebert to the *Revue Historique* for November-December.

The first volume of an historical study by M. Alfred Franklin on *La Civilité, l'Étiquette, la Mode, le Bon Ton, du XIII^e au XIX^e Siècle* is announced for immediate publication by M. Émile Paul. The work will be complete in two volumes.

During the past year the first three volumes were issued of the great general catalogue of illuminated manuscripts in Austria, which is being edited by the Austrian Historical Institute under the direction of Professor F. Wickhoff. These volumes are devoted to the Tyrol, Salzburg and Carinthia respectively.

The Cambridge University Press has in hand a work by C. D. Cobham, commissioner of Larnaca, entitled *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for the History of Cyprus*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: James Bryce, *The Personal Factor in History* (Pall Mall Magazine, December); Sir W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul's Philosophy of History* (Contemporary, September); A. Cauchie, *The Teaching of History at the University of Louvain* (The Catholic University Bulletin, October).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Dr. Emil Reich is publishing through Macmillan an *Atlas Antiquus*, a series of forty-eight maps in colors prepared on a new plan, with the historical events and institutions of ancient history represented according to the system employed in the author's *Students' Atlas of English History*.

The first two fascicles of the *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums* (Paderborn, Schöningh), the series recently inaugurated by the Görres Gesellschaft, under the direction of Professors E. Drerup,

H. Grimme and J. P. Kirsch, contain monographs on the feast of Pentecost among the Jews by Professor Grimme (pp. 132), and on the senate under Augustus by Dr. Abele (pp. 78). From four to six fascicles are to appear annually.

Professor G. Maspéro's volume, *Causeries d'Égypte* (Paris, Guilmoto, 1907) reproduces with a few changes some of the articles contributed by him to the *Journal des Débats* from 1893 to 1907.

Professor Hugo Winckler's *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, translated and edited by J. A. Craig and revised by the author, has been published by Scribners (1907, pp. 352).

In *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* (London, Unwin, 1907) Dr. Angelo Mosso treats of the buildings, sculpture, fresco and vase paintings of the Minoan and Mycenaean periods. There are 187 illustrations.

Professor Ettore Pais announces the publication of a new series of *Studi Storici*, entitled *Studi Storici per l'Antichità Classica*. This will take the form of a quarterly of about 140 pages, which is intended to include articles, the fruit of original research, not only by Italians but also by foreigners whose contributions will be published in their native language. Some pages of each fascicle will be devoted to notices of books. A translation of a volume by Dr. Pais, *Studies in the Early History of Ancient Italy*, has been announced for publication by the Chicago University Press.

Under the title *A Students' History of Greece* (Macmillan, 1907, pp. 377) Professor Everett Kimball of Smith College has edited and prepared for the use of American secondary schools, Professor J. B. Bury's *History of Greece for Beginners*.

Dr. J. G. Frazer has so much enlarged his treatises on magic and religion previously brought together in his volume entitled *The Golden Bough* that they will be issued as a series of five separate monographs of which the fourth, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, has recently been published through Macmillan.

The fifth part of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Frowde) includes, among other important discoveries made by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, portions of a new Greek historical work by a writer of the fourth century before Christ, supposed to be Theopompus.

The eighth *Heft* in the series of Leipzig Historical Essays edited by E. Brandenburg, G. Seeliger and U. Wilcken is Dr. W. Hoffman's *Das Literarische Porträt Alexanders des Grossen im Griechischen und Römischen Altertum* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1907, pp. viii, 115).

The first volume of the first part of J. Toutain's *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain* deals with the official cults and the Roman and Graeco-Roman cults in the Latin provinces (Paris, 1907).

Konrat Ziegler has published a very detailed study of *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1907, pp. viii, 208).

The Life of Alexander Severus (Cambridge University Press, 1907, pp. xxii, 280), the Prince Consort Prize Essay for 1906, by R. V. Nind Hopkins, late senior scholar of Emmanuel College, has been published in the series of Cambridge Historical Essays.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Flach, *La Propriété Collective en Chaldée et la prétendue Féodalité Militaire du Code de Hammourabi*, II. (*Revue Historique*, November–December); E. H. Parker, *Tartars and Chinese before the Time of Confucius* (*English Historical Review*, October); M. Besnier, *L'Oeuvre de M. Guglielmo Ferrero: les Derniers Temps de la République Romaine* (*Revue Historique*, September–October); L. Bréhier, *La Conception du Pouvoir Impérial en Orient pendant les Trois Premiers Siècles de l'Ère Chrétienne* (*Revue Historique*, September–October).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Professor E. J. Goodspeed has compiled an index to all the words found in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers included in the edition of Gebhardt-Harnack-Zahn with references to the passages where they are found—*Index Patristicus, sive Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum Operum ex Editione Minore Gebhardt-Harnack-Zahn, Lectionibus Editionum Minorum Funk et Lightfoot Admissis* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1907, pp. viii, 262).

The fifth number in the excellent series of *Textes et Documents pour l'Étude Historique du Christianisme* (Paris, Picard, 1907, pp. cxvi, 122) published under the direction of H. Hemmer and P. Lejay, and including both the original texts and French translations, is *Les Pères Apostoliques, I. Doctrine des Apôtres; Épître de Barnabé*, edited by H. Hemmer, G. Oger and A. Laurent.

The *Gospel of Barnabas*, edited and translated from the Italian manuscript in the Imperial Library of Vienna by Lonsdale and L. Ragg, has been published by the Clarendon Press (1907, pp. lxxix, 500).

Paul Allard's *Ten Lectures on the Martyrs* has been translated by L. Cappadelta and published in the International Catholic Library (Benziger, 1907).

Les Saints Successeurs des Dieux: Essais de Mythologie Chrétienne (Paris, Nourry, 1907, pp. 416) the first volume of a great work by P. Saintyves, treats with much learning and excellent scientific method of the origins of the cult of the saints, of the hagiographic legends and of the mythology of proper names.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The more important historical works relating to the Middle Ages published in Germany in 1905-1906, are noticed in the "Courrier Allemand" of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for July and October.

Études Tironiennes (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 88), by Paul Legendre, forms fascicle 165 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*. The main body of the book consists of the fragment of a commentary on the sixth eclogue of Virgil drawn from a manuscript of the ninth century preserved in the library of Chartres and partly written in the shorthand characters known as Tironian. In the editor's opinion this remarkably full and careful commentary would do honor to the Carolingian renaissance. An appendix (pp. 43-88) contains remarks on the Tironian notes found in various manuscripts, a list of Tironian manuscripts, a bibliography of the subject and a facsimile of the Chartres manuscript.

Bernard Monod has issued through the house of Champion an *Essai sur les Rapports de Pascal II. avec Philippe Ier (1099-1108)* (1907, pp. xxvii, 164).

Mr. W. B. Stevenson's *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge University Press, 1907, pp. 400) treats of the wars of Islam with the Latins in Syria during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Eastern point of view is emphasized and the main thread of the narrative is drawn so far as possible from the history of the Moslem states.

Pope Adrian IV. (London, Blackwell, pp. 128) is the subject of the Lothian Essay of 1907, by J. D. Mackie.

The first number of *Archivium Franciscano-Historicum*, a new quarterly periodical devoted to Franciscan history, will be published in January, 1908, under the direction of the fathers of the college of S. Bonaventura at Quaracchi near Florence. The periodical will contain articles, documents, descriptions of manuscripts, reviews of books and periodicals, and a chronicle. The articles will be printed either in Latin or in a modern language.

Les Origines du Speculum Perfectionis d'après M. A. Fierens (Louvain, Van Linthout, 1907, pp. 39) is a minute examination of the conclusions of Fierens made in the historical seminary of the Catholic University of Louvain during the year 1905-1906.

Dr. D. S. Muzzey's essay on *The Spiritual Franciscans*, which won the Herbert Baxter Adams prize offered by the American Historical Association, was separately published by the Association this autumn in an edition supposed to be of adequate size. The edition has, however, been exhausted and there are so many demands for the book that the Executive Council of the Association is considering the possibility of reprinting.

Dr. H. Finke's work on the *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens* (Münster, Aschendorff, pp. xvi, 398), of which the second volume is devoted to *Quellen*, forms the fourth and fifth volumes of the series of researches into pre-Reformation history of which he is the general editor.

Professor K. Böckenhoff of the University of Strassburg has continued his studies on the dietary regulations taken over from the Mosaic code into Christian laws, in a treatise, *Speisesatzungen Mosaischer Art in Mittelalterlichen Kirchenrechtsquellen des Morgen- und Abendlandes* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1907, pp. vi, 128), said to be the most complete work on the subject.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Seeliger, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Grundherrschaft im früheren Mittelalter*, II. *Zur Organisation der Fränkischen Grundherrschaft* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, September); M. Tangl, *Die Tironischen Noten in den Urkunden der Karolinger* (*Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, I. 1); K. Brandi, *Der Byzantinische Kaiserbrief aus St. Denis und die Schrift der frühmittelalterlichen Kanzleien* (*Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, I. 1); A. Schürr, *Un Moine Français en Pologne au XII^e Siècle: Le Chroniqueur Gallus Anonymus* (*Revue Historique*, September–October); O. Cartellieri, *Über eine Burgundische Gesandtschaft an den Kaiserlichen und Päpstlichen Hof im Jahre 1460* (*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXVIII. 3).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A History of Classical Scholarship from the End of the Middle Ages to the Present Day, in two volumes, by J. E. Sandys, is announced for publication by the Cambridge University Press.

A new and revised edition of Ranke's *History of the Popes*, containing chapters on Pius IX. and the Vatican Council, which are here translated for the first time, has been published in Messrs. Bell's "York Library".

Dr. Paul Herre of Leipzig, in his very detailed monograph, *Papsttum und Papstwahl im Zeitalter Philipps II.* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1907, pp. xx, 652) treats of the conclaves of the several popes from Pius IV. to Clement VIII. inclusive, of the history of the college of cardinals, and of the relations of the popes to other powers, especially to the king of Spain, during this period.

The fifth volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, entitled *The Age of Louis XIV.*, will be published early in this year by the Cambridge University Press.

Dr. G. M. Theal is publishing through Sonnenschein a three-volume work on *The History and Ethnography of Africa, South of the Zambesi*,

from the Settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in September, 1505, to the Conquest of the Cape Colony by Great Britain in September, 1795. The first volume treats of the Portuguese in South Africa from 1505 to 1700 (1907, pp. 526). The second volume will deal with the formation of the Cape Colony by the Dutch, and the third will be an account of the Dutch, Portuguese, Hottentots and Bantu.

P. Emmanuelis d'Almeida S. I. *Historia Aethiopiae, Liber I-IV*. (Rome, De Luigi, 1907, pp. lxiv, 525) forms the fifth volume of the important series *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a Saeculo XVI. ad XIX.*, edited by C. Beccari, S. J.

Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy (London, Frowde, 1907, pp. 332), by Mr. A. J. Sargent of the London School of Economics, deals mainly with the nineteenth century and will serve as an historical introduction to a study of present commercial conditions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. S. Allen, *Some Letters of Masters and Scholars, 1500-1530* (English Historical Review, October); R. Ancel, *Paul IV. et le Concile* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); J. F. Chance, *The Northern Pacification of 1719-20, II. The Swedish Treaties* (English Historical Review, October); J. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Nelson, Wellington und Gneisenau, die Militärischen Hauptgegner Napoleons I.* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVIII. 3); P. Quentin-Bauchart, *La Prusse, les Polonais et la France en 1848* (Annales des Sciences Politiques, September); Simeon E. Baldwin, *The International Congresses and Conferences of the Last Century as Forces working toward the Solidarity of the World* (American Journal of International Law, July).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

M. Ch. Bémont concludes his review of recent historical publications relating to England in the Bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for September-October, in which he treats of works relating to institutions and local history.

Outline for Review: English History, is one of a series of outlines for review prepared by Charles Bartram Newton and Edwin Bryant Treat. The authors endeavor, by means of this outline, to solve the problem, which presents itself to the teacher at the close of the year's work, of "bringing out the subject as a whole, and of so focussing it as to make the picture clear-cut and vivid in the pupil's mind" (American Book Company, pp. 76).

Dr. T. Rice Holmes, author of *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, is publishing through the Oxford University Press a work on *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, in which he gives many details regarding man's life in Britain from the earliest times. The second part contains articles on Stonehenge, Ictis, the ethnology of Britain, the place of Caesar's landing in Britain, etc.

The Cambridge University Press has begun the publication of *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, a co-operative work in fourteen volumes on the plan of *The Cambridge Modern History*, by the issue of the first volume, *From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance*. The second volume, *The End of the Middle Ages*, will be issued early in 1908. The editors of the *History* are Dr. A. W. Ward and Mr. A. R. Waller.

A reprint of Professor F. W. Maitland's *Domesday-Book and Beyond*, which has been out of print for some time, has been issued by the Cambridge University Press.

The Clarendon Press makes welcome announcement of a new work by Professor Paul Vinogradoff, entitled *English Society in the Eleventh Century: Essays in English Medieval History*.

The Manorial Society, whose organization was noted in the July number of this REVIEW (XII. 944), has issued as the first of its monographs, the first part of a series of *Lists of Manor Court Rolls in Private Hands*, edited by A. L. Hardy, and giving the number of court rolls and, in some cases, account rolls and rentals extant for each manor, and the period during which the rolls extend.

During the past year the Canterbury and York Society, which was established in 1904 for printing bishops' registers and other ecclesiastical records, has issued four parts of its publications: two more parts of the register of Hugh de Welles of Lincoln; one of that of Bishop Halton of Carlisle, which begins in 1292; and the final part of Bishop Cantilupe's (Hereford) register. In addition to these the society has in hand the registers of Canterbury and Rochester; and the first part of Archbishop Parker's register is expected to be ready in the coming autumn. The registers are of course of great value to the local as well as to the ecclesiastical historian.

The British Society of Franciscan Studies will adopt as its principal object, if sufficient support can be obtained, the printing (for circulation among members only) of original documents and papers illustrative of the religious life of the Middle Ages, and especially of the work of the friars. The first volume to be issued under the new conditions is a *Liber Exemplorum* preserved at Durham, compiled in the thirteenth century by an English Franciscan who knew Roger Bacon at Paris and passed much of his life in Ireland.

An interesting article by J. F. Willard on *The English Church and the Lay Taxes of the Fourteenth Century* has been reprinted from *University of Colorado Studies*, vol. IV., no. 4, June, 1907. From an examination of manuscript and printed sources the author concludes that "there was regularly laid upon the clergy of England, for their personal goods upon lands acquired since the twentieth year of King Edward I., the burden of sharing with the laity the national taxes granted in Parliament".

In a paper entitled *An Unrecognized Westminster Chronicler, 1381-1394* (London, Frowde, pp. 32), read before the British Academy last spring, Dr. J. Armitage Robinson appears to have proved that the latter part of the Latin continuation of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, covering the period 1381-1394, was written not as has been supposed by John Malverne, a monk of Worcester, but by a monk of Westminster.

Karl Schmidt's monograph, *Margareta von Anjou vor und bei Shakespeare* [Untersuchungen und Texte aus der Deutschen und Englischen Philologie, edited by A. Brandl, G. Roethe and E. Schmidt, Palaestra LIV.] (Berlin, Mayer and Müller, 1906, pp. xi, 286), is of interest to the historian as well as to the student of literature. The author examines the historical credibility and significance of the references to the queen that appear in the contemporary English chronicles; in the French chronicles; and in the Tudor chronicles, where, instead of the incomplete outline of the earlier annalists, an entire portrait of Margaret is drawn. A final chapter consists of a detailed study of the sources and motifs of Shakespeare's portrayal of the queen.

The Privy Council under the Tudors (Blackwell, 1907, pp. 78) by Eustace, Lord Percy, is the Stanhope Essay for 1907.

Dom H. N. Birt has published a work on *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement* (London, Bell, 1907, pp. 595) which is a study of contemporary documents.

A Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury (Cambridge University Press, 1907, pp. xlvii, 586), by T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft, includes an essay by Professor C. H. Firth on "Burnet as an Historian".

James Francis Edward: the Old Chevalier (London, Dent, 1907), by Martin Haile, forms a sequel to the author's earlier work on *Mary of Modena*. Mr. Haile has had access to the large collection of Stuart manuscripts at Windsor Castle, and his volume is said to throw much fresh light upon the principal personages and events of the period.

Under the title *Coke of Norfolk and his Friends* (London, Lane, 1907, two volumes) Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling has written a comprehensive account of the great agriculturist and politician (1754-1842).

In the twelfth volume of *The Political History of England* (Longmans) Mr. Sidney Low treats of *The Reign of Queen Victoria*.

An interesting paper by Herbert Wood on the Templars in Ireland, with extracts from unpublished records, appeared in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, July, 1907, and is published separately by Williams and Norgate.

Mrs. Nalini Banerji, the wife of the Dewan of Cochin, is writing a history of the Jews in India.

British government publications: *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry IV.*, 1405-1408; *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, vol. V., 1574-1581; *Lists*

and Indexes, no. XXIII., *Inquisitions preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. I., Henry VIII. to Philip and Mary; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. XX., part II.; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster; on American manuscripts, vol. III., 1782-1783; on manuscripts in various collections, vol. IV., and on manuscripts of the Duke of Portland preserved at Welbeck Abbey, vol. VIII.

Other documentary publications: L. Delisle, *Notes sur les Chartes Originales de Henri II. Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie au British Museum et au Record Office* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, May-August); W. Meyer, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas (des Magister Hugo von Orleans)* II. (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1907, 2); *Registrum Ade de Orleton, Episcopi Herefordensis*, 1317-1327, I. Edited for the Cantilupe Society by the Rev. A. T. Bannister (Hereford, Wilson and Phillips, 1907); W. Foster, *Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1635-1639* (Oxford, Clarendon Press); Sir J. K. Laughton, *Letters and Papers of Charles, Lord Barham, Admiral of the Red Squadron, 1758-1813*, I. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XXXII.] (1907, pp. lxvi, 422); R. W. Jeffery, *Dyott's Diary, 1781-1845: a Selection from the Journal of William Dyott, sometime General in the British Army and Aide-de-Camp to his Majesty King George III.* (London, Constable, 1907, two volumes).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Gougaud, *Les Noms Anciens des Îles Britanniques* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); J. H. Round, *The Chronology of Henry II.'s Charters* (Archaeological Journal, LXIV.); J. Edwards, *The Templars in Scotland in the Thirteenth Century* (Scottish Historical Review, October); C. G. Bayne, *The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth* (English Historical Review, October); A. Lang, *The Casket Letters* (Scottish Historical Review, October); W. S. McKechnie, *The Constitutional Necessity for the Union of 1707* (Scottish Historical Review, October).

FRANCE

Professor Camille Jullian of the Collège de France has published two volumes of a *Histoire de la Gaule*, dealing with the Gallic invasion, Greek colonization and independent Gaul. Four volumes are to follow: the Roman conquest and first Germanic invasions; government by Rome; Gallo-Roman civilization, and the Lower Empire.

The recently published fourth fascicle of M. A. Longnon's *Atlas Historique de la France depuis César jusqu'à Nos Jours*, the publication of which has been suspended since 1889, contains a map of France at the death of Charles V. in 1380, three pages of explanatory text and indexes to the fascicles already published. The four fascicles together

form a complete volume, bearing the sub-title *Texte Explicatif des Planches, 1^{re} partie: De 58 avant J.-C. à 1380 après J.-C.* (Paris, Hachette, 1907, pp. viii, 290).

M. Félix Senn's excellent monograph on *L'Institution des Vidamies en France* (Paris, Rousseau, 1907, pp. xvi, 256) traces the development of the *Vicedominus* from the Merovingian period, concluding with the complete decadence of the *Vidamie* at the end of the fifteenth century. Appendixes, pp. 181-253, comprise a table of the principal documents relative to the institution, and *pièces justificatives*.

Johannes von Walter has issued a new volume on *Die Ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs: Studien zur Geschichte des Mönchtums* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1906, pp. x, 179) in which he treats of several ambulatory preachers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sketching the life and critically examining the sources relating to each. He also considers certain questions relating to Norbert of Xanten and Henry of Lausanne, and in a final chapter deals with the origins and results of the apostolate of ambulatory preachers.

Felix Portal, adjunct secretary of the departmental committee on the economic history of the Revolution, has published a study of *La République Marseillaise du XIII^e Siècle, 1200-1263* (Marseilles, Ruat, 1907, pp. viii, 467).

Professor Karl Wenck has published a study of *Philipp der Schöne von Frankreich, seine Persönlichkeit und das Urteil der Zeitgenossen* (Marburg, Elvert, 1907). An appendix contains *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Erwerbung Lyons für Frankreich*.

M. Vigié has made a valuable contribution to the history of medieval municipal institutions in his work on *Les Bastides du Périgord* (Montpellier, Mémoires de l'Académie, pp. 196), which is based on manuscript and printed sources.

An historical study on *Les Premières Mitrailleuses, 1342-1725* (1907, pp. 63), by Captain Paul Azan, attaché of the historical section of the general staff, has been issued through the house of R. Chapelot.

Émile Picot, member of the Institute, has completed his work on *Les Français Italianisants au XVI^e Siècle* by the publication of a second volume (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 396).

The Society for the History of France has recently published, or has in press, the following volumes: volume two of the *Mémoires de Souvigny*, covering the period from 1639 to the Peace of the Pyrenees; the third and last volume of the *Mémoriaux du Conseil de 1661*; the index of the nine volumes of the *Histoire Universelle d'Agrippa d'Aubigné*, the *Mémoires de Guillaume et Martin du Bellay*, from the edition of 1569 but completed from manuscript sources; the *Mémoires du Maréchal d'Estrées (1573-1670)*, completed from manuscript sources; and *Les Journaux Militaires du Duc de Croÿ, I., 1741-1743*.

Professor G. Desdevises du Dezert of the University of Clermont-Ferrand has published the first volume of a history of *L'Église et l'État en France depuis l'Édit de Nantes jusqu' au Concordat* (Paris, Société Française d'Impr. et de Libr., 1907, pp. 369).

Dr. Ch. Normand, professor at the Lycée Condorcet, has recently issued through the house of Alcan a social study on *La Bourgeoisie Française au XVII^e Siècle*, treating of the public life, the ideas and political actions of this class.

Professor H. Hauser has published a study of *Les Compagnonnages d'Arts et Métiers à Dijon aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles* (Paris, Picard, pp. 220).

New publications relating to the French Revolution and Empire are reviewed by R. Reuss in the "historical bulletin" of the *Revue Historique* for September-October.

Frédéric Masson of the French Academy has published a work on *Napoléon dans sa Jeunesse (1769-1793)* (Paris, Ollendorf, 1907, pp. xi, 322).

The Library of Congress has received forty manuscripts relating to the antecedents of the Marquis de Lafayette. The manuscripts date from the time of the Crusades to the period of the French Revolution and were collected from the cabinet of the genealogist, Hozier. They were presented to the United States government by M. Émile Édouard Cellérier, president of the International College of Heraldry.

M. Armand Brette, whose laborious researches have thrown much light on the historical geography of France at the end of the Ancient Régime, presents many of his results in convenient form in a small book of great value, *Les Limites et les Divisions Territoriales de la France en 1789* (Paris, Cornely, 1907, pp. vii, 134).

Professor M. F. Bräsch has prepared a report for the minister of public instruction on the documents relative to the French Revolution at Paris, preserved in the British Museum (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1907, pp. 64).

Numbers 2-3 of the *Bulletin Trimestriel* (Paris, Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Imp. Nationale), of the Commission on Documents relative to the Economic Life of the Revolution, are chiefly devoted to the subject of the grain trade and include a collection, compiled by M. P. Caron, of the principal legislative and administrative texts relating to this trade from 1788 to the year V. (pp. 129-294). The principal feature of the fourth number of the *Bulletin* is an article by M. C. Riffaterre on *Les Revendications Économiques et Sociales des Assemblées Primaires de Juillet 1793*, with an analytical table of the same.

Professor P. Gaffarel of the University of Aix-Marseille, and author of *Les Colonies Françaises*, has recently published a work on *La Politique Coloniale en France (1789-1830)* (Paris, Alcan, 1907).

Gilbert Stenger's work on *La Société Française pendant le Consulat* (Paris, Perrin, 1907) is concluded by the publication of the sixth series, which deals with the army, the clergy, the magistracy and public instruction.

M. Étienne Dejean, director of the French archives, has written an account of *Un Préfet du Consulat: Jacques-Claude Beugnot* (Paris, Plon, 1907) which contains many interesting economic details. The memoirs of M. Beugnot give least information for the years 1800-1806. From documentary material bequeathed to the French archives by M. Beugnot's grandson, M. Dejean has been able to fill this gap.

Mr. H. F. B. Wheeler and Mr. A. M. Broadley, the well-known collector of documents, medals, etc., relating to Napoleon, have compiled two volumes, abundantly illustrated with contemporary prints, caricatures, broadsides, etc., on *Napoleon and the Invasion of England: the Story of the Great Terror* (John Lane, 1907).

La Police Secrète du Premier Empire (Paris, Perrin, 1907), is a series of daily bulletins communicated to the emperor by Fouché in the years 1804-1805, edited by M. Ernest d'Hauterive from the original documents in the national archives.

M. Paul Déroulède will shortly publish through M. Juven a volume entitled '70-'71; *Nouvelles Feuilles de Route; de la Forteresse de Breslau aux Allées de Fourny*, a sequel to his previous book, 1870, *Feuilles de Route; des Boil de Verrières à la Forteresse de Breslau*.

Documentary publications: J. Laurent, *Cartulaires de l'Abbaye de Molesme, Ancien Diocèse de Langres (916-1250)*, vol. I., *Introduction*. [Collection of documents relating to the north of Burgundy and the south of Champagne, with a diplomatic, historical and geographical introduction.] (Paris, Picard, 1907, pp. xxxii, 354, with maps and plans), E. Deville, *Inventaire Sommaire d'un Fragment de Cartulaire de l'Abbaye du Bec, conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 14); A. Besançon, *Cartulaire Municipal de la Ville de Villefranche* (Paris, Champion, pp. xii, 224); E. Champeaux, *La Compilation de Bounier et les Coutumiers Bourguignons du XIV. Siècle, le Coutumier Bourguignon de Montpellier* (Manuscript H. 386) (Paris, Picard, 1907, pp. 111); F. Masson and G. Biagi, *Manuscripts Inédits de Napoléon, 1786-1791*, published from the original autographs (Paris, Ollendorf, 1907, pp. xv, 586); Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, *État Sommaire des Papiers de la Période Révolutionnaire conservés dans les Archives Départementales, Série L, tome I., Ain à Loire-Inférieure* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1907, 1082 columns) [Series L deals with the administration from 1789 to the year VIII.]; C. Nicoullaud, *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne, née d'Osmond*, III. 1820-1830 (Paris, Plon, 1907).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. H. Haskins, *Knight-Service in Normandy in the Eleventh Century* (English Historical Review, October); C. Molinier, *L'Église et la Société Cathares*, II. and concl. (Revue Historique, September–October, November–December); Ch.-V. Langlois, *Les Doléances des Communautés du Toulousain contre Pierre de Latilli et Raoul de Breuilli, 1297–1298* (Revue Historique, September–October); J. Bédier, *La Légende de Raoul de Cambrai*, I. (Revue Historique, November–December); L. Batiffol, *Le Coup d'État du 24 Avril 1617*, I. (Revue Historique, November–December); M. Sepet, *Les Antécédents du Règne de Louis XVI.* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); H. Carré, *Les Parlements et la Convocation des États généraux*, concl. (La Révolution Française, September); P. Sagnac, *L'Église de France et le Serment à la Constitution Civile du Clergé* (La Révolution Française, October); Dr. Magnac, *Le Fédéralisme en 1793 et 1794*, concl. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Lieut.-Col. Picard, *La Préparation d'une Campagne de Napoléon: la Transformation de l'Armée Républicaine en Armée Impériale*, concl. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); A. Crémieux, *Le Procès des Ministres en 1848 et l'Enquête Judiciaire sur les Journées de Février* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October); G. M. Dutcher, *France in North Africa*, I. (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); H. P. Scratchley, *Gallicanism and the Gallican Liberties* (The Church Eclectic, November, 1907).

ITALY, SPAIN

The Italian government is planning to form an archaeological institute in Athens after the model of the German archaeological schools in Athens and Rome.

That portion of the library of the late Francesco Crispi which relates to Sicily has been acquired by the municipality of Palermo; the section relating to the Italian Risorgimento has been purchased by the Italian government and will be stored in the Victor Emmanuel monument, which is now in process of erection and which will contain an extensive library of that period.

Recent Italian historical publications are noted in the "Courrier Italien" of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for July and October.

M. René Poupardin reviews recent historical publications relating to medieval Italy in the "historical bulletin" of the *Revue Historique* of September–October.

Vincenzo and Maria Fontana have published the work of their father, the late Leone Fontana, *Bibliografia degli Statuti dei Comuni dell'Italia Superiore* (Turin, Bocca, 1907), three large volumes comprising a great number of notices concerning the statutory literature of all the communes of upper Italy, including some that are outside the present kingdom.

M. F. Chalandon, former member of the French school at Rome, has published a work in two volumes on the *Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, Picard, pp. xciii, 408, 814). The introduction includes a study of the sources.

Mr. Edmund G. Gardner, author of *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara*, has published a book entitled *St. Catherine of Siena: a Study in Italian Religion, Literature, and History of the Fourteenth Century* (London, Dent, 1907) much of which is based upon hitherto unpublished documents in the secret archives of the Vatican and in the libraries of Rome and Florence. An appendix includes some hitherto unpublished letters of St. Catherine.

The National Society for the History of the Italian Risorgimento has undertaken the following publications relating to the history of this period: a series of popular writings, of which the first volume will be a life of Garibaldi by Abba, author of the *Noterelle*; a series of documented monographs of which the first volume will be a study by Victor Ferrari upon the Piedmontese entry into the Italian war of 1848, based upon the unpublished correspondence of Castagneto, secretary of King Charles Albert, with Gabrio Casati, president of the provisional Lombard government; a two-volume dictionary of characters and events of the Risorgimento; the review, *Il Risorgimento Italiano, Rivista Storica*, which will be issued on January 1, 1908, by the publisher Bocca. The next congress of the society will be held in Turin, in September, 1908.

The diplomatic papers of Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida, Spanish ambassador in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella to the courts of Austria, England and Flanders, have been supposed to be lost. They have, however, been preserved in the family archives of the ambassador's descendants, and are now published by the Duke of Berwick and Alba, under the title *Correspondencia de Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida, Embajador en Alemania, Flandes e Inglaterra, 1496-1509* (Madrid, 1907, pp. 720).

A new work by Major Martin Hume, entitled *The Court of Philip IV.: Spain in Decadence* (Putnams, 1907), presents a vivid picture of court life, based upon the original sources.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Lenel, *Zur älteren Geschichte Venedigs* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIX. 3); G. Zippel, *L'Allume di Tolfa e il suo Commercio* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXX. 1-2); A. Bonnefons, *Les Mœurs et le Gouvernement de Venise en 1789* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

Professor Friedrich Paulsen has written a masterly account of *Das Deutsche Bildungswesen in seiner Geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1907) beginning with the seventh century and coming down to the present time.

In the series *Quellensammlung zur Deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Teubner), which E. Brandenburg and G. Seeliger are editing primarily for use in historical seminars, the following volumes appeared during last year: *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Entstehung des Kirchenstaates* (pp. xvi, 260), edited by J. Haller; *Quellen zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites*, two volumes edited by E. Bernheim, of which the first relates to the history of Gregory VII. and Henry IV. and the second to the history of the concordat of Worms; and *Die Deutschen Parteiprogramme*, two volumes edited by F. Salomon, of which the first deals with the period from 1844 to 1871 and the second with the period from 1871 to 1900.

Dr. Max Kemmerich's *Die Frühmittelalterliche Porträtmalerei in Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, Calwey), is a survey of medieval portrait-painting in Germany from the eighth century based upon material drawn from illustrated manuscripts, Bibles, liturgies and similar sources, and including a list of more than 350 portraits, some of which are reproduced for the first time.

O. R. Redlich has edited for the Society for the History of the Rhineland a volume of much value to students of the relations of church and state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is entitled *Jülich-Bergische Kirchenpolitik am Ausgange des Mittelalters und in der Reformationszeit* (Bonn, Hanstein, 1907, pp. xxiii, 121, 482) and comprises 351 documents and extracts of documents, mostly from the state archives of Düsseldorf. In his long introduction the editor treats of the religious policy of the dukes of Jülich and Berg towards the archbishops of Cologne on the subject of immunities and the exercise of ecclesiastical justice.

The seventh *Heft* in the series of Leipzig Historical Essays edited by E. Brandenburg, G. Seeliger and U. Wilcken is Dr. R. Bemann's *Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Reichstages im XV. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1907, pp. vii, 95).

The *Facetiae* of the humanist Heinrich Bebel, which were published in Latin in 1506 and were directed against the clergy, have been translated for the first time by A. Wesselski under the title *Heinrich Bebel's Schwänke* (Munich, Müller, two volumes).

The first volume of Father Bernhard Duhr's *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge* (Freiburg, Herder, 1907, pp. xvi, 876) treats of the sixteenth century. This is a portion of that same series, ordered by the General of the Jesuits a dozen years ago, to which Father Astrain's history of the Jesuits of the Spanish general-assistancy and Father Thomas Hughes's *History of the Jesuits in North America* belong.

The third and concluding volume of Paul Matter's *Bismarck et son Temps* covers the period of *Triomphe, Splendeur et Déclin, 1870-1896* (Paris; Alcan, 1907).

The dissertation of Dr. R. Petsch, *Verfassung und Verwaltung Hinterpommerns Staat*, published as one of Schmoller and Sering's, *Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, is based on a comprehensive study of archive material.

The Land in the Mountains (London, Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1907, pp. xxxi, 288), an account of the past and present of Tyrol, its people and castles, by W. A. Baillie-Grohmann, contains in two long chapters an outline of the history of Tyrol from Roman times. The work is illustrated with eighty-two plates and maps of ancient Raetia and modern Tyrol.

Documentary publications: E. Vogt, *Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Mainz von 1289-1306*, vol. I., fasc. 1 (1289-1353); F. Steffens and H. Reinhardt, *Die Nuntiatur von Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, 1579-1581*, I. *Nuntiaturberichte aus der Schweiz seit dem Concil von Trient*, I. Abteilung (Solothurn, 1906, pp. xxx, 762); O. Clemen, *Briefe von Hieronymus Emser, Johann Cochläus, Johann Mensing und Petrus Rausch an die Fürstin Margarete und die Fürsten Johann und Georg von Anhalt* (Münster, Aschendorff, pp. viii, 68).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

J. Depoin has published a portion of his promised *Histoire des Familles Palatines du IX^e au XI^e Siècle* under the title *Wicman II., Comte de Hamaland, Bienfaiteur de Saint-Pierre de Gand au X^e Siècle* (Ghent, Siffer, 1907, pp. 39).

Miss Ruth Putnam is contributing to the "Heroes of the Nations" series a volume on *Charles the Bold, Last Duke of Burgundy, 1443-1477* (Putnams).

Professor Paul Fredericq of the University of Ghent has published through the Royal Belgian Academy an interesting collection of extracts from rare pamphlets relating to the civil and religious disturbances of the later sixteenth century in the Netherlands. The collection is entitled *Het Nederlandsch Proza in de Zestiendeewwsche Pamfletten uit den Tijd der Beroerten, met eene Bloemlezing, 1566-1600* (Brussels, Hayez, pp. xlv, 411).

La Fin du Régime Espagnol aux Pays-Bas; Étude d'Histoire Politique, Économique et Sociale (Brussels, Lebègue, 1907, pp. 291) by Frans van Kalken, is a detailed study from the sources of the government of Maximilian-Emmanuel of Bavaria and of the history of the Netherlands during the war of the Spanish Succession.

Professor P. Poulet of the University of Louvain has published an important work on *Les Institutions Françaises de 1795 à 1814; Essai sur les Origines des Institutions Belges Contemporaines* (Brussels, Dewit, pp. 975).

Documentary publications: L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'Ancienne Estaple de Bruges, Recueil de Documents concernant le Commerce Intérieur et Maritime, les Relations Internationales et l'Histoire Économique de cette Ville* (Bruges, L. de Plancke, 1904-1907, 4 vols.); Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Documents Nouveaux sur l'Histoire Sociale des Pays-Bas au XV^e Siècle: Lettres de Rémission de Philippe le Bon* (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, October).

NORTHERN EUROPE

Kristian Settervall's *Svensk Historisk Bibliografi, 1875-1900*, Stockholm, Norstedt, pp. 439) comprises references to 4,636 books and articles bearing upon the history of Sweden.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The programme for the twenty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association, to be held in Madison, December 27-31, 1907, is arranged to consist more largely than usual of conferences. Beside the customary conference on the problems of state and local historical societies, and one of general interest on the relations of geography and history, there will be a group of special, and presumably small, conferences in which men actually engaged in investigation will discuss together their special fields of work; five such have been planned, relating respectively to medieval European history, modern European history, Oriental history and politics, the constitutional history of the United States, and the history of this country since 1865. The general sessions for papers will be three, devoted respectively to European history, to American economic history and to Western history. In connection with the conference on the work of state and local historical societies, the attempt will be made to organize those of the Mississippi Valley in such a manner as to prevent duplication of work and, so far as is possible, to secure co-operation. A full report of the proceedings of the Madison meeting will appear in our next number. The next annual meeting is to take place in Washington and Richmond at the end of December, 1908.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has issued Professor W. R. Shepherd's *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives*, whose contents are summarized on a previous page. The new edition of Messrs. Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives of the Government in Washington* is, at the time of issue of this journal, nearly through the press. It has been so much enlarged by Mr. Leland that it will form a book of about 330 pages, while the first edition was of but 215. The action of the Public Record Office in entering upon a general rearrangement of the Colonial Office

papers having made it impossible for probably two years to issue the first volume of Professor C. M. Andrews's *Guide to the London Archives*, the Public Record Office volume, it has been decided to issue as soon as possible that which was to constitute the second volume of the work, making it an independent publication under the title *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for American History, down to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge*. In Paris Mr. Waldo G. Leland is at work at present in the archives of the ministries of Foreign Affairs and War. In Mexico Professor Bolton, having finished his work in the Archivo General, is laboring in the archives of the War Department, where, among other interesting discoveries, he has come upon the papers which were taken from Captain Zebulon M. Pike by the Spanish officials of northern Mexico in 1807. Dr. E. C. Burnett is at work on the letters of delegates to the Old Congress. Dr. M. W. Jernegan, after a period of work on the American debates in Parliament, is about to begin the preparation of a calendar of the papers, in the archives of the various departments at Washington, relating to the history of the territories. The second annual report of the Director of the Department of Historical Research, for the year ending October 31, 1907, will shortly be ready for distribution.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its fourth annual meeting in San Francisco on November 29 and 30. The annual address, delivered by President W. D. Fenton, of Portland, was on "Edward Dickenson Baker". Papers were read by Professor Bernard Moses, of the University of California, on "The State of Chile in the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century"; by Professor H. L. Cannon, of Leland Stanford University, on "Some Inherent Difficulties in the Study of History"; by Mr. John Jewett Earle, of Oakland, on "The Sentiment of the People of California with Respect to the Civil War"; by Professor C. A. Duniway, of Leland Stanford University, on "Political and Civil Disabilities of the Negro in California, 1849-1861"; by Professor Max Farrand, of the same, on "The West and the Declaration of Independence". An account of the resources of the Bancroft Library was given by Professor H. Morse Stephens, and others, of the University of California. There was a session on the teaching of history and government.

The American Society of Church History held a meeting at Columbia University during Christmas week.

The report of the Public Archives Commission prepared for issue in connection with the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1907 will contain, beside reports on the archives of several states, a bibliography of local record publications and a list of sessions of colonial councils and assemblies, their journals and their volumes of acts.

The material for the proposed annual bibliography *Writings on American History, 1906*, the beginning of a fresh series, is nearly collected. It is expected that the volume will go to press early in 1908. Much of the material for 1907 has also been collected.

The *Report of the Librarian of Congress* for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907 (Washington, 1907) contains an account of the remarkable library of Russian and Siberian material acquired from Mr. Gennadius Yudin of Krasnoiarsk, Siberia, and of the notable collection of the literature of Japan made for the library in that country by Dr. Asakawa of Yale University. An appendix presents a detailed account of the acquisitions in the Division of Manuscripts, such as the papers of John McLean, Joseph Holt, William Plumer, Thaddeus Stevens, Edward McPherson, William Polk and John Bell. The body of transcripts of documents for American history in the British Museum and Bodleian which the library has been acquiring is now nearly completed.

In the series of "Original Narratives of Early American History" the sixth volume, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, edited by the late Hon. William T. Davis of Plymouth, is expected to appear in January. Dr. Hosmer's edition of Winthrop (the seventh and eighth volumes of the series) will be published early in the spring. Mr. A. J. H. van Laer has been obliged, by the pressure of official work in Albany, to give up the editing of the volume relating to New Netherland.

The text of Professor Hart's series "The American Nation" has now been completed by the issue of volume XXV., *America as a World Power, 1807-1907*, by Professor John H. Latané of the Washington and Lee University, and of volume XXVI., *National Ideals Historically Traced, 1607-1907*, by the general editor of the series. A general index to the series, by Mr. David M. Matteson, will follow in an additional volume.

Mr. Almeric FitzRoy, C.V.O., clerk of the Privy Council, and Mr. Hugh E. Egerton, Beit professor of colonial history in the University of Oxford, have formed a plan for printing such entries in the registers of the Privy Council, from the reign of James I. to 1775, as relate to any of the American colonies. The Lords of the Treasury have agreed to print three volumes of such material, of the size of the *Acts of the Privy Council* for the period from 1547 to 1603, provided the expense of transcribing and editing is otherwise defrayed. These expenditures have now been provided for by contributions from the Carnegie Trustees of Edinburgh, from Professor Egerton, from the archives department of the Dominion of Canada and from the American Historical Association, the Executive Council of which has guaranteed five hundred dollars per annum for two years toward this object. One half of this sum is appropriated from the treasury of

the Association; the remainder is being raised by contributions from individuals and from related societies. The work upon the series has been begun under the editorial care of Mr. James Munro, assistant to the professor of history in the University of Edinburgh, and Mr. W. L. Grant, deputy to the Beit professor, who have been appointed editors by the Lord President of the Council.

The *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April, 1907, contains a paper on Early Private Libraries in New England, by Professor Franklin B. Dexter, a body of curious and instructive notes on Witchcraft, by Professor George L. Kittredge, a bibliographical account of the Almanacs of Roger Sherman, by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, and some papers relating to Franklin and the first balloons and respecting early cases in the English admiralty courts which cast light on the beginnings of American history.

An installment (A-Anyon) of *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (new series), by Henry F. Waters, has been reprinted from the *Genealogical Magazine*, "edited, arranged, completed, and cross referenced" by Lothrop Withington (Salem, Eben Putnam).

In the issue of the *Nation* of September 12, Professor William MacDonald, of Brown University, discusses "The Situation of History in Secondary Schools". The subject is further discussed in the issue of September 26 by Mr. Abraham Flexner, and in that of October 10 by Professor A. C. McLaughlin.

As mentioned in the last issue of the REVIEW, the American Catholic Historical Society is publishing in its *Records* letters recently obtained from the archiepiscopal archives of Quebec, with notes by the archivist, the Abbé Lionel St. George Lindsay. The June and September numbers of the *Records* contain portions of the correspondence between the sees of Quebec and Baltimore, 1788-1847. These letters throw much light on Catholic activity in America in those years. In the same issue of the *Records* the Reverend H. C. Schuyler, writing under the title, "A Typical Missionary", describes with considerable fullness the life and services of Father Sebastian Rale, the apostle of the Abnakis, 1694-1724. In the September number appears the first portion of a paper giving a history of "Asylum: A Colony of French Catholics in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, 1794-1800", by Martin I. J. Griffin.

In the October number of the REVIEW, the recent work of Professor J. R. Commons on *Races and Immigrants in America* was noticed in the same paragraph with the list of books on immigration into the United States issued by the Library of Congress. The phrase used, it is now perceived, might be taken to imply that Mr. Commons's book was improperly omitted from that list. No such criticism was intended. The list was in fact completed before the publication of the book named.

Professor George Elliott Howard of the University of Nebraska has prepared, and the university has published, a monograph entitled *Comparative Federal Institutions: an Analytical Reference Syllabus* (pp. 133). As the second half of the title indicates, the work is not a treatise but only a syllabus to be used as a basis for a course of lectures or as a guide to the study of federal government. Queries and bare suggestions are as numerous as definitely indicated ideas and points of view. The analyses are nevertheless reasonably minute and careful. A preliminary chapter treats of the characteristics and general principles of federal government, and describes the federal institutions in Greece, Italy and Western Europe. The larger portion of the syllabus consists of a chapter each on the four important federations of the present time, namely, the United States, Switzerland, Canada and Australia. The antecedents of the federation, in each case, are traced, and the workings of the federal institutions critically analyzed. The German Empire and the Latin American Federations are not included, but six pages of references for those federations are given. Carefully chosen references also accompany each section of the syllabus.

The lectures delivered by Dr. Albert Shaw as the opening course upon the Blumenthal foundation in Columbia University have been published by the Macmillan Company. The volume bears the title *Political Problems of American Development*.

Messrs. Longmans have published an *Economic History of the United States*, by E. L. Bogart.

The Macmillan Company have published *American History for Use in Secondary Schools*, by Roscoe Lewis Ashley.

Three Hundred Years of the Episcopal Church in America (pp. 153), by Rev. George Hodges, has come from the press of George W. Jacobs and Company.

Historic Churches of America, by Mrs. Nellie Urner Wallington, with introduction by Dr. Edward Everett Hale, comes from the press of Messrs. Duffield.

New volumes in the Grafton Historical Series are: *In Olde New York*, by Charles Burr Todd; *Mattapoisett and Old Rochester, Massachusetts*, by Mary Hall Leonard and others; *Old Steamboat Days on the Hudson*, by David L. Buckman; *The Cherokee Indians*, by Thomas Valentine Parker; and the *Diary of Enos Hitchcock*, a chaplain of the Revolution. Portions of the diary of Hitchcock were published in 1899, but since that time other considerable portions have been discovered, as also large collections of letters. The volume is edited by Mr. William B. Weedon, and includes selections from Hitchcock's correspondence.

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

In the American Men of Energy Series, published by Messrs. Putnam, appears *Henry Hudson*, by Edgar M. Bacon.

The latest report of the English Historical Manuscripts Commission calendars (in the eighth report on the manuscripts of the Duke of Portland) a number of documents of value for colonial history. Some of these documents are not to be found in print, some indeed have not hitherto been known. There are letters from Bellomont, and from Edward Dummer, and many papers concerning the operations of the pirate Kidd; also a hitherto unknown report of a Committee of Trade appointed in 1638, and again in 1639.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for October contains a long and valuable report of the Board of Trade and Plantations, respecting colonial conditions, presented in December, 1703.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have issued a reprint of *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*. The memoirs comprise the autobiography of Rev. James Fontaine, a Huguenot refugee, a journal kept by his son, John Fontaine, of his travels in Virginia, New York, etc., in 1714-1716, and other family manuscripts. The volume appeared first in 1852, translated and compiled by Ann Maury.

The fourth volume (1765-1773) of the *American Bibliography* which Mr. Charles Evans is compiling has been issued. It is published at Chicago by the author.

Messrs. Lippincott have recently published *The True Patrick Henry*, by George Morgan.

The J. B. Lippincott Company have found it necessary to postpone until the early spring the publication of Sydney George Fisher's *The Struggle for American Independence*.

Part III. of Sir George Otto Trevelyan's *The American Revolution* is now out (Longmans, Green and Company).

The *American Historical Magazine*, in the September and November issues, prints some Revolutionary letters. There are letters from Gates, Putnam, Henry Ten Eyck and Samuel Adams, and one from Richard Oswald (December 19, 1781) to Lords Stonnard and Hillsborough concerning the imprisonment of Henry Laurens.

Volume I. of *Catholics and the American Revolution*, by Martin I. J. Griffin, has been published by the author (Ridley Park, Pa.).

The orderly-book of Colonel Christopher Greene, covering the period from July 12, 1777, to July 22, 1779, has recently been brought to light, and will probably find lodgment in the archives of the Rhode Island Historical Society. The orderly-book is of much value for a study of the Rhode Island troops in the Continental line.

The November issue of the *Yale Review* contains an article by Professor Max Farrand entitled "George Washington in the Federal Convention", the purpose of which is to place Washington's influence in the convention upon a tangible basis.

Dr. Bernard C. Steiner's *Life and Correspondence of Dr. James McHenry*, which was awarded the John Marshall prize at Johns Hopkins University for 1907, has been issued by the Burrows Brothers Company.

Messrs. Putnam have issued a new edition of Frederick Scott Oliver's *Alexander Hamilton: an Essay on American Union*.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for September contains several letters addressed to Commodore Richard Dale in the years 1798-1802, of which those from Secretary Stoddert and Commodore Truxton are of political interest.

The Neale Publishing Company will shortly issue a work by Professor John W. Wayland, of the University of Virginia, entitled *The Political Opinions of Thomas Jefferson*. Professor R. H. Dabney of the same institution furnishes an introduction to the work.

Messrs. Lippincott have published *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States*, by J. G. Rosengarten.

In connection with the semi-centennial celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas debates to be held this year under the auspices of the Illinois State Historical Society, the society will issue an extra volume of its collections devoted to a reprint of the debates, together with illustrations, extracts from newspapers and details from personal recollections of survivors. The volume will be edited by Professor Edwin E. Sparks.

The Spirit of Old West Point, 1858-1862, by General Morris Schaff, which appeared serially in the *Atlantic Monthly*, has now come as a book from the press of Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

The John Lane Company has issued a new edition, in attractive form, of Robert G. Ingersoll's *Abraham Lincoln*, first published in 1894. There is a frontispiece portrait of Lincoln.

Mr. Allan Pinkerton has published a pamphlet (pp. 42) bearing the title: *History and Evidence of the Passage of Abraham Lincoln from Harrisburg, Pa., to Washington, D. C., on the twenty-second and twenty-third of February, 1861*.

Lincoln in the Telegraph Office, by David Homer Bates, which has appeared serially during the past year in the *Century Magazine*, has now been issued in book form (The Century Company).

George W. Jacobs and Company have brought out *Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War*, by Ellis P. Oberholtzer, which was published serially in the *Century Magazine*.

The *Autobiography* of Major-General O. O. Howard has been issued by the Baker and Taylor Company.

A Calendar of Confederate Papers, with a bibliography of some Confederate publications, has just been announced. The work is the preliminary report of the Southern Historical Manuscripts Commission, recently organized, and is prepared and edited by Douglas Southall Freeman, under the direction of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society of Richmond. Among the papers mentioned as included in the calendar are the correspondence of Brigadier-General W. N. R. Beall, agent for the supply of prisoners of war, the papers of George Shea, of counsel for Jefferson Davis, many letters to Davis, military papers of General T. J. Jackson and others. Of many of these papers abstracts will be given. A number of letters from private soldiers will be printed in full. Entries are also made from the journal of George E. Lining, surgeon-in-chief on the Shenandoah.

Longmans, Green and Company have published *Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen*, reminiscences of the Civil War, with special reference to the work for the contrabands and freedmen of the Mississippi Valley, by the late Commissioner John Eaton, in collaboration with Ethel Osgood Mason.

Mr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Department of State, is engaged in editing the papers of Elihu B. Washburne and his brother, Cadwallader Colden Washburn. He would be greatly obliged for information concerning letters from or to these brothers.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The July number of the *Magazine of History* contains an article on the life of Meshech Weare, by Ezra S. Stearns. In the August number William F. Whitaker writes of "The Relation of New Hampshire Men to the Siege of Boston".

Of Miss Adelaide R. Hasse's *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States*, the section for Vermont has been brought out by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

John Harvard and his Times, by Henry C. Shelley (Little, Brown and Company), will no doubt receive a warm welcome. So little has been known about the founder of Harvard College that hitherto no serious life of him has been attempted. Only recently have sufficient data been brought to light to make such a work possible.

The *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for October prints from the loyalist papers in the Library of Congress the materials relating to the Essex County loyalists.

The late Judge Mellen Chamberlin at his death provided, by a bequest to the Massachusetts Historical Society, for the completion and publication of his history of Chelsea. Under the direction of the society this extensive work has been completed by Miss Jenny Chamberlin Watts and Mr. William R. Cutter, and will be issued within a few months.

The new edition of Updike's *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, Rhode Island* (three volumes), has been edited, revised and enlarged by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Goodwin, and includes a transcript of the Narragansett parish register from 1718 to 1774, a reprint of *America Dissected*, by James MacSparran, D.D., and other reprints, besides numerous portraits (Boston, The Merrymount Press).

The Connecticut Historical Society has acquired two volumes of manuscript letters and papers labelled "Trumbull-Silliman Papers", including papers of John Trumbull, the artist, chiefly during his period of residence in England, and papers of Professor Benjamin Silliman the elder. The society has also acquired a volume of letters written by Timothy Pitkin (1766-1847), the congressman and historian, to his son.

The *English Historical Review* prints in its October number an article by Professor Henry L. Schoolcraft on "The Capture of New Amsterdam". The writer believes that the verdict of condemnation customarily passed upon the English for the capture needs further consideration.

The latest of the "Local History Series", published by the Quaker Hill Conference Association, is *Washington's Headquarters at Fredericksburgh*, an address read by Lewis S. Patrick at the seventh annual meeting of the conference, September 8, 1905. The paper is miscellaneous in character, though containing a good deal of material relating to the army during the time when it was in the vicinity of Fredericksburgh. The same pamphlet contains Mr. Patrick's address at the unveiling of the memorial tablet on the site of Washington's headquarters in Pawling, New York.

"The Pennsylvania-German in his Relation to Education", a symposium running in the *Pennsylvania German*, includes in the November issue several sketches of early educational conditions.

The Report of the Valley Forge Park Commission for 1906 includes carefully prepared topographical maps of the camp ground.

The *Publications of the Southern History Association*, in the issue for September and November, prints the "Minutes of the County Court of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, July, 1775-July, 1776", contributed by A. S. Salley, Jr., who writes a brief introductory statement. With this issue, it is announced, the *Publications* cease, temporarily at least. The necessity for this step is learned with genuine regret. The Southern History Association was organized in 1896 and since that time has published twelve volumes, in quarterly or bi-monthly issues, composed of valuable documentary materials. The credit of the success of the *Publications* thus far is due mainly to Dr. Colyer Meriwether, who has brought them out under no small difficulties, financial and other. It is hoped that plans which have been conceived for giving permanency to the enterprise will meet with the success which it so eminently deserves.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September contains an article on John Francis Mercer (governor of Maryland, 1801 to 1803), by James Mercer Garnett; a paper entitled "Colonial Women of Maryland", by Mrs. A. L. Sioussat; and "Correspondence of Governor Eden, 1769-1771".

Esther Singleton, whose *Historic Landmarks of America* was published a short while ago, by Messrs. Dodd, has now brought out, through McClure and Company, *The Story of the White House*.

The first edition of *The Cradle of the Republic: Jamestown and James River*, by President Lyon Gardiner Tyler of the College of William and Mary, was brought out in 1900. The second edition (Richmond, The Hermitage Press, 1907, pp. vii, 286) has been improved and enlarged, chiefly by the use of two additional sources: the Ambler papers, recently acquired by the Library of Congress and embracing deeds, leases, etc., extending from 1640 to 1809, and the investigations of Mr. Samuel Yonge of the United States Corps of Engineers, who took charge of the construction of the protective wall with which the government has at last defended Jamestown from the encroachments of the James River.

In its October issue the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* brings to a conclusion the publication of "Virginia Militia in the Revolution". The other of its documentary series are continued. Among the "Virginia Colonial Records" we find a number of documents emanating from the Privy Council, in 1623, relating to the dissolution of the Virginia Company. Among the "Virginia Legislative Papers" (all of date 1775 and 1776) are some letters of Lord George Germain, the most noteworthy being a letter of December 23, 1775, to Governor Eden of Maryland relative to a proposed expedition against the Southern colonies.

Mr. Philip A. Bruce's invaluable *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* has been brought out by the Macmillan Company in a new (reprinted) edition.

A volume on *Colonial Churches*, a series of sketches of churches in the original colony of Virginia (pp. 319), by Rev. W. M. Clark, has been published at Richmond by the Southern Churchman Company.

Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty in Colonial and Revolutionary Times (pp. 128) is the title of a work by Rev. T. C. Johnson, D.D., published at Richmond, Virginia.

A History of Virginia Banks and Banking Prior to the Civil War, by W. L. Royal (pp. 73), has been published by the Neale Publishing Company.

Stone and Barringer Company of Charlotte have brought out a *Young People's History of North Carolina*, by Professor D. H. Hill.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has issued as *Bulletin*

No. 1 (pp. 18) an explanation of the organization, plans and purposes of the commission, together with a strong appeal to citizens of the state to co-operate with it in the securing and preservation of historical material. There is also a summary of what the commission has done, some mention of which was made in these pages in October.

The Beginnings of English America: Sir Walter Raleigh's Settlements on Roanoke Island, 1584-1587, is the title of a monograph of thirty-nine pages brought out by the North Carolina Historical Commission. The monograph was prepared by the secretary of the commission, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, for distribution at the Jamestown Exposition.

The first volume of a *History of the University of North Carolina*, by Dr. Kemp P. Battle, has just appeared from the press (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, pp. 880). Dr. Battle's life, as student, teacher, and for a number of years president of the university, is so interwoven with the life of the institution of which he writes, that he brings to his subject an unusual warmth of devotion, as well as fitness for the task which he undertakes. The present volume traces the history of the university from its first conception in 1776 (it was chartered in 1789) to the year 1868. Its growth from modest beginnings is told, its inner life depicted, its public occasions described, its influence in the affairs of the state and the nation set forth. But while the story centres in the campus it is by no means confined there. There are many interesting side lights on manners and events; much about the personalities and careers of the men who have touched the institution's life. An appendix contains lists of graduates and other classified information concerning the university. A second volume will bring the history down to the present time.

In its October issue the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* continues its documentary series, the principal of which are letters from Lafayette to Henry Laurens, and "Papers of the General Committee, Secret Committee, and Provincial Congress, 1775", the latter having been begun in July.

An *Address* delivered by Henry A. M. Smith at the unveiling of the monument to General Thomas Sumter at Statesburgh, S. C., August 14, 1907, comes to us from the South Carolina Historical Society. The address is essentially a biographical sketch of Sumter (Charleston, S. C., Walker, Evans and Cogswell Company, printers, pp. 73).

The American Monthly Magazine for October contains a brief historical sketch, by Mrs. P. H. Mell, of "Fort Rutledge of the Revolution", afterward called Fort Hill and noted as the residence of John C. Calhoun.

Hampton and Reconstruction (pp. 238), by Edward L. Wells, comes from the press of the State Company, Columbia, S. C.

The first volume of *Men of Mark in Georgia*, edited by former

Governor W. J. Northen, with an historical introduction by John Temple Graves, has been issued by A. B. Caldwell, Atlanta, Georgia. The work is described as "a complete and elaborate history of the state from its settlement to the present time, chiefly told in biographies and autobiographies of the most eminent men of each period of Georgia's progress and development". It is to be six volumes in extent.

The demand for Frederick Law Olmsted's books of travel in the Southern states in the period just preceding the Civil War, induced the Putnams, shortly after the death of Mr. Olmsted, to republish the *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*. They have now republished, in a handsome edition, in two volumes, his *Journey in the Back Country*. The book was first published in 1860 and, as is well known, details in a most interesting manner the writer's experience and observations of conditions in several portions of the old South during a journey in the years 1853 and 1854. The journey extended from the lower Mississippi through Alabama, Georgia, Western North Carolina, Eastern Tennessee and portions of Virginia. Foremost always in the writer's mind was the question of slavery; his dispassionate and judicial attitude of mind, his exactness of observation, give to these travels a high degree of permanent value.

General Austin's Order-Book for the Campaign of 1835, a document of much importance for the history of the Texas Revolution, occupies the larger portion of the pages of the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association for July. A brief description of the order-book, together with annotations, is given by the editor of the *Quarterly*. An interesting article in this issue is "Reminiscences of Reconstruction in Texas" (including "The Fall of the Davis Government", and "The 'Bull Pen'"), by T. B. Wheeler. The October issue prints "The Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church" (1833-1847) and a letter of one George Dedrick, throwing new light on the Tampico Expedition. The letter is dated Goliad, Texas, February 22, 1836, and the writer is supposed to have been among the victims of the massacre of Goliad, March 19.

The analytical index, in two volumes, to *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, has been issued by the Arthur H. Clark Company. Volume I. includes a list of reprints published in the series, also a classified list of the illustrations.

At the meeting of the Central Ohio Valley History Conference held at Cincinnati November 29 and 30 there was a varied programme of addresses, papers and discussions. An address on "The Mission of Local History" was delivered by Dr. R. G. Thwaites of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, a paper on "The Use of Local Records in History Teaching" was read by Professor A. B. Hulbert of Marietta College and a paper on "The Teacher of the Social Sciences", by Pro-

fessor James A. James. There were reports on the relation of the state to work in local history, presented by Mr. E. O. Randall, secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, director of the State Department of Archives and History of West Virginia and Mr. C. B. Galbreath, of the Ohio State Library. There were also reports of special work in local history by W. W. Longmoor, curator of the Kentucky State Historical Society, and Frederick W. Hinkle, of the Archaeological Institute of America. The conference was set on foot with a view to promoting throughout the central Ohio Valley a wider interest in local history. The immediate outcome was a decision to make the organization permanent, and a commission, of which Professor Isaac J. Cox of the University of Cincinnati is chairman, was appointed to draw up a constitution and make the arrangements for the next annual meeting.

Robert Clarke Company announce that they will reprint a number of the volumes of the *Ohio Historical Series*, many of which, owing to the destruction of plates by fire some years ago, are out of print. The volumes already named for reprint are these: Bouquet's *Expedition against the Ohio Indians, 1764*; Clark's *Sketches of his Campaign in the Illinois in 1778-1779*; Drake's *Pioneer Life in Kentucky*; Howell's *Recollections of Life in Ohio from 1813 to 1840*; Shepherd's *Antiquities of the State of Ohio*; James Smith's *Captivity with the Indians, 1755-1759*; and Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare*.

The "*Olde Northwest*" *Genealogical Quarterly* continues, in its October issue, the publication of "Selections from the Papers of Governor Allen Trimble". Some of the letters written to Trimble from Washington touch politics in an interesting way. The *Quarterly* also prints some correspondence of Colonel James Denney, 1808-1815. Most of the letters are from Colonel Denney to his wife and have much to say about the movements of the army in the Northwest. One, from George Harrison to Colonel Denney (Charleston, S. C., September, 1808) makes some interesting comments on the embargo and impressment.

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October contains two articles of some length bearing mainly on the early history of Ohio. Hon. Albert Douglas discusses the life and services of Major-General Arthur St. Clair, giving particular attention to St. Clair's attitude toward the question of statehood for Ohio; and Mr. E. O. Randall writes of "Washington and Ohio". Articles of semi-historical interest are: "American Aborigines and their Social Customs", by Rev. J. A. Easton; and "The Mounds of Florida and their Builders", by Rev. J. F. Richmond.

Professor Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, who is in charge of the department of archives and history recently organized in con-

nection with the State Library of Indiana, plans to prepare a bibliography of manuscript material relating to the history of Indiana, and is now engaged in locating such materials and, when possible, assembling them in the State Library.

The September issue of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* contains additional papers on the history of internal improvements in Indiana.

In the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for September appears a paper entitled: "Did De Soto discover Kentucky at the Time of his Conquest of Florida?", by Z. F. Smith. There is also a brief article on "The Old Fort at Harrodsburg", by W. W. Stephenson; and the first installment of a history of Franklin County, Ky.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin held its fifty-fifth annual meeting at Madison on November 7. Among the papers read at the meeting were: "Fox Indian Wars in Wisconsin", by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, and "Economic Conditions in the Northwest, 1860-1870", by Professor Carl Russell Fish.

The *Fourteenth Biennial Report* of the Minnesota Historical Society contains a catalogue of the portraits, framed documents, etc., in the rooms of the society; also tables of contents of the several volumes of the society's *Collections*.

In the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* Professor F. I. Herriott presents the second installment of his paper on "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln". In the same issue Dr. L. H. Pammel begins a somewhat extended sketch of Dr. Edwin James, who as botanist, geologist and surgeon accompanied Long's expedition to the Rockies in 1819-1820.

In the July issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Mr. R. B. Way discusses the question: "Was the Fugitive Slave Clause of the Constitution Necessary?" The same issue presents a bibliography of Iowa state publications for 1904 and 1905 (pp. 72). The contents of the October number relate mainly to the territorial history of Iowa. Mr. Dan E. Clark gives an outline of the history of judicial districting in Iowa. Mr. Henry J. Peterson presents a study of the "Regulation by Law of Elections in the Territory of Iowa". An account is given of the regulations of elections in the Northwest Territory and the territories of Michigan and Wisconsin as well as of the territory of Iowa proper. "The Election of Francis Gehon in 1839", by Louis Pelzer, gives the history of an extra-legal and abortive election of a delegate to Congress.

Mr. A. H. Davison, secretary of the Executive Council of Iowa, has been put in charge of the work on the public archives of the state. Rooms in the Historical Memorial and Art Building, at Des Moines, Iowa, have been assigned for their permanent preservation.

The Missouri Historical Society has recently received, as a gift from Mr. Pierre Chouteau, a collection of one hundred and fifty-two letters, mainly from the governors of Louisiana, at New Orleans, to the lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, covering the period 1796-1804. It has also received the inventory of those papers and documents of the archives of the village of San Luis de Illinoia and its dependencies, which being governmental in their nature, were not to be turned over to the authorities of the United States. Possibly the most interesting of these documents is the diary of Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, who commanded the expedition from St. Louis to Natchez November 16, 1804, to January 18, 1805. It is the purpose of the society to obtain from Spain, if possible, transcripts of the documents described in this inventory.

The West Plains Journal Company of West Plains, Missouri, are the publishers of a work by William Monks entitled: *A History of Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas*, "being an account of the early settlements, the civil war, the Ku-klux, and times of peace".

Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin and Company have brought out a revised edition of *Kansas* (American Commonwealth Series), by Leverett W. Spring.

John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon, by Frederick V. Holman, has been brought out by the Arthur H. Clark Company.

On November 19 exercises were held by the Santa Clara County Historical Society in commemoration of the original founding and of the occupation of the second site of Mission Santa Clara, California. Various pertinent addresses were delivered.

The *Second Annual Report* of the Champlain Society indicates a fair degree of progress in the programme of publication which was outlined in the April number of the REVIEW. The first volume of Les-carbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, with English translation, notes and appendices by Mr. W. L. Grant, and an introduction by Mr. H. P. Biggar, has been issued, and it is expected that Professor Munro's *Documents relating to the Seignorial Régime in Canada*, Professor Ganong's translation of Denys's *Description Géographique* and Professor Shortt's volume of *Cartwright Papers* will all be issued before the end of the year. Among the important manuscripts which the society has recently had placed at its disposal is the journal of Bougainville, officer in the army of Montcalm.

Mr. John Murray of London is about to publish a work entitled *Canadian Constitutional History*, in which the attempt is made to trace the constitutional evolution of the Dominion by means of selected speeches and dispatches. The volume includes the more important of the orations upon the Quebec Act, the speeches of Pitt and Fox on the Constitutional Act, the criticisms of the Legislative Council of Upper

Canada upon Lord Durham's report, correspondence respecting responsible government between the British Secretaries of State and successive governors of Canada and the chief speeches made in the Canadian Parliament in 1865. The work is the joint product of Mr. H. E. Egerton, Beit Professor of Colonial History at Oxford, and Mr. W. L. Grant, his deputy.

Messrs. Morang and Company announce that they will shortly publish, as one of their "Makers of Canada" series, a *Life of Sir John Macdonald*, by Dr. George R. Parkin, C.M.G.

The *Twenty-fifth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1903-1904), in addition to giving an interesting account of the work which the Bureau is doing, contains two studies by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes: "The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands" (pp. 220), and "Certain Antiquities of Eastern Mexico" (pp. 64). The island of Porto Rico, being at the geographical centre of Antillean life, is a particularly favorable place for its study, and the author is able to give a fairly distinct picture of the characteristic type of that culture. The archaeological method of treatment is followed in the main, but data are also drawn from historical and ethnological sources. The Mexican study was undertaken primarily with a view to discovering the possible relationship of the inhabitants of the Mexican Gulf coast to the Mound Builders of the lower Mississippi and the builders of the Pueblos of the Southwest. Only tentative conclusions have so far been reached.

A History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511 to 1868, has recently come from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons. The author is Hubert H. S. Aimes, formerly of Ursinus College, now of the College of the City of New York. His book, he believes, is "the first detailed work, the result of extended research, which has yet been published on the Island of Cuba in this country".

Historiadores de Yucatán, by Gustavo Martínez Alomia, is a collection of biographical and bibliographical notes on the historians of the peninsula from its discovery to the end of the nineteenth century (Campeche, 1906, pp. 360).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Reinhold Koser, *Geschichtsinteresse und Geschichtsforschung in Amerika* (Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, June 15, 1907); Sidney Lee, *The Call of the West: America and Elizabethan England* (Scribner's, September, November); Agnes C. Laut, *Henry Hudson, Dreamer and Discoverer*, cont. (Appleton's Magazine, December); James A. Burns, *Catholic Colonial Schools in Pennsylvania* (Catholic University Bulletin, October); C. L. Raper, *The Finances of the North Carolina Colonists* (North Carolina Booklet, October); A. E. Verrill, *Relation between Bermuda and the American Colonies during the Revolutionary*

War (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. XIII.); A. W. Savary, *The Narrative of Colonel Fanning* (Canadian Magazine, November-December); Worthington C. Ford, *The "Publius" Letters Attacking Samuel Chase* (The Nation, November 14); Hannis Taylor, *Pelatiah Webster, the Architect of Our Federal Constitution* (Yale Law Journal, December); *The Letters of General Charles Hamilton, Written from the Seat of War in Mexico* (Metropolitan Magazine, December); H. Nelson Gay, *Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi* (The Century, November); William B. Hornblower, *A Century of "Judge-Made" Law* (Columbia Law Review, November); R. H. Hess, *The Passing of the Doctrine of Riparian Rights* (The American Political Science Review, November); W. F. Ganong, *The History of Tabusintac* (Acadiensis, November).

The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT MADISON

MADISON is a city of much quiet beauty and social attractiveness. It is well fitted for a meeting of a national historical association by the presence of a university community, with a historical faculty of well-known eminence, and by the possession of commodious academic buildings, and especially of an historical library famous for its beauty and its treasures, the most sumptuous home which history enjoys anywhere in America. Thus on the one hand there was much to attract a large number of the members of the Association to the twenty-third annual meeting. On the other hand, though the western membership of the Association is now somewhat greater than the eastern, Madison is not quite central even to the former, while to eastern members it would seem remote; and the railroads, which in former years have deemed it for their interest to make considerable reductions in fares on such occasions, chose this year to take a different view. Therefore the registered attendance, which was 280 at the Chicago meeting of 1904, 276 at that held in Baltimore and Washington, and 280 at Providence, was but 214 at Madison. There was however no lack of numbers, in view of the presence of the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Association for Labor Legislation, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and attendance by persons not members of any of these societies. Of the proceedings of these other organizations we as usual attempt no record; most of them have organs in which such records are presented. It may suffice to say that their programmes seemed not only rich and varied, but of marked practical utility; and that many

students of history, or teachers whose fields of work embrace more than that science alone, welcomed the opportunity of attending parts of the exercises of the allied societies.

Two drawbacks, and perhaps only two, presented themselves to the minds of the Executive Council when a meeting at Madison was first contemplated. It is not a city of large and excellent hotels, and it is subject to the chances involved in the northwestern climate. Kind Heaven showed favor to the historical forces in the latter respect, bestowing mild days of remarkable beauty, which the most austere scientific mind need not disdain to reckon among the *memorabilia* of the meeting; and the lack of hotels was compensated, or rather turned into a theme of rejoicing, by the abundant hospitality of the academic and other residents of Madison, who exhausted all the means which kindness, ingenuity and organizing ability could suggest, to make the visitors comfortable in fraternity houses, dormitories and private houses. A luncheon at the Woman's Building, a "smoker" at the University Club, and many private entertainments were offered. Special exhibitions of early maps and western manuscripts, of early newspapers and of material for the history of labor and socialism in America, were arranged in the Historical Building, in which most of the sessions of the American Historical Association were held.

The first session, which was a joint meeting with the American Political Science Association, was held on Friday evening in Assembly Hall. In the absence from Madison of President Van Hise, Dean Edward A. Birge of the College of Letters and Science welcomed the associations on the part of both the state and the university. After noting several parallel developments in the organization and aims of workers in the physical sciences and in history, he showed how both were learning to shape their ideas into instruments of public service as well as of the higher learning.

The inaugural address of the President of the American Historical Association, Professor J. Franklin Jameson of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, entitled "The American Acta Sanctorum", has been printed in the January number of this journal.¹

Mr. Frederick N. Judson of St. Louis, President of the American Political Science Association, delivered an inaugural address on "The Future of Representative Government".² He spoke of the existing tendency to diminish the importance and dignity of the

¹ XIII. 286-302.

² Since printed, in the *American Political Science Review* for February, 1908.

legislature through constitutional enactment and judicial annulment, while on the other hand the power of the executive is increasing, and the boards and commissions that represent it also exercise legislative and judicial power. Referring to the popular distrust of the representative system as shown by the agitation in favor of the initiative and referendum, he discussed the advantages and disadvantages of these proposed remedies. Distrust is caused by the abuse of lobbying, which the growth of corporations tends to develop, and by the abuses of party management. Measures for reform, such as the laws abolishing the principle of representation in party nominations, decrease in the number of elected municipal officials, and proportional or minority representation were considered. The system of representation must be made more truly representative and the character of representatives, which our commercialism tends to degrade, must be maintained through the development of a public spirit ready to make sacrifices.

The second session, held on Saturday morning, consisted of two conferences. That on the Relation of Geography and History was largely attended and aroused great interest. Professor Frederick J. Turner of the University of Wisconsin presided. In the first paper Miss Ellen Churchill Semple of Louisville, Kentucky, discussed "Geographical Location as a Factor in History". Her main conclusions were as follows: The location of a country is the supreme geographical fact in its history. The dispersion of a people over a wide, boundless area has a disintegrating tendency, while the opposite result follows concentration within a restricted national base. A people situated between two other peoples generally forms an ethnical and cultural link between the two. The unifying effect of vicinal location is greatly enhanced if the neighboring people are grouped about an enclosed sea. An even closer connection exists between adjoining nations united by ties of blood and economically dependent upon one another because of a contrast in physical conditions. The two chief types of continuous location are the central and peripheral. The former means opportunity for widening territory and the exercise of a wide-spread influence, but it also means danger; the latter means a narrow base but a protected frontier along the sea. All nations strive to combine both a central and a peripheral location. An admirable combination of the two is in the United States; but our country has paid for its security by an historical aloofness and poverty of influence. The accessibility of the maritime periphery tends to raise it in culture, wealth, density of

population, and often in political importance, in advance of the centre. It blends diverse over-sea influences and passes them on to the interior. Each inland frontier has to reckon with a different neighbor and an undivided influence of varying historical importance. Location is the geographical factor in history most subject to the vicissitudes attending the anthro-po-geographical evolution of the earth—the transfer of the seats of civilization.

The second paper, by Professor Orin Grant Libby of the University of North Dakota, dealt with "Physiography as a Factor in Community Life". To indifference in physiography as well as in education and religion he ascribed the early national leadership of Virginia and the provincialism of New England. But his principal illustrations were drawn from North Dakota. Here the Mandans, in the rich and sheltered valley of the Missouri, developed a civilization superior to that of any other Indians of the Northwest; while the Chippewa or Ojibway tribe, migrating from the Great Lakes to the Turtle Mountain Plateau, lost many of their arts and degenerated to a lower plane of culture. The method and character of the white occupation of the state was predetermined by its physiography. Its double drainage system—the Missouri and Red Rivers—made it a battle-ground of rival fur companies and of contending nationalities, whose rivalry for the Indian trade led to Lord Selkirk's settlement near Winnipeg, which brought the first white settlers into the state. The results of these physiographic conditions and the consequent fur-trade occupation of the state were: the perpetuation of nomadic life and the delayed development of agriculture, due to the presence of the buffalo herd; the long retention by England of the Red River valley and the establishment of forts by the United States government; the numerous half-breed population, due to the long occupation of the state by Indian tribes and resident trading companies; and the ignoring of international boundary lines in favor of larger physiographic boundaries.

The discussion of the morning's papers was opened by Professor George L. Burr of Cornell, who argued that geography, though a factor in history, is only a factor, and that no more in history than in mathematics can the outcome be inferred from a single factor alone. Though all that man does and is be but the product of himself into his environment, it must never be forgotten that he too is a factor, and oftener the active than the passive, the multiplier than the multiplicand. Recognition of this is often obscured by an ambiguous or inexact use of words. Thus "location" may denote

either an act or the result of an act: it may mean a placing or a place. When Miss Semple tells us that "the most important geographical fact in the past history of the United States has been their location on the Atlantic opposite Europe" we are in danger of forgetting that she speaks, not of a condition, but of an achievement—for what has made the story of the colonists other than that of the aborigines is not geographical position, but their European birth and training, their ships and their compass, the friends they left behind and the habits which engendered their trade. To impute action or causation, influence or control, to things which are inert is a figure of speech which gives vigor to style, but which always involves a fallacy; and when to nature is imputed what is planned and achieved by man, the sufferer from the fallacy is history.

Dr. Harlan H. Barrows, instructor in the University of Chicago, defended a position intermediate between that of Miss Semple and that of Professor Burr.

Professor Ulrich B. Phillips of the University of Wisconsin exhibited two maps that illustrated the relation of geography and history. One map showed the location of the white and negro population in the South in 1850; the other, the distribution of Whig and Democratic votes in presidential elections in 1848. In the lower South the Whig majorities were situated in the Black Belt, the region of the great plantations, which developed an aristocratic spirit antagonistic to the principles of Jacksonian democracy, and up to 1860 cast their votes in the interest of the Union. In the upper South the distribution of the Whigs is explained by other causes, such as the desire for internal improvements, for the tariff, strong states'-rights feeling, etc.

Professor Ralph S. Tarr, President of the American Geographical Society, and Professor George B. Adams of Yale University, returning to the discussion of the first two papers, suggested that disagreement was caused partly by lack of definition of terms. Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California, Professor N. M. Trenholme of the University of Missouri and Miss Semple also took part in the discussion, the last-named answering objections which had been raised against the arguments which she had advanced, and completing them in points in which they had been misunderstood.

The other conference of Saturday morning was the usual gathering to discuss the problems of state and local historical societies. Mr. Frank H. Severance of the Buffalo Historical Society

was its chairman. Its secretary, Professor Evarts B. Greene of the University of Illinois, read a careful report on the year's progress in the work of the societies, reviewing the legislation of the year for historical work, the appropriations made, the other additions to the resources of the societies, the additions to their buildings and equipment and to the series of their publications, and dwelling also on significant new enterprises undertaken by some of them. He reported much increase in the appropriations made in the middle West for historical purposes, and forcibly advocated better planning of what to do with the appropriations, complete care in the avoidance of waste and duplication, fuller co-operation among societies and better editing.

The foremost topic of discussion in the conference was "The Co-operation of State Historical Societies in the Gathering of Material in Foreign Archives". Doctor Dunbar Rowland, the director of the Department of Archives and History in Mississippi, reviewed the relation of the societies to the archives of Great Britain, France and Spain, and the nature of the materials to be found in the latter; read the instructions which he had given to searchers and copyists in Seville; discussed concrete measures for the avoidance of unnecessary duplication (it was admitted that some duplication is necessary) by the preparation and circulation of calendars founded on preliminary searches; and proposed the formation of a committee of seven to deal with this matter.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord, who has lately become the chief historical adviser to the Illinois State Historical Library, emphasized the special importance of such measures to the West and especially to the societies of the Mississippi Valley. If each such society draws off from the archives of Spain or France all that in any sense relates to its territory, there is much duplication, on account of the originally undivided character of this region; if on the other hand each takes only that which in the strictest sense belongs to it, large masses of material relating to the whole valley will be left untouched. There should be more systematic planning for their volumes, so that we may know what we are likely to find in each. He described four possible plans of action: a close federation of the Western historical societies, with a central committee, publishing one general collection; a looser federation with four minor groups, each preparing publications for its particular section; a division of Western history into periods, with an arrangement whereby each society should deal with all the

general materials relating to the period assigned to it; and, less completely effective, but less likely to encounter obstacles in the local pride of states or societies, a central committee of information, with a clearing-house at the Carnegie Institution or the Library of Congress. A committee of seven to canvass the whole matter was appointed by the chairman of the conference. Mr. Rowland was designated as chairman of the committee; the other members are Messrs. W. C. Ford, E. B. Greene, J. F. Jameson, T. M. Owen, B. F. Shambaugh and R. G. Thwaites.

This may be the most appropriate point at which to speak of the formation of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which was organized at Madison during the period of the meeting chronicled in this article. Its executive committee consists of Dr. Thomas M. Owen as president, Professor Clarence W. Alvord as vice-president, Mr. Clarence S. Paine as secretary and treasurer, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites and Mr. George W. Martin. The object of this new society, which it is understood will stand in some relation of affiliation to the American Historical Association, is to promote mutual consultation among the officers and members of the various organizations already existing and to care in other ways for the interests of special work in the history of this western region. It may be expected that whatever plans are suggested as advisable by the committee named above may find their best means of execution through this new association, which will be able to exercise upon the state historical agencies a strong influence in favor of whatever measures of co-operation may commend themselves to the new organization. The latter, it is expected, will consist largely of officers of the existing and more local bodies.

Next in the proceedings of the conference, Miss Lucy M. Salmon, professor in Vassar College, read a paper on "Scientific Organization of Historical Museums". The speaker outlined the reasons why museums are often lightly esteemed: chiefly lack of judgment in selecting material and lack of skilled curators. There is need of specialization in the establishment of museums. After enumerating and describing various types the speaker urged that a museum should represent a single idea, not a miscellaneous collection of objects. In the case of historical museums we have concentrated too much attention on manuscript material. We should try to preserve objects characteristic of each region or of each stage of development—the log-cabin, the plantation, the red schoolhouse. Curators should have many natural qualifications, and should be trained for their work.

Mr. Julian P. Bretz, instructor in the University of Chicago, emphasized the need of historical museums in colleges and universities, and made a special point of the fact that there should be a direct connection between the museum and research. Museums should aim to offer opportunities for research. The principles which are guiding the development of the historical museum of the University of Chicago were pointed out. Relics and curiosities are discarded. The purpose is to establish additional means of preserving material, and to gather educational objects such as facsimiles, maps and broadsides, which may become a valuable teaching adjunct. The difference between historical and industrial museums was discussed.

A paper on "Co-operation of Local Historical Societies" by Mr. John F. Ayer, secretary of the Bay State Historical League, was read by the secretary of the conference. The Bay State League is a union of local historical societies in Massachusetts. The great success which has attended its formation was enlarged upon. The main results secured were increased interest, opportunity to exchange views and papers, a widening of the field of work of individual societies and an increased membership.

The session of Saturday evening, a general session of the association, was devoted to papers in European History. In the opening paper, entitled "The Programme of a Puritan State", Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth College discussed the contributions to Puritanism made by five documents adopted by Geneva between the years 1536 and 1541. Of these, the first edition of Calvin's *Institutes* insisted upon man's moral obligation as a plain deduction from the fundamental premise of the sovereignty of God and of his Word; it provided for training in and enforcement of morals, and safeguarded both liberty and law. Calvin rendered service to modern liberty, first, by pointing out the divinely ordained duty of constitutional representatives of the people to "moderate the power of kings"; secondly, by training men with the moral poise and power necessary for constitutional revolution and representative government. In 1537 the first steps toward the formation of a Puritan state in Geneva were taken by a partial adoption of the "Articles concerning the Organization of the Church" and by the enforcement of a Biblical Confession of Faith as a test of citizenship and church membership. In the catechism printed by the state, Calvin provided a training and test for the admission of children to the church, and in his system of discipline and excom-

munication a training and pruning of its adult membership. When the Caesaropapist state infringed on the church's liberty of preaching and ceremonies, Calvin and Farel illustrated the Puritan temper in preferring exile to violation of the "Word of God". The "Ecclesiastical Ordinances" enacted by Geneva on Calvin's recall mark the nominal adoption of a systematic organization of the religious and moral life of the little republic under the co-operative control of a church and a state which possessed distinct jurisdictions but acknowledged one authority—the Word of God. The programme marked by these five documents bred the Puritan temper.

The next paper, on "Legazpi and Philippine Colonization", was read by Mr. James A. Robertson of Madison. He first compared with the four preceding expeditions to the Philippines, the expedition of Legazpi, despatched in 1564 under orders to colonize the islands for Spain, although they lay within Portugal's demarcation. He then gave an account of the highest officers of the expedition, Legazpi, long a resident of Mexico, and Urdaneta, the chief navigator, one of the five Augustinians who accompanied him. He set forth the difficulties that Legazpi encountered—famine, mutiny, and the hostility and treachery of the Portuguese as well as of the natives. But in spite of dangers and of the neglect of both Spain and New Spain, Legazpi accomplished his task. At the time of his death in 1572 the great pioneer, ably seconded by his officers and the friars, had established the settlements of Cebú and Manila; had removed in great measure the distrust of the natives; had explored and pacified much of the island territory; had established trade with the natives as well as with the Chinese; had arrested the progress of Mohammedanism, which had extended as far as Manila; and had laid the broad lines of Spanish administration in the Philippines. Legazpi's claim to greatness does not rest in the origination of colonial principles, but in the manner in which he carried out his instructions; in his loyalty to king and cause; in his independence of action and freedom from domination by the friars; in his resources, humanity, integrity, patience, prudence and tact. Industry and the family were, he saw clearly, the foundations of a permanent colony. His conquest and colonization were essentially peaceful.

Dr. Roger B. Merriman, instructor in Harvard University, read a paper on "The Elizabethan Government and the English Catholics: Another Phase of the Question", which is printed in subsequent pages of this journal. Professor James Westfall Thompson of the University of Chicago followed with a paper entitled

"Some Economic Factors in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes", which we are to have the privilege of printing in a later issue.

In the concluding paper of the session Professor Wilbur C. Abbott of the University of Kansas treated of "The Beginning of English Political Parties". The earliest party divisions after the Restoration bore religious names but were really political, Anglican and Presbyterian. The former first gained ascendancy under Clarendon. Their programme was a stronger, though still Parliamentary, royal power, restricted personal liberties, relief of the landed classes in taxation, occupation with domestic concerns, and strict conformity. Against them the Presbyterians stood for toleration. The king, desiring royal indulgence for Catholicism, drew together a part of his friends, soon known as the Courtiers. These stood for toleration by prerogative, protection, personal liberty and vigorous foreign policy. By 1667 they overthrew Clarendon, but the ensuing ministry, the nonconformist Cabal, alienated the opposition, now known as Country Gentlemen, by their tolerance for the Catholics and reliance on prerogative. In 1670 the royal intrigues divided the Cabal into Catholic and Protestant sections. The struggle increased, and culminated in events surrounding the second Dutch war, 1672-1674. The Test Act was passed, eliminating the Catholics. Shaftesbury was dismissed and joined the triumphing Country Party, and the court was reorganized under Danby. By 1674 the organization, methods and issues were fully defined. For the court, greater executive power, French alliance, conformity, prerogative, stood out as essentials; for the country, greater power of the legislature, freedom of Parliament and personal liberty, anti-French policy. Thereafter save in details these did not change in spite of the excesses on either side. Whig and Tory were practically in existence, save for the name, by 1674.

The session of Monday morning was given up to five separately-organized discussions of special fields of work, "round-table" conferences of actual workers, all held at the same time. Useful as they proved in several instances, the want of a distinction in their proceedings between the work of teaching and that of research was apparent. It was also noticeable that, though free discussion had been chiefly intended, set papers prevailed. The five fields discussed were those of medieval European history, modern European history, Oriental history and politics, the constitutional history of the United States, and United States history since 1865, respectively.

The discussion on Medieval European History was opened by

the chairman, Professor G. L. Burr, who commented on the difficulties of teaching the American child the history of other lands in other times, and stated the question proposed for consideration: How should medieval history be written and taught for Americans?

Professor J. H. Robinson of Columbia University, in an entertaining talk, declared that a course in medieval history offers the grand opportunity "to leave things out". The Middle Ages are needed for explanatory purposes; they should be studied and taught to show "how things came about" rather than to show "how things were". Applying this test, the period from Gregory the Great to Abelard has, he thought, "all the darkness and gloom usually attributed to it", and should be skipped. The emphasis put upon that period hitherto is due to the "vicious perspective" of the Germans. Not even the age of Charlemagne was excepted when Professor Robinson proposed that everything from Gregory to Abelard should be introductory and that modern history should begin with Abelard and be traced thereafter as a steady development.

Professor Munro of Wisconsin felt that the first speaker, and modern historians generally, wished to carry modern history back too far, and declared himself content with the common division of history between medieval and modern. Still he had no sympathy with studying only that which is peculiar to the Middle Ages, but advocated the study of that which the Middle Ages have in common with modern times. Thus he would omit much, but nothing that is essential, and therefore would not and could not skip the period from Gregory to Abelard. He stated with emphasis that the thing of first importance is to teach medieval history so as to make it applicable to modern conditions. He also maintained that, as medieval history is usually the first college course in history, it must give the student something of method as well as of historical fact. In general agreement with these opinions was the paper read by Professor Dow of Michigan.

Professor Haskins of Harvard conceded that there must be omissions in teaching the medieval period, but could not countenance skipping the period from Gregory to Abelard. "We may run, but not jump." The fact that American students are more interested in the late, than in the early Middle Ages makes Professor Haskins willing to hasten over the earlier parts. He believes this preference of students for the later period attributable to their liking for biography which the early Middle Ages do not satisfy; and he has encouraged the reading of biography in his course at Harvard.

Professor Haskins also commented upon the variety of interests and demands which students bring to their courses and advocated such a presentation of the course, whether by lecture, discussion, assigned readings, or other method, that there be something for everybody; a course in medieval history should stimulate a student to variety of reading and should give "background".

Professor Thompson of the University of Chicago also objected to skipping the centuries from Gregory to Abelard. They are centuries not only of decadence but also—and this is the all-important fact—of formation of new institutions; and, if the decadence is unworthy of study, the formative processes cannot be ignored, especially not by the student of modern history. Considered in this light it is difficult to see why modern history, even if near at hand, should be considered more enlightening than medieval history.

Professor Harding of Indiana came to the support of the study of the differences between medieval and modern history and claimed for it an educational value not to be despised. He further contended that generalizations should be avoided in teaching history, and that all instruction should be concrete. The general discussion was participated in by Professor Scott of Chicago Theological Seminary, Professor Richardson of Beloit College and Professor Flick of Syracuse.

The second conference was devoted to Modern European History. Professor Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Illinois presided. The first paper was read by Professor Ralph C. H. Catterall of Cornell University, who discussed the extent to which work in modern European history could be carried on in this country and maintained that for the making of monographs nine-tenths of the material desired could be obtained here. He spoke of the difficulties met in working in the history of any foreign country, the want of sympathetic comprehension on the part of those not native born and the lack, even, of intellectual comprehension, as illustrated by the efforts of the English in writing on the French Revolution. Mr. Catterall maintained that notwithstanding this the field was an excellent one for Americans and that the difficulties described could be met in part by travel. He then compared the library facilities of America with those of Europe and urged that all the material available should be thoroughly studied here before the student goes abroad. The extent of the collections at Cornell for the study of the French Revolution were described at some length and the way was thus prepared for two suggestions: that

a good description of the valuable collections in each of the American universities be made so that a student might know where to look for the best material on any subject in modern European history; and that each university library devote itself to a special field of collection and avoid duplicating the work of other universities.

The paper was discussed by Professor Charles A. Beard of Columbia University, by Professor G. S. Ford and by Professor Frank M. Anderson of the University of Minnesota. Professor Beard sought to define more closely the "division of labor" advocated for university libraries. Professor Ford discussed our special advantages as outsiders and suggested that it might devolve upon Americans to furnish general histories of Europe. He maintained that we could go beyond monographic work and attempt that which is synthetic. Professor Anderson followed in the same sense.

The second paper, prepared by Professor Fred M. Fling, of the University of Nebraska, and read in his absence by Dr. Christophelsmeyer, dealt with the tradition that seminary work in America on subjects in modern European history is impossible. Mr. Fling maintained that lack of material for this purpose could not be urged and demonstrated the manner in which a working library on the period just preceding the French Revolution and for the French Revolution had been collected at the University of Nebraska. This was followed by a full explanation of the method employed in the seminars at Nebraska, the subjects considered and the results obtained. Professor C. A. Beard read a paper arguing in favor of a greater study of contemporary history and advocating the establishment of a journal of contemporary history to be published twice a year. This journal should show where the latest documents are to be found and indicate the most recent works on contemporary affairs. For a more general magazine of modern European history he saw no opportunity. The paper read by Professor H. G. Plum of the University of Iowa advocated a greater emphasis on the study of the economic factors in European history, and illustrated his point by reference to the economic factors in the history of the Reformation and in the period of Elizabeth. The paper was discussed briefly by Dr. Eckhardt of the University of Missouri. Professor E. D. Adams of Leland Stanford University next made a plea for a more thorough study of the connections of American history with contemporary European history. Though such study had been undertaken for a few aspects of American history, there were still many in which these connections remained unstudied and imper-

factly understood. His illustrations dealt with the relations of England and the United States in the matter of the West Indian trade and with the connection between British emancipation in the West Indies and Nullification in South Carolina. The last paper of the session was prepared by Professor Robert M. Johnston of Bryn Mawr College, and was read by Dr. Eckhardt. Mr. Johnston advocated measures designed to prevent the teaching of generalizations in the schools and suggested a greater study of historical geography as a substitute for general statements commonly advanced in the text-books.

At the conference on Oriental History and Politics Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge of Harvard University presided. The opening paper by Dr. Arthur I. Andrews, instructor in Simmons College, was an account, based on official information, of the courses in Oriental history offered in American universities. So far as ascertained no courses in Asiatic history are required. Of courses that are elective for both graduate and undergraduate students, a considerable number deal with the history of Western Asia in the Middle Ages, including courses upon the life of Mohammed, on the spread of Islam, on the crusades, on the caliphates and on Byzantine history. There are several courses upon Western Asia in modern times, especially upon the history of the Ottoman Turks, and upon the Nearer Eastern Question. The history of Middle Asia appears to be separately treated in only one course, on Persia and India. Practically all of the courses relative to Eastern Asiatic history are concerned with the modern period. Several institutions offer graduate work in Asiatic history. With two or three exceptions, no university offers any one general course or any system of courses planned to cover the whole field of Asiatic history.

Professor Dennis of the University of Wisconsin spoke of the need of courses giving a general survey of Asiatic history, and of the necessity of relating Oriental history to Greek history; the history of Central Asia to that of Western Asia; and the earlier to the modern period.

Dr. Charles D. Tenney, ex-president of Pei Yang College, read a thoughtful paper relative to China, in which after recounting the various reasons for our neglect of Chinese history, and setting forth the immense importance of the recent formal adoption by China of modern Western education, science and political ideals, he urged the necessity of studying the history and characteristics of

Asiatics. Progress or stagnation in race development, he said, is due to complex causes quite aside from ability. The arrested development of language in China is due to the too early production of a literature so valuable that it held the written symbols to their ancient rude forms. The early writers diverted the whole mental energy of the race into literature and abstract thought, and have kept it out of the channels of material science; but the Mongolian race will soon enter into our whole heritage. We must study their history and institutions to prepare us for readjustments in our international relationships.

In the absence of Dr. Kan-Ichi Asakawa, instructor in Yale University, his paper on Japan was read by Dr. Hiram Bingham. Dr. Asakawa pointed out the practical political need and the theoretical interest of a better knowledge of the Orient. After briefly sketching the various stages of Japanese political development, and the corresponding periods of her moral and spiritual growth, each with its own forms of art and modes of life presenting many interesting problems, he passed to a discussion of historical sources. While only half-a-dozen important sources of Japanese history have been translated, some degree of reliable knowledge may be obtained through the works of Brinkley, Mazelière, Papinot and Wenckstern, and the publications of learned societies. The collections of Japanese historical sources in the original language now in the Library of Congress in Washington and in the library of Yale University are larger and better than at any other places outside Japan.

Dr. Vickars discussed the obstacles that confront the student of Japanese history—sources are largely in manuscript, are widely scattered and have been sophisticated, history having been written not as it was but as the rulers wished it to be written. In response to a question from the chair, Dr. Tenney explained that what had been said of the unauthentic character of Japanese historical sources did not apply to those in China. Chinese scholars had the scientific spirit of Confucius, who excluded the miraculous, and they possessed great critical skill. Yet there existed unauthorized histories which included the miraculous.

The fourth conference, on the Constitutional History of the United States, was presided over by Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago. Professor William MacDonald of Brown University, who spoke informally on the use of constitutional decisions in the teaching of constitutional history.

strongly recommended that the reading required of students should include the full texts of many reports of constitutional decisions, which show the processes by which the final opinion is reached and often contain valuable historical summaries not obtainable elsewhere. Decisions of the Supreme Court are the best summaries of what the people have thought on questions at issue, and in the long run faithfully reflect public opinion. The teacher of constitutional history should be a fair constitutional lawyer and should require of his students a fair mastery of the essentials of some such treatise as Cooley's *Principles of Constitutional Law*. In a course in constitutional history however, as compared with one in constitutional law, emphasis should be placed on development. Attention was called to the limitations of court decisions, which for example tend to ignore economic aspects. The discussion was participated in by Professors McLaughlin, Edward S. Corwin of Princeton University, Theodore C. Smith of Williams College and George W. Knight of Ohio State University, some of whom expressed the opinion that so detailed a study of cases as Professor MacDonald had urged, overemphasized the importance of this form of material. Professor Smith believed that in the study of the Civil War and Reconstruction, for example, legislation and constitutional enactments were more important.

Professor William E. Dodd of Randolph-Macon College developed two points: the origin of the Jeffersonian following in Virginia and the influence of the study of Coke on Littleton and of Blackstone on the particularist and nationalist interpretations of the Constitution respectively. He showed how before 1776 Patrick Henry had built up in the state a strong democratic and colonial rights party, of which Jefferson managed to place himself at the head, and which sustained him in his later reform movements in the state, as well as in his later national career. Up to about 1770 Coke on Littleton, which tends to magnify the local at the expense of the central power of the state, had been used exclusively by the Virginia lawyers at William and Mary College. Blackstone's *Commentaries*, which emphasized the sovereign power in the state as reposed in the crown, reached America in the early seventies and displaced Coke on Littleton. Marshall was trained in Blackstonian law and thought, and when he came to interpret the Constitution favored the national at the expense of the state government. Jefferson, Madison, Henry and Roane were influenced by Coke on Littleton in the opposite direction, and were able by their command

of the popular party to make Virginia almost overwhelmingly favorable to states' rights.

Professor Corwin in support of Professor Dodd's hypothesis cited a letter of Jefferson in 1826 in which he deplores the displacement of Coke on Littleton by Blackstone. Blackstone was however used also by those who favored states' rights. What he emphasized was sovereignty. One school found this in the central government, the other in the states. Professor Corwin proceeded to discuss the influence of the doctrine of natural rights on court decisions. He cited numerous cases to prove that the courts are tending more and more to invoke the doctrine of natural rights in passing on the validity of legislative enactments. He found that the doctrine is most frequently invoked in behalf of propertied interests, that is, as a conservative weapon.

Professor Ernst Freund of the University of Chicago spoke of analogous attempts of German and English courts to find some extra-constitutional ground for determining upon the validity of legislation. In the United States the courts are striving to prevent legislative autocracy. The doctrine of natural rights has been invoked frequently in this attempt, but it is doubtful whether any clear principle can be found to harmonize the increasing number of decisions involving extra-constitutional appeals, such as Professor Corwin had endeavored to show.

United States History since 1865 was the subject of the fifth conference, over which Professor James A. Woodburn of Indiana University presided. The first paper, on the United States as a Peace Power, was read by Professor Amos S. Hershey of Indiana University. The speaker showed that in the main the United States has been a peace power from the time of the Jay Treaty to the Hague Conference. We were credited with fifty-seven cases of arbitration, of which twenty had been with Great Britain. The efforts of the late Secretary Hay towards securing the open-door policy in China and its territorial integrity; the work of President Roosevelt in connection with the Treaty of Portsmouth; and the important part played by the United States at the Hague Conference in advocating a high court of justice, a general treaty of arbitration and a plan for a periodical conference, mark our growth as a peace power; while freedom from duplicity and avarice has been shown by the return of the indemnity to China.

Professor Carl Russell Fish of the University of Wisconsin concluded from his experience as a teacher that the passions engendered

by the Civil War made it impossible at present to deal satisfactorily with the later years. He believed however that it was desirable to make the attempt, and outlined various methods that he had tried. The lack of well-edited sources prevented the use of this period for good training-courses or as a means of developing the critical faculty.

Professor Frank H. Hodder of the University of Kansas read a paper on the Johnson-Grant correspondence, in which he urged that the real significance of this controversy had hitherto escaped the notice of historians. He thought that the quarrel was one of the most important factors that induced Grant to run for the presidency, while at the same time it secured for him the support of the radical element.

Professor John H. Latané of Washington and Lee University spoke on America as a World Power. Prior to 1898 the Monroe Doctrine found its sanction in the separateness of the European and American hemispheres. Mr. Latané maintained that the United States had never really interfered in the affairs of Europe; in cases where it had appeared to do so, a close analysis would show that the United States was directly interested in the matter. He advocated the study of diplomatic history since 1865 because the sources are easily accessible and because the passions and prejudice which mark our internal history are absent from the study of foreign relations.

Mr. William Dudley Foulke, formerly United States Civil Service Commissioner, spoke on the Civil Service since the War. He showed how valuable the competitive system had been as compared with the discretionary or patronage system of appointment, and believed that the reform had succeeded because the law had been skillfully drafted and able men had enforced and extended it.

In the discussion which followed, Professor Macy of the University of Iowa maintained that the prejudice to be overcome in the study of this period was not a reason for turning away from it. Professor Caldwell of the University of Nebraska took a similar view. The real difficulty, he held, is overabundance of material.

The last two sessions, that of Monday evening and that of Tuesday morning, were devoted to the reading of papers. Those of Monday evening related to American Economic History. Professor St. George L. Sioussat of the University of the South presented a detailed study of Economics and Politics in the Early Years of the

Jacksonian Period, which will appear in a modified form in a later number of this journal. Mr. Alfred Holt Stone, of Dunleith, Mississippi, and of Washington, followed with a paper, to be published in our July number, on "Some Problems in Southern Economic History".

Professor Frederic L. Paxson's paper on "The Pacific Railways and the Disappearance of the Frontier in America" was an attempt to show how and why the frontier disappeared in the early eighties of the nineteenth century.

The line of the frontier, generally parallel to the Atlantic seaboard, advanced regularly and gradually to the west until it halted about 1850 in the vicinity of the ninety-fifth meridian. At this time it assumed a circular form, surrounded by the Pacific states, Texas, and the first tier of trans-Mississippi states, and enclosing the Rocky Mountains and what was known as the Great American Desert. This shape and its enclosed area changed but little for a period of thirty years, but between 1880 and 1885 it suddenly collapsed, and a few years later was gone. The reason for the surprising change from a gradual to a sudden method of destruction is found in the relative infertility of the semi-arid region, which did not invite settlement within its area and acted as a barrier until the pressure upon it was strong enough to break through and cross it at a single bound. In the final period the frontier was attacked, not by the individual pioneer, but by the railroad, aided by federal land-grants. The attack was general and comprehensive. It began in 1862 in the Union and Central Pacific bills, and was continued in 1864 by the Northern Pacific, in 1866 by the Atlantic Pacific, and in 1871 by the Texas and Pacific. While the roads were under construction the Indian policy was revised and concentration upon reservations became the rule. The completion in 1869 of the Union and Central Pacific railroads split in two the area enclosed by the frontier. This was followed by the panic of 1873, which checked railway construction. But when prosperity revived about 1879 construction was resumed and five new continental routes were opened in 1882-1884. The paper traced the history of these various Pacific railways and showed how they brought the frontier abruptly to an end.

In the subsequent discussion upon the general field of these papers in American economic history, Professor W. E. Dodd dwelt upon the necessity of taking into account the personal equation in the settlement of historical problems, using as an example the

career of R. J. Walker in its effect upon the history of slavery. Dr. B. H. Meyer, of the Wisconsin Railroad Commission, emphasized the need of such special monographs as had been presented and suggested several topics for further research, such as the outbreaks of violence connected with the joining of the short railroad lines so as to form trunk lines; the rivalry among towns for transportation privileges; the rivalry among the various means of transportation; the history of waterways, etc. Professor F. W. Moore of Vanderbilt University, Professor U. B. Phillips and Professor Willcox of Cornell University also took part in the discussion.

The concluding session, held on Tuesday morning, was devoted to the reading of papers in Western History, followed by a brief, informal discussion. Professor Frank M. Anderson of the University of Minnesota read the opening paper, which treated of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 from the Standpoint of Western History. He argued that there is a considerable element of error in the commonly accepted ideas about the resolutions, owing to neglect of the strictly contemporaneous and western points of view. Special attention was called to the county meetings held in Kentucky and Virginia in 1798 prior to the convening of the legislatures which adopted the resolutions. The initiative in the presentation of the resolutions to the legislatures, he declared, came from these meetings rather than from Jefferson and the Republican leaders in Congress, to whom it is usually ascribed. The principal occasion for the resolutions was not the Alien and Sedition Laws, but western opposition to the eastern policy in regard to war with France. This opposition sprang largely from sectional and economic interests. Points of similarity in the two sets of resolutions, he held, have been exaggerated, while important points of difference have been overlooked. The most important constitutional questions raised by the resolutions, the nature of the federal union and the proper method of checking federal encroachment upon the reserved rights of the states, received relatively scant attention at the time, owing to the concentration of attention upon the question of peace or war and the war measures of the federal government.

The second paper, in which Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of Texas reported on the Material for Southwestern History in the Archives of Mexico, is printed in the present number of this journal.

In the third paper Professor Anna Heloise Abel of the Woman's College of Baltimore carefully set forth the various Proposals for an

Indian State, from 1778 to 1878. In 1778 and six years later the Indians were given permission, upon which they did not act, to form a state of their own. During many subsequent years other plans, such as colonization, removal and incorporation, were advanced. During Monroe's second term, when Indian troubles in Georgia reached a climax, the administration united the plans of removal and colonization, and advised the introduction of a governmental system of which statehood would have been the natural outcome. Congressional action was taken at the same time, looking towards the erecting of a regular territory for Indians exclusively. Under John Quincy Adams, Secretary Barbour advocated a great territorial government west of the Mississippi River, for which a bill projected by him supplied administrative machinery. Under Jackson, however, the Act of 1830 aimed at removal but not at organization or future citizenship. Dissatisfaction with the chaotic state of affairs in the western Indian country came largely from the red men themselves, who asked for a delegate in Congress. A commission, appointed in 1832 to investigate the matter, favored organization; but the bills for this, reported during several sessions, all failed, being regarded as administration measures; while some Southerners took issue on the color line. The Texas question was already beginning to be agitated, and since in case of war with Mexico the Indians might become dangerous, and since they were a menace to the western frontier, military supervision was deemed the wisest course. In spite of the promises of the government and the efforts of individuals no progress was made in the granting of political concessions, up to the close of Fillmore's administration. By that time the government was looking forward to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, to the passage of which an organization of the kind originally proposed might have proved an insurmountable obstacle. After the Civil War the building of the large railways made territorial government urgent. This the Indians opposed, believing that it would involve a mixed state, which public opinion increasingly favored. President Grant wished an exclusively Indian state, but after 1878 this idea was practically abandoned.

The fourth paper, by Mr. John C. Parish of the State Historical Society of Iowa, on "An Early Fugitive Slave Case West of the Mississippi River", has since its delivery been printed in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. The last paper, by President Kendric C. Babcock of the University of Arizona, dealt with "The Proprietary Towns of Arizona". He

showed how the very rapid development of the mineral resources of the Rocky Mountain region, especially in the Southwest, the large number of men employed and the great capital required by the corporations operating the mines, have combined to produce some interesting variations from the type of town found in the East or Middle West. The towns discussed are: Jerome, Bisbee, Douglas, Warren, Clifton and Morenci in Arizona, and Cananea and Sonora just over the border in Mexico. While these are not owned and managed as private estates like the English Bourneville or Pelzer, South Carolina; nor, except Warren, built according to plans and specifications, they all show some common evidences of proprietary control. The chief features of this control are four: ownership of lands and buildings used by citizens; ownership, direct or indirect, of public utilities; the company stores; and ownership or equally effective indirect control of the means of communication with the outside world. The public utilities managed by the great corporation are water supply, electric light and power systems, and telephone systems. The service is usually good and the prices moderate, for the monopoly is primarily for the company's own operations, and the supply of the utility to the town incidental. No one is compelled to trade at the company stores, but competition, while nominally free, is closely regulated by them. Except at Cananea the city or town is in each case dependent for its transportation to and from the outside world on a railroad owned directly or indirectly by one of the great mining interests, which thus has a vital grip on the town. In politics in the municipality the companies are not so greatly and immediately interested as in the county assessors, county boards of equalization and members of the territorial legislatures, which control assessments and rates of taxation. In general the companies succeed through their influence in these proprietary towns in electing men favorable to the corporate interests.

It remains to speak of the annual business meeting, which exhibited the usual impressive array of activities on the part of the Association, marked notable progress in several, and established some that are new. In accordance with a previous vote of the Association, it was announced that the annual meeting of 1908 would begin in Washington on Monday, December 28, and would continue at Richmond from December 29 to 31. On recommendation of the Executive Council, the Association voted that the meeting of 1909 should be held in New York City.

The Association accepted the recommendation of the Council in

favor of the establishment, in case satisfactory arrangements could be made, of a separate series of prize essays in charge of a regular publisher and under the auspices of the Association, to comprise essays which have won the Justin Winsor and Herbert Baxter Adams prizes. It also voted, on the Council's recommendation, to establish a commission to frame, for future series of documentary historical publications on the part of the United States government, a plan so conceived as to provide for a more methodical output and one more valuable to the historical profession. Subsequently, however, a different status has been given to this project by governmental action. President Roosevelt, acting through his Committee on Department Methods, commonly called the Keep Commission, has appointed to serve as a Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government the same gentlemen who were to have served the Association in this particular under appointment from the president of the Association. This committee will report to the Committee on Department Methods. The members appointed are Messrs. Worthington C. Ford, chairman, C. F. Adams, C. M. Andrews, W. A. Dunning, A. B. Hart, J. F. Jameson, A. C. McLaughlin, A. T. Mahan, and F. J. Turner. These gentlemen have accepted appointment, and a preliminary meeting for organization has been held in Washington.

The Council further reported that on request of the College Entrance Examination Board it had appointed a committee (Messrs. A. C. McLaughlin, chairman, C. H. Haskins, C. W. Mann, J. H. Robinson and James Sullivan) to consider certain questions arising out of the *Report of the Committee of Seven on History in Secondary Schools*, with special reference to the extent of the field to be covered in ancient history as a subject for admission to college, and that this committee expected to prepare a report in the course of the present year.

The treasurer's report showed net receipts of \$7,764, net expenditures of \$7,032, an increase of \$732 in the funds of the Association, and total assets of \$24,923.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch, relating chiefly to its annual meeting held at San Francisco on November 29 and 30, was transmitted by its secretary, Professor C. A. Duniway; and Professor E. D. Adams, who was present as its representative, spoke briefly of the present condition of the Branch.

Brief reports were made by the Historical Manuscripts Commission (on the diplomatic archives of the Republic of Texas), the Public Archives Commission, the Board of Editors of this journal,

the Committee on Bibliography, the Committee on Publications, the General Committee and its conference on the work of state and local historical societies, and the editor of the "Original Narratives of Early American History". The Committee of Eight on History in Elementary Schools reported that its report was substantially ready for print. It will appear through a regular publisher in the course of 1908.

The Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize reported that it had found it necessary to divide the prize between the monograph of Dr. Edward B. Krehbiel of the University of Chicago on *The Interdict, its History and its Operation, with Especial Attention to the Time of Pope Innocent III.*, and the monograph of Dr. William S. Robertson of Western Reserve University on *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America*.

Complimentary resolutions of the usual character were presented and passed. The committee on nominations, Messrs. H. V. Ames, E. D. Adams and H. L. Caldwell, proposed a list of officers, all of whom were chosen by the Association. Professor George B. Adams was elected president, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart first vice-president and Professor Frederick J. Turner second vice-president. Mr. A. Howard Clark, Professor C. H. Haskins and Dr. Clarence W. Bowen were re-elected to their former positions. In the place of Professor Garrison and Dr. Thwaites, who had been thrice elected to the Executive Council, Professors Max Farrand and Frank H. Hodder were chosen.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

<i>President,</i>	Professor George B. Adams, New Haven.
<i>First Vice-president,</i>	Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge.
<i>Second Vice-president,</i>	Professor Frederick J. Turner, Madison.
<i>Secretary,</i>	A. Howard Clark, Esq., Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
<i>Corresponding Secretary,</i>	Professor Charles H. Haskins, 15 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	Clarence W. Bowen, Esq., 130 Fulton Street, New York.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers) :

Hon. Andrew Dickson White, ¹	Professor John Bach McMaster, ²
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Henry Adams, Esq., ¹	Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, ¹
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Rear-Adm. Alfred Thayer Mahan, ¹	Professor Max Farrand,
Henry Charles Lea, Esq., ¹	Professor Frank H. Hodder.
Professor Goldwin Smith, ¹	

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting: Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution, Washington, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Charles H. Haskins, John H. Latané and Ulrich B. Phillips.

Joint Local Committee of Arrangements for the Next Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association: Joseph B. Bryan, Esq., Richmond, Va., chairman; Edwin A. Alderman, Allen C. Braxton, J. Alston Cabell, A. Howard Clark, William E. Dodd, Worthington C. Ford, John B. Henderson, Jr., J. Franklin Jameson, Carlton McCarthy, H. R. McIlwaine, Mrs. Kate Pleasants Minor, Samuel C. Mitchell, Andrew J. Montague, Charles W. Needham, Thomas W. Page, Samuel S. P. Patteson, James B. Scott, Thomas J. Shahan, William G. Stanard, Claude A. Swanson, Lyon G. Tyler and John L. Williams.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Professor George B. Adams, Yale University, chairman; George L. Burr, Albert Bushnell Hart, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin and William M. Sloane.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution, Washington, chairman; Worthington C. Ford, Herbert D. Foster, Frederick W. Moore, Thomas M. Owen and James A. Woodburn.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Professor Charles H. Hull, Cornell University, chairman; Edward P. Cheyney, John H. Latané, Claude H. Van Tyne and Williston Walker.

¹ Ex-presidents.

Public Archives Commission: Professor Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Clarence S. Brigham, Carl R. Fish, Herbert L. Osgood, Victor H. Paltsits and Dunbar Rowland.

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Committee on Publications: Professor William A. Dunning, Columbia University, chairman; Herman V. Ames, A. Howard Clark, Charles Gross, Charles H. Haskins, Charles H. Hull, J. Franklin Jameson and Ernest C. Richardson (all *ex officio*, except the chairman).

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Professor Charles Gross, Harvard University, chairman; George L. Burr, Victor Coffin, James W. Thompson and John M. Vincent. (During the absence of Professor Gross in Europe until September, 1908, Professor Burr will act as chairman of the committee.)

General Committee: Professor Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Earle W. Dow, Charles H. Haskins, Frank H. Hodder, Susan M. Kingsbury, Franklin L. Riley, Lucy M. Salmon, Frank H. Severance, Benjamin F. Shambaugh and Frederick G. Young. *Secretary of the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies:* Walter L. Fleming.

Committee on College Entrance Requirements in History: Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago, chairman; Charles H. Haskins, Charles W. Mann, James H. Robinson and James Sullivan.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE NORWEGIAN KINGS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE great age of Old Norse literature began with the twelfth century. For more than two hundred years there was a continued production of sagas and poems, of charters and laws. Much of this literature was, it is true, the product of earlier ages now for the first time put into written form; but a large part was original. From the medieval writings of Western Europe it differs in certain important respects: it was not written in the language of the learned, but in the speech of the people, not by clerks but by cultured laymen; the clerk and the monk wrote amid cloistered surroundings and consequently the church and all its belongings occupy a prominent place in their writings; the scalds and the sagamen had other interests—their stories deal more with kings and chiefs, with warfare and politics. While these tales cannot always be relied on in matters of narrative history, the student of social and political institutions will find in them a source of much valuable information.¹ The importance of Old Norse literature for the study of early Germanic society has long been understood; but it is only within the last generation that historians have begun to realize that these writings may also be used to illustrate institutional developments that are medieval rather than Germanic. Sophus Bugge's contention that the Eddic myths are merely Norse versions of legends current in Western Europe during the Viking age may never be universally accepted;² but there is no doubt a large measure of truth in the statement that Scandinavian thought in the closing centuries of heathendom contained a large fund of borrowed ideas. A most favorable period for the intro-

¹ In preparing this paper I have made considerable use of the following sagas: Snorre's *Heimskringla*. Snorre's dates are 1178–1241. The references are to Morris and Magnusson's translation: *The Stories of the Kings of Norway* (London, 1894).

Flateyrbok (eds. Vigfusson and Unger, Christiania, 1860–1868). The Flatey Book dates from 1370–1380 but the sagas contained are evidently of earlier origin.

Fagrskinna (eds. Munch and Unger, Christiania, 1847). This is a briefer form of the *King-sagas* dating from the thirteenth century (1230–1240). The author seems to have used the same sources that Snorre made use of, at least in part.

² *Helge-Digtene i den Ældre Edda* (Copenhagen, 1896).

duction of foreign customs came in the ninth and tenth centuries when the reputed descendants of Woden were reshaping Northern society along national lines and establishing new institutions, such as a national kingship with all that the term implies. Nearly all the rulers of Norway during the tenth and eleventh centuries had spent years abroad either as vikings, mercenary chiefs or exiles before they were admitted to the kingship; and it is only natural that in the arrangement of their own courts and surroundings they should imitate the institutions of other princely households.

As the medieval Norse writers were usually men who spent a large part of their time at the royal court, they naturally allude freely to the men and the affairs of the king's garth. On the subject of court customs much information can be found in the *King's Mirror* or *Speculum Regale*,³ a unique document dating from about 1200, the ostensible purpose of which is to instruct a youth how to demean himself in the various walks of life, especially in the royal presence. Some use can also be made of the royal charters dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of which a considerable number have come down to us.⁴ But by far the best source for our present purpose is the *Court Law* of Magnus Lawmender (1263-1280),⁵ a revision of an earlier law that was probably put into form in the reign of King Sverri whose rule of thirty eventful years closed in 1202.

I.

From the earliest years of the Norse monarchy the king's guard seems to have formed an organized corps subject to certain definite laws or customs. We get a glimpse of such a corps in the reign of Harold Fairhair, the first Norwegian king.⁶ How complete and definite this organization was in the ninth century cannot be known; but by the thirteenth it had developed into a somewhat elaborate form. There existed then in the king's garth (the chapel service not included) four distinct but closely related guilds, all organized for the purpose of guarding or serving the king, each in its own way. Of these the king himself was only a member, though naturally the most influential and powerful one. These four groups

³ *Kongs-skuggsio* (Soröe, 1768). Later editions by Keyser, Munch and Unger (Christiania, 1848) and by Brenner (Munich, 1881).

⁴ *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (Christiania, 1847-1871).

⁵ *Hirðskraa*, in *Norges Gamle Love* (Old Norse Laws), II. Abbreviated to *N. G. L.: H.*

⁶ *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (Oxford, 1883), I. 257. See Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (*Univ. of Wis. Bulletin*, 1904), p. 157.

were the "hirdmen", the "gests", the "candle-swains" and the "house-carles". Usually the complete household was spoken of as the "hird" (*hirð*), a term that suggests an Old English origin;⁷ but more specifically this term was used for the most important corps, the members of which were known as "hirdmen" (*hirðmenn*).

The author of the *Speculum Regale* advises all who wish to enter the guard to appear before the king with a spokesman. On coming to the court they are told to seek out those who are in the habit of presenting such requests to the king and to cultivate their friendship. The most favorable time would be when the king was at the table, as he would then most likely be in good humor.⁸ If the king agreed to receive the man, one of the higher officials of the guard, the marksman or the staller, would submit the matter to the assembled hirdmen. Should any one present object to granting the request, the matter would be laid over until the objections could be investigated; these might be based on ancestry, earlier record or the like.⁹ Apparently no man could become a hirdman without the free consent of the guild membership.

The Court Law also provides for an initiation ceremony closely resembling that of homage, of which it was probably an adaptation,¹⁰ though it is also possible that the two ceremonies may have developed independently from some ancient custom prevailing in the Germanic *comitatus*.¹¹ The king was in his high-seat with his guard grouped about him; across his knees lay a sword, his right hand grasping the hilt. The candidate approached, knelt, touched the sword-hilt and kissed the royal hand. He then arose and took the oath of fealty. Kneeling once more he placed his folded hands between those of the king and kissed his new lord. The officiating trencher-swain then led him to his new comrades from whom he received the hand and kiss of fellowship.¹²

⁷ *Hirð* is probably derived from the Old English *hired*, household, frequently a royal household.

⁸ *Spec. Reg.*, 67 (xxx.).

⁹ *N. G. L.*, II, 422: *H.* 30.

¹⁰ But the two must not be confused; the kingsman was not a vassal.

¹¹ In the complaint of the *Wanderer*, an Old English poem from the seventh century or earlier (see Wülker's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Literatur*), the minstrel calls to mind "how at one time his war-lord he kissed and embraced, laying his hands and his head on the chieftain's knee, when in days of yore he enjoyed the gift-seat" (ll. 41-44). There can be no doubt that the singer refers to his initiation into his lord's following. In several important particulars—the kneeling (which is implied), the kiss, the placing of the hand—this ceremony resembles the one described in the Court Law; the "sword-touching" is not alluded to, but this particular act was not required of all who entered the royal service, as will be seen elsewhere in this paper.

¹² *N. G. L.*, II, 422-423: *H.* 31.

While it was usual to admit only voluntary applicants to the guard, this rule was sometimes broken; the king occasionally solicited members, and at times even commanded men to join the hird.¹³ On the death of the king, the men were released from their oaths; but it was customary for the new ruler to receive the former henchmen into his own guard.¹⁴ As the Norse constitution permitted a divided kingship, it would sometimes happen that the kingdom had several courts, each of the joint rulers maintaining his own.¹⁵ In one instance a kingsman appears to have served in two such guards at the same time.¹⁶

The duties of the hirdman are summed up in the oath of initiation: to be faithful to his lord in open and in secret; to follow the king at home and abroad, and never to leave his court without permission, except under stress of great necessity.¹⁷ His particular duty was to guard the king's life and person;¹⁸ the corps was therefore chosen from "all that was strongest and stoutest, both of folk of the land and of outlanders".¹⁹ In battle the hirdmen were grouped about the king;²⁰ the bravest and strongest were with him on shipboard;²¹ they sat around him and before him in the public assemblies.²² Of the regular guards at court the sources speak of two: the day-guard or "following" (*fylgð*) and the night-guard or ward (*vörðr*).²³ Of the latter there were two divisions—the inner-ward (*innvörðr*) also called head-ward (*höfuðvörðr*) and the outer-ward (*utvörðr*).²⁴ The head-ward was stationed near the king's person, usually outside the door of the chamber where he slept;²⁵ it was composed, it seems, of hirdmen only. The outer-ward was placed at a greater distance and was normally made up of gests.²⁶ Owing to its great length, the winter night was divided

¹³ *Orvar-Odd's Saga* (Halle, 1892), c. 41; *Egil's Saga* (Halle, 1894), c. 25.

¹⁴ *N. G. L.*, II. 399: *H.* 11. In such cases the oath alone was required.

¹⁵ *Snorre, King Ingi's Saga*, III. 385, 387, cc. 26, 27.

¹⁶ *Flateyrbok*, III. 126, 127. Mention is made of two brothers who were henchmen of both King Hakon and Duke Skuli. A somewhat similar case is recorded in early English history. See Larson, *King's Household in England*, p. 95.

¹⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 425-426: *H.* 34.

¹⁸ *Spec. Reg.*, 63 (xxix.).

¹⁹ *Snorre, Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga*, I. 352, c. 101.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I. 352, c. 101.

²² *Flateyrbok*, II. 645.

²³ *N. G. L.*, II. 414: *H.* 25; 424: *H.* 33.

²⁴ *Snorre, Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga*, I. 206, c. 48.

²⁵ *Id.*, *Saga of Magnus the Blind*, III. 342, c. 17; see also *Didrik's Saga* (ed. Unger, Christiania, 1853), c. 228.

²⁶ *N. G. L.*, II. 441, 442: *H.* 46.

into two watch periods, the guards changing at midnight.²⁷ The outer-guards went to their duty heavily armed, and in times of special danger each guardsman was further provided with a trumpet.²⁸ All irregularities with respect to this service were heavily punished with fines or dismissal in disgrace.²⁹

The day-guard was ordinarily composed of six men, one walking on each side of the king and four at a proper distance behind.³⁰ On certain festive occasions and when the king entertained distinguished visitors, the number was increased to twelve, and the highest dignitaries of the court and the realm were then called into service.³¹ The guard reported when the chapel bell rang for matins and at once proceeded to the sanctuary to join the king in worship. During the remainder of the day they remained in the king's presence or wherever he ordered them to be. When serving in the "following" the hirdman wore his best clothes and bore his best weapons—helmet, shield and sword. As the king might have tasks to assign to those who were not acting as day-guards, it was customary for the henchmen to take a stand somewhere near the royal chambers where they might be easily found if wanted.³²

As the name of the guard is clearly borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon,³³ it would not be strange if the institution itself should reveal Old English influence in its general organization and character. On the make-up of the English guard, the Anglo-Saxon sources give us no satisfactory information; but there are indications that the men were grouped in day-guards and night-guards much as they were at the Norse court in later times. The Norwegian king who attended morning worship with his following of six henchmen was, perhaps, continuing an old custom that prevailed in Northumbria in the seventh century when King Oswy visited Colman's church attended by "five or six thegns".³⁴ Of the two forces holding night-guard, the inner-guard (head-ward) seems to be mentioned in *Beowulf*, where we are told that Wiglaf kept head-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 424, 425: *H.* 33. The ringing to matins was the signal for dismissal.

²⁸ *N. G. L.*, II. 441-442: *H.* 46. *Lúðr*, not exactly a trumpet, rather a species of Alpine horn.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 424-425: *H.* 33.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 423-424: *H.* 32.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 414-415: *H.* 25. In no case was the following to be composed of new henchmen, and no person with whom the king was angry would be permitted to serve.

³² *Spec. Reg.*, 81 (XXXVII.).

³³ See above, p. 461.

³⁴ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, book III., c. 26.

ward over his dead lord.³⁵ The same term (*heafodweard*) is used in the *Rectitudines* for a peculiar service that the thegn owes to the king.³⁶ The service reappears in *Domesday* under the name of *inguardus* (inner-ward), a duty that certain socmen of Cambridgeshire would be called on to perform "if the king should come into the shire".³⁷ The fact that these men were not resident at court should cause no difficulty; the Norse king also had a number of non-resident henchmen who had particular duties to perform when the king came into their part of the realm.³⁸ It seems probable that the mysterious term *avera*, which is coupled with *inguardus* in an entry in *Domesday* and which was also a service due "when the king came into the shire",³⁹ is another survival of ancient custom connected with the royal court.

The hirdmen also had a place in the council of the realm whenever the king should choose to call one.⁴⁰ They took a prominent part in coronation ceremonies and in the election of a king in cases of disputed inheritance or failure of heirs.⁴¹ The royal council met whenever the king chose, but all matters pertaining to the installation of a new ruler had to be transacted at a grand council in Thronhjelm, in which the hirdmen sat with abbots and bishops.⁴²

In return for his services the henchman received a regular pay in coin or bullion paid out on the eighth day of the Yule festival. If money was lacking, dishes and jewels were broken up, weighed and distributed.⁴³ In addition the more favored received gifts, especially swords, arm rings and the use of royal estates.⁴⁴ In

³⁵ *Beowulf*, ll. 2906-2910. A similar case is recorded in the Norse sources of the reign of Hakon IV., who died in 1263. It was determined to place a head-watch at his tomb and keep it there till the end of the winter. *Flatoyarbok*, III, 230.

³⁶ Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, 444. The *geneat* owes the same duty to his lord.

³⁷ *Domesday Book*, I, 190 (see Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 130). "[Sochemanni in Fuleberne] reddunt . . . 12 equos et 12 inguardos si rex in vice-comitatu veniret . . ." The "inward seems to be the duty of forming a body guard for the king while he is in the shire". (Maitland.)

³⁸ See below, p. 466.

³⁹ *Domesday Book*, I, 139, 190.

⁴⁰ Such assemblies were attended by archbishops, earls, bishops, landed-men and hirdmen. *Spec. Reg.*, 64 (xxx.); *Dipl. Norv.*, VII, 116-118. Cf. the Old English *witenagemot*.

⁴¹ *N. G. L.*, I, 4, 263; II, 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Flatoyarbok*, III, 134, 229. Cf. Munch, *Norges Kongesagaer*, II, 280.

⁴⁴ Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II, 79, c. 60; *Harold Hardrada's Saga*, III, 86, c. 24. The arm ring was a peculiar sign of the henchman's service. See the stories of Thormod and Thorir in Snorre's version of *St. Olaf's Saga*. Thorir was accused of being Cnut's man. At a feast King Olaf stroked his arm above the

times of war extra rewards appear to have been given.⁴⁵ But, on the whole, service in the king's garth was not a very gainful occupation. To be ranked with the kingsmen was, however, a mark of great distinction, and the honor was eagerly sought.⁴⁶ When at court the hirdman ate regularly at the king's table.⁴⁷ If captured in battle or otherwise, he was generally sure of a ransom.⁴⁸ For such as were rendered completely helpless in the royal service, the king was pledged to provide a home; the very poor among the aged hirdmen were placed in some monastic institution, the king and the guard each paying half of the expenses connected with such an arrangement. To provide a fund for this purpose an initiation fee of an öre silver was collected from all who were admitted to the hird and half an öre from those who entered the corps of gasts or candle-swains.⁴⁹ In 1308 steps were taken toward providing a hospital for the sick and an asylum for the aged and unfortunate in connection with the royal chapel at Oslo. For the support of this, the king donated a considerable sum and provided for fees much as before, only that greater sums were now to be collected.⁵⁰

The business of the guild was transacted at the "hird-gemot" (*hirðstefna*). When the signal was sounded on the trumpet, it was the duty of every hirdman to inquire as to the reason for the call and to hasten to the assembly.⁵¹ Ordinarily the meetings were held in a hall that was used for such purposes mainly.⁵² Those who were absent without good excuse were fined an öre silver; three offences meant forfeiture of membership. Each corps had its own signal and its own *gemot*; those who were not called were forbidden

elbow. Said Thorir, "Touch it gently there; I have a boil on the arm." He was forced to show the ring; it was Cnut's gift and Thorir was slain, II. 341-342, c. 175; 439, c. 246 (story of Thormod); 337, c. 172 (sword-gifts). See also *Karlamagnus Saga* (Christiania, 1860), viii, 4, 487.

⁴⁵ *Fagrskinna*, p. 117.

⁴⁶ *Spec. Reg.*, 58 (xxvi.).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 63 (xxix.).

⁴⁸ *N. G. L.*, II. 448; *H.* 53. The king and the guild provided the ransom money, but the liberated kingsman was in duty bound to restore the sum, at least in part.

⁴⁹ *N. G. L.*, II. 448; *H.* 53. But a part of this fund was used to provide masses for the dead.

⁵⁰ The funds were placed in the hands of four men, two clerics chosen by the king and two hirdmen chosen by the hird. *Ibid.*, III. 78-80.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II. 437; *H.* 42. Ordinarily such meetings were called by the king, but on occasions it seems that members, perhaps the chiefs, might order the signal to be given. See *Flateyrbok*, III. 14-16. (1217.)

⁵² *Dipl. Norv.*, I. 104. (Bergen, 1308.) ". . . this charter was drawn up in the hall in the king's garth where gemots are held".

to attend.⁵³ Serious matters, such as treason,⁵⁴ riots⁵⁵ or quarrels within the guard, were brought up at these meetings. The henchmen were expected to treat each other as brethren, to assist one another in trouble and to see that justice was done to all; but the ideal of good-fellowship was hard to attain.⁵⁶ Apparently the marksman and the staller had or came to have some judicial authority at these sessions;⁵⁷ the marksman collected certain fines, perhaps he also assessed them.⁵⁸ But there is clear evidence that in serious cases some sort of a jury was employed; when a dignitary within the guard is accused of treason, says the Court Law, "there shall be named twelve of the most discreet men, who shall investigate whether the man can be rightfully convicted of the crime or not".⁵⁹ The *hirðstefna* was evidently an ancient institution in the thirteenth century; it seems to have been introduced into the English royal household in the reign of Cnut, for we find distinct traces of an organization exercising judicial authority over and among the English house-carles in the days of Edward the Confessor.⁶⁰

Thus far we have spoken of the guard as a corps of warriors that remained continuously at the king's residence. But there were also hirdmen abroad in the realm looking after the royal interests everywhere; these spent only a part, often a very small part, of their time at court.⁶¹ We are told that Saint Olaf kept sixty hirdmen, thirty gests and thirty house-carles continuously at his garth,⁶² and that one of his successors, Olaf the Quiet (1066-1093), doubled the numbers.⁶³ But this total, two hundred and forty, does not represent the entire number of kingsmen; counting the candle-swains and the hirdmen whose homes were elsewhere, we should find the number much larger. Apparently there was a tendency to

⁵³ *N. G. L.*, II. 437: *H.* 42. Fines were collected by the marksman. The henchmen were also fined for neglecting to appear at funerals of comrades. The money collected was used to pay for masses for the dead.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 408: *H.* 20.

⁵⁵ After a riot in which Skuli was concerned the king gave the signal for a *hirðstefna*; the henchmen demanded satisfaction and the earl submitted to the judgment of good men. *Flateyrbok*, III. 34-35. (1218.)

⁵⁶ *N. G. L.*, II. 436: *H.* 41.

⁵⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 411: *H.* 22; III. 64 (decree of 1303).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* See also *H.* 42.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 408: *H.* 20; cf. *Flateyrbok*, III. 34-35.

⁶⁰ See Larson, *King's Household in England*, pp. 165-167.

⁶¹ Such were found even in Iceland. See *Flateyrbok*, III. 205; *Laxdöla Saga* (ed. Kaalund, Copenhagen, 1889-1891), c. 20; *Sturlunga Saga* (ed. Vigfusson), II. 386. The laws suppose their presence everywhere; see *H.* 34.

⁶² *Fagrskinna*, p. 150; Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 67, c. 55.

⁶³ Snorre, *Saga of Olaf the Quiet*, III. 194, c. 4; *Fagrskinna*, p. 150.

increase the force of absentee-henchmen with the result that the character of the corps as a whole suffered an appreciable decline.⁶⁴

In the earlier centuries of the Norse *comitatus* there may have existed a relative equality among the henchmen, but such was not the case in the later Middle Ages. By that time a system of classes had developed within the hird, two of which stand out with some distinctness: the "landed-men" and the "trencher-swains". Just when these classes first began to appear we do not know; Snorre seems to believe that Olaf the Quiet was the first king to employ trencher-swains,⁶⁵ but it is not likely that their service was wholly an innovation of that reign. Though not hirdmen in the narrower sense, the landed-men and the trencher-swains were always classed as such; they were chosen from the hird, they retained their membership in the guild and were never wholly excused from the guardsmen's duty. In the one case the mark of distinction was social position and political influence; in the other, an important service in the king's hall.

The landed-men, as such, were neither servants nor officials. Apparently they were members of powerful families whom the king wished to bind closely to the crown.⁶⁶ To accomplish this he admitted them into his guard and endowed them with valuable fiefs. Outside the princely order they were the highest dignitaries in the land. Each landed-man was allowed to maintain a guard of forty house-carles, or more if the king permitted it.⁶⁷ As Norway rarely had a duke or an earl, the landed-men ranked next to the king in popular estimation. In return for honors received they assumed certain military duties, but especially did they bind themselves to watch over the king's interests in their parts of the realm. Still, they had no jurisdiction, they were not officials except when the king invested them with a recognized office.⁶⁸ Their powers were derived from wealth and family connections. Keyser believes that they were originally chiefs of the Norse hundred;⁶⁹ but this opinion can hardly be correct, as in that case the number of landed-men would have been great, while as a matter of fact the opposite seems

⁶⁴ In the early years of the fourteenth century there is much complaint that these men are neglectful of duty; they refuse to serve in the host, to attend the courts, to testify, to keep oaths, etc. See *N. G. L.*, III. 56, 66, 68, 90 (royal decrees dating from 1303 and 1311).

⁶⁵ Snorre, *Saga of Olaf the Quiet*, III. 193, c. 3.

⁶⁶ Sars, *Udsigt over den Norske Historie*, II. 16 ff.

⁶⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 407: *H.* 19.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, V., index: *lendr maðr*.

⁶⁹ Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter* (Christiania, 1867), II. 107-109.

to have been true. In the closing decades of the twelfth century there seem to have been but five men of this rank in the kingdom.⁷⁰ In the reign of King Hakon IV. (1217-1263) the saga frequently speaks of nine.⁷¹ In all probability we have in this institution a faint reflection of feudal vassallage.

The dignity was conferred in the hirdmen's hall at one of the great festivals. Immediately after grace had been said the king would announce his intention to honor the candidate named. Two men of the highest rank present would then escort him to the high-seat; the king would rise, take him by the hand and lead him to a seat among the other landed-men.⁷² At the great Christmas and Easter festivals, the landed-men were required to be present at court and serve in the day-guard.⁷³ At coronation ceremonies they acted a prominent and very important part.⁷⁴ But only so long as the landed-man remained faithful to his lord, could he retain his honors; treason meant a trial in the hirdmen's *gemot*, and conviction meant forfeiture of all rights.⁷⁵ In 1277 it was decreed that the landed-men should henceforth be known as barons and lords.⁷⁶ A generation later (1308) it was determined to create no more barons,⁷⁷ and the dignity gradually disappeared.

"King Olaf had these court customs, to wit, that he let stand before his board trencher-swains (*skutilsveinar*), and they poured to him in board-beakers, and also to all men of high estate who sat at his table . . ." ⁷⁸ "They have the fairest service in the garth, and must be carefully trained."⁷⁹ To stand before the king's table and serve His Majesty with meat and drink was considered a great honor, and a place in this service was eagerly sought.⁸⁰ In

⁷⁰ *Historisk Tidsskrift*, second series, IV. 157-158.

⁷¹ Nine were with the king in 1235 (*Flateyrbok*, III. 111); the same number were present at the coronation in 1247 when a full attendance was to be expected (*ibid.*, 168); nine were with the king in the expedition against Scotland, 1263 (*ibid.*, 219-220).

⁷² *N. G. L.*, II. 406: *H.* 18. Snorre, the historian, was made a landed-man in 1220; his particular duty was to establish the king's authority in Iceland. *Flateyrbok*, III. 38.

⁷³ *N. G. L.*, II. 407: *H.* 19.

⁷⁴ *Flateyrbok*, III. 169-170, 212-213.

⁷⁵ *N. G. L.*, II. 408: *H.* 20.

⁷⁶ *Sturlunga Saga*, II. 382, appendix: *Islenskir Annalar*, 1277.

⁷⁷ *N. G. L.*, III. 74 ff. Royal decree of June 17, 1308. King Hakon V. Magnusson (1299-1319) was a vigorous ruler and a firm believer in absolutism. The barons may also have abused their power during the minority of his brother Erik (1280-1299). See Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, II. 107 ff.

⁷⁸ Snorre, *Saga of Olaf the Quiet*, III. 193, c. 3.

⁷⁹ *N. G. L.*, II. 412-413: *H.* 24.

⁸⁰ *Fagrskinna*, p. 154.

rank the trencher-swains stood next to the landed-men.⁸¹ In addition to their duties at the royal table, the trencher-swains had certain important responsibilities with respect to the safety of the royal person. For a week's period two of these officials had complete charge of all arrangements looking toward peace and protection, especially at night. They placed the guards and made sure that all necessary precautions were taken against possible surprise.⁸² Usually the trencher-swains were excused from serving as guardsmen, but in time of war or special danger they were obliged to watch with the rest in their turn, the men in charge doing guard duty during the week of their special authority.⁸³ Like the other members of the hird, the trencher-swains might be called upon to perform a variety of other duties both in times of peace and of war.⁸⁴

It seems that a candidate for these honors had to serve an apprenticeship as cup-bearer in the royal hall. Appointments were always made at the close of a feast. An empty beaker was brought in and placed upon the king's table. The king handed it to the candidate who received it, kissing the royal hand; he then withdrew immediately but soon returned with the beaker filled with the king's beverage.⁸⁵ When the landed-men were given the baronial title (1277), the trencher-swains were advanced to knighthood, though it is likely that the promotion was one in title only.⁸⁶ When the baronage became extinct in the fourteenth century the knights were the highest order in the kingdom.⁸⁷

"It is known to most men", says the scribe of the Court Law, "that in the king's guard the gests (*gestir*) stand next to the hirdmen in title dignity and privileges."⁸⁸ These formed a smaller corps, in theory half as large as that of the hirdmen.⁸⁹ As in the

⁸¹ In the coronation procession they had a place next below the barons and above the marksman. *Flateyrbok*, III. 212-213.

⁸² This seems to be the meaning of the ambiguous term, *halda stöðu*. *N. G. L.*, II. 424, 447: *H.* 33, 51. Fritzner states in his Old Norse dictionary that some sort of a guard is meant, but this seems hardly probable. *Ordbog* (Christiania, 1867), *staða*.

⁸³ *N. G. L.*, II. 415: *H.* 25.

⁸⁴ A trencher-swain is mentioned as royal official in the Orkneys. *Flateyrbok*, III. 103-104.

⁸⁵ *N. G. L.*, II. 413: *H.* 24.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 74 ff.

⁸⁷ I have been unable to find an institution elsewhere that exactly corresponds to the Norse table service, but the etymology of the term *skutilsvein* (from Lat. *scutella*, probably through A. S. *scutel*) would indicate a foreign origin.

⁸⁸ *N. G. L.*, II. 439: *H.* 43.

⁸⁹ Sixty in the days of Olaf the Quiet (1066-1093); thirty in the days of his father. *Fagrskinna*, p. 150.

case of the higher guard, admission to this guild was usually on application, the procedure being much the same in both instances. The ceremony of initiation was somewhat simpler, however: the applicant would kneel, touch the royal sword, kiss the king's hand and swear everlasting fidelity; after this he was introduced to his new associates who greeted him with a hand-clasp.⁹⁰

In general, the rights of the gests were similar to those of the hirdmen.⁹¹ In battle they were grouped with these about the royal colors;⁹² on sea they had their own ship which they sailed near to the royal dragon.⁹³ They had their own chief and their separate guild assembly.⁹⁴ At Yule-tide and the Easter festivals they were admitted to the king's tables, but not at other times.⁹⁵ Their wages were half as large as the hirdmen's pay,⁹⁶ and they contributed in like proportion to the fund for the sick and the aged.⁹⁷

The duties of the gests may be grouped into two leading classes: they served as the king's spies throughout the realm and rode his errands generally; at court they served in the outer-guard. The latter duty has already been described. As the greater number of the gests might be absent on the king's errands, it was permissible to allow men who were not henchmen to share this watch, but a certain number of gests must always be present. The gests might also serve in any other form of watch except the head-ward.⁹⁸ It was as the king's spies and messengers of death that these men performed their most acceptable services. It was their duty to learn what hostile movements were abroad, to forestall treason wherever possible, to cleanse the realm of their lord's enemies. Sometimes the king would dispatch his gests to slay an enemy, in which case they were allowed half of the wealth that they could carry away; the rest, including all the gold, belonged to the king.⁹⁹ The gests might also be sent on other errands, and when necessary they could call on all the kingsmen and local officials for assistance in carrying out their instructions.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ *N. G. L.*, II. 439: *H.* 43.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 440-441: *H.* 45.

⁹² Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 409, c. 221.

⁹³ *N. G. L.*, II. 440-441.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: *gestastefna*.

⁹⁵ *Spec. Reg.*, 60 (xxvii.).

⁹⁶ *Flateyarbok*, III. 229.

⁹⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 448: *H.* 53; III. 78-80.

⁹⁸ *N. G. L.*, II. 440-441: *H.* 45; *Spec. Reg.*, 60 (xxvii.).

⁹⁹ *Spec. Reg.*, 60 (xxvii.).

¹⁰⁰ *N. G. L.*, II. 439-440: *H.* 44. The Court Law warns against giving the gests such errands as are unreasonable, sinful or as imply the grant of too much power. The men are urged to be just and honest, to abstain from pillage, to spare the innocent and to respect the rights of women.

As the duties of the *gests* were such as might involve great dangers, they were chosen, not for courtly behavior or high connections, but for personal bravery and prowess. Asbiorn, in his speech against King Sverri, speaks of the king's *gests* as "the worst of men, the limbs of the very fiend".¹⁰¹ Though in the words of an enemy, this characterization no doubt contains a large measure of truth: to the readiness of these warriors to undertake bloody and dangerous tasks the sagas bear frequent testimony.¹⁰² It seems exceedingly strange, that in a country like medieval Norway, where courts were numerous and legal systems rigidly adhered to, such an institution could be permitted to exist. Realizing its seeming non-Germanic character, historians have sought its origin in Celtic and Slavic lands. A corps known as the *gosti* has been found in early Russia and some have thought that the Vikings and Verangians may have become acquainted with this on their journeys to Constantinople, where at least one of the Old Norse kings (Harold Hardrada) served in the imperial guard; but there seem to have been *gests* in Norway before the reign of this king. An attempt has also been made to connect the *gestir* with the twelve *gwestai* who collected the food rents of the Old Welsh kings; on the whole this seems the more plausible explanation, though in the present state of the evidence it is hardly more than a conjecture.¹⁰³

"[King Olaf] also had candle-swains (*kertisveinar*) who held up candles before his board, and as many of them as men of high degree sat there."¹⁰⁴ It is natural to think of these servants as pages, boys or at least youths;¹⁰⁵ but the sources do not support such a view. It is probable that the candle-service came in with the other new fashions that became current in the reign of Olaf the Quiet;¹⁰⁶ but the Norse rulers were not mere imitators—a foreign institution

¹⁰¹ *Flateyarbok*, II. 613.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, III. 227; Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 72, 77, 409, cc. 59, 221; Magnus Barefoot's *Saga*, III. 320, c. 5.

¹⁰³ *Ancient Laws of Wales*, p. 772 and glossary; Seeböhm, *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 163; Steenstrup, *Danelag*, p. 124; Larson, *King's Household in England*, p. 174. Medieval Norse writers believed that the *gests* were given this name because they gusted the homes of so many men and not always in a friendly spirit. *Spec. Reg.*, 59 (xxvii.).

¹⁰⁴ Snorre, *Saga of Olaf the Quiet*, III. 193, c. 3.

¹⁰⁵ Such seems to be Keyser's view. *Efterladte Skrifter*, II. 79, 80.

¹⁰⁶ "In the days of King Olaf . . . men began to take up new fashions, wearing pride-hosen laced to the bone; some clasped golden rings around their legs, and then men wore drag-kirtles laced to the side, sleeves five ells long, and so strait that they must be drawn by an armcord and trussed all up to the shoulder; high shoes withal, and all sewn with silk, and some embroidered with gold. Many other new-fangled fashions there were." Snorre, *Saga of Olaf the Quiet*, III. 192-193, c. 2.

transplanted to Norway soon took on a national stamp. That the Norse candle-bearers were men is evident from a variety of considerations. In addition to their regular duties in the banquet hall they might be called on to do service in the day-guard,¹⁰⁷ a duty that would hardly fall to a mere page; in time of war they fought with the other kingsmen;¹⁰⁸ they sailed their own ships, had a chief of their own appointed by the king and apparently had a guild organization like those of the higher corps;¹⁰⁹ in matters of household finance they ranked with the gasts and shared with these in the privilege of asylum and similar benefits.¹¹⁰ As the candle-swains were to serve in the royal presence on occasions when courtly behavior was a prominent virtue, they were carefully chosen from good families after a close inquiry into their social position, wealth, abilities and behavior.¹¹¹ After the tables had been cleared but before the bowl of water for the king's hands had been brought in, the seneschal (*drotseti*) led the candidate toward the high-seat. The king extended his right hand over the table; the new kingsman took it in both his own, kissed it and vowed to be faithful in every service. After the ceremony the candle-swain assisted in washing the king's hands.¹¹² The men who held the candles were ranked among the henchmen (*handgengnir*: men who had gone to the king's hand) but not among the sword-takers (*sverðtakarar*: men who had touched the king's sword);¹¹³ they therefore occupied a lower place at court than gasts and hirdmen.

Originally, we are told, all the kingsmen were known by the common name of house-carles (*huskarlar*); but in the thirteenth century this term was limited to the lowest class of royal servants, the men who performed the manual labor in the king's household:¹¹⁴ they were "to work all needful service in the garth and at whatsoever gatherings were needful".¹¹⁵ They seem to have been organized like the other kingsmen with ship and chief (*ræðismaðr*) and guild laws.¹¹⁶ Fagrskinna tells us that in the eleventh century the house-carles were not counted among the henchmen;¹¹⁷ but a century

¹⁰⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 444: *H.* 47.

¹⁰⁸ *Flateyarbok*, III. 131, 225.

¹⁰⁹ *N. G. L.*, II. 444: *H.* 47.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 448, 449; III. 79; *Flateyarbok*, III. 229.

¹¹¹ *N. G. L.*, II. 443, 444: *H.* 47.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 416: *H.* 26.

¹¹⁵ Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 67, c. 55. St. Olaf had thirty house-carles.

¹¹⁶ *Flateyarbok*, II. 582; *Spec. Reg.*, 58.

¹¹⁷ *Fagrskinna*, p. 150. Olaf the Quiet had sixty house-carles.

later they had, it seems, attained to this distinction.¹¹⁸ As there were absentee-hirdmen there were also house-carles who seldom appeared at court. These were often the sons of wealthy yeomen or even of landed-men who for a small fee, often for the honor merely of being known as kingsmen, or for the protection that went with this relationship, entered the royal service. Their duties were various: they might be called on to pilot the king's ship, to act as royal messengers, to serve as the king's merchants and especially to assist his majesty's local officials.¹¹⁹

Among these various corps the feeling was not always the most cordial. The difference in rank, in treatment and in fare naturally resulted in envy and jealousy which often flared up at the great festive gatherings when men had drunk too freely. King Magnus Erlingsson's geste "liked ill that the hirdmen drank mead while they were given ale"; the result was a riot (1181).¹²⁰ It sometimes happened that trouble arose between individual members of different guilds, and usually the quarrel was taken up by their comrades.¹²¹ In such cases the king seems to have exercised extensive judicial authority, assisted, no doubt, by the staller and the marksman, whose duty it was to attend all the meetings both of hirdmen and of geste.¹²²

A wholly different, though none the less important, organization centred about the royal chapel. In the first half of the eleventh century a bishop resided in the king's garth;¹²³ but that was while the land was still largely heathen. With the organization of dioceses the court-bishop disappears and his place is taken by the court-priest (*hirðprestr*). The Court Law provides for two such priests, one to shrive the king and his henchmen and one to have charge of the books, vestments and the like that belonged to the royal chapel. For these services the king gave them each five marks and two gowns at Yule-tide; the henchmen paid them one-thirtieth of their wages.¹²⁴ The chapel soon came to have the usual force

¹¹⁸ *Flateyarbok*, II. 541-542. "... seventy men went to the king's (Sverri's) hand; some were made hirdmen, some geste, some house-carles".

¹¹⁹ *Spec. Reg.*, 60, 61 (XXVII.). It is possible that some of these ranked higher than the house-carles at court, but the author of the *Speculum* makes no distinction.

¹²⁰ *Flateyarbok*, II. 593. The rioters were punished at the king's command.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, III. 60-61, 97.

¹²² *N. G. L.*, II. 411-412: *H.* 22-23.

¹²³ Snorre, *Olaf Trygvesson's Saga*, I. 315, c. 71; *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 205, 417, cc. 118, 229.

¹²⁴ *N. G. L.*, II. 410: *H.* 21.

of lower ecclesiastics,¹²⁵ and it also maintained a school of some importance.¹²⁶

In the early years of the twelfth century King Eystein erected two new churches for the use of his court, one in Bergen and one in the old capital, Thronthjem.¹²⁷ Later kings increased the number to fourteen.¹²⁸ At first the chapel-priests were appointed by the bishops in whose dioceses the churches happened to be located;¹²⁹ but in 1308 a decree went forth from Avignon which practically separated the chapel system from the national church administration. The appointments were given to the king and at the head of the entire group was placed a *magister capellarum*, who to all intents and purposes became a bishop. He was even allowed to wear episcopal robes, at first only when no bishop was present, but later on all occasions.¹³⁰ The significance of these arrangements is readily seen. The ambitions of the Norse episcopate had been a source of much annoyance to King Hakon's predecessors; of this the monarch would now be in part relieved. He had now his own priesthood, educated, perhaps, at his own chapel schools, appointed by himself, consecrated by his own bishop. Possibly he hoped to extend the system to all parts of the realm. But the bishops at once made war on this new organization and finally succeeded in having it condemned as contrary to canon law.¹³¹

II.

Of servants and officials to whom were assigned some particular line of duties or functions in the king's garth, the sources name a considerable number. Most of these were, however, servants of the lower order, such as we should expect to find in every extensive household of the age.¹³² Still, there were at the Norse court six officials that took a high rank: the butler, the seneschal, the treasurer, the marksman, the staller and the chancellor. Of these, all but two were chosen from among the hirdmen, the chancellor being always and the treasurer sometimes an ecclesiastic. The seneschal (*drotseti*—the word is probably a form of the German *Truchsess*)

¹²⁵ *Dipl. Norv.*, III. 107, 108: deans, canons, deacons, etc.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 121 (1312-1319).

¹²⁷ Snorre, *Saga of Sigurd Jerusalem-farer*, III. 263, c. 15.

¹²⁸ *Dipl. Norv.*, I. 100 (1308).

¹²⁹ *N. G. L.*, II. 464 (agreement of 1273).

¹³⁰ *Dipl. Norv.*, I. 100-103; *Historisk Tidsskrift*, first series, IV. 267-268. The office was given to the dean of the Church of the Apostles in Bergen.

¹³¹ *Dipl. Norv.*, I. 90-91, 107, 115-117; IV. 80, 91. The pretext urged was that the king's priests interfered in the affairs of the regular parishes and deprived the parish priests of their income.

¹³² Such are cooks, butlers, door-wards, horse-wards, smiths, trumpeters, bed-swains, shoe-swains and the like.

and the chief butler (*skenkjari*) were, in the thirteenth century, household officials only. With the advice of his friends the king selected, according to the Court Law, two men from among the trencher-swains most suitable in descent and deportment to fill these offices. If the king should find more suitable candidates outside the corps of hirdmen, he might appoint them; but first he must elevate them to the dignities of henchmen and trencher-swains.¹³³

The *drotseti* of the fourteenth century was, however, a wholly different official from his predecessor of the thirteenth. In 1319 Magnus, a child of three years, was chosen king of Norway and Sweden. The regency that controlled affairs in Norway did not give a satisfactory rule, and at a council held in 1323 a regent was appointed with the title of *drotseti*.¹³⁴ The seneschal was now the highest civil official in the state. In this sense the office continued till near the close of the century.¹³⁵

The king's treasurer (*fehirdir*), though doubtless a very ancient and useful servant at court, is rarely mentioned in the sources as a prominent official. It seems that an ecclesiastic (often the king's chaplain, perhaps) usually had charge of the royal treasury;¹³⁶ but at times it was also placed in secular hands. That the office was considered important is evidenced by the fact that Anders Plytt, who held it in 1263, was classed among the landed-men.¹³⁷ During the period under survey the treasurer seems to have been with the king in the garth, but in the fourteenth century we find four such functionaries, one in each of the leading cities.¹³⁸ Whether one of these still was regarded as the regular court treasurer, as some have thought,¹³⁹ is somewhat doubtful, as all seem to have had certain duties with respect to the kingsmen that were formerly performed in the king's garth.¹⁴⁰

It seems probable that in the earlier years of the Norse monarchy

¹³³ *N. G. L.*, II. 415: *H.* 26.

¹³⁴ The regent chosen was Erling Vidkunsson, a knight (hirdman) and the wealthiest man in the realm. See any good history of Norway.

¹³⁵ But the office was not continuously filled. The *drotseti* ruled only when a minor held the throne or when the king was unable to reside in the kingdom. See Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, II. 93.

The seneschal's office was, of course, to be found everywhere in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, but the etymology of the Norse title would indicate that this office was contributed by the Empire.

¹³⁶ *Spec. Reg.*, 186. Appendix.

¹³⁷ *Flateyrbok*, III. 219, 225.

¹³⁸ *N. G. L.*, III. 79.

¹³⁹ Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, II. 105.

¹⁴⁰ The four treasurers are instructed as to the payment of fees to the henchmen, how much each shall be paid and in what. They are also told to have the Court Law read to them, but formerly the law was always read to the assembled guard in the royal hall at the Christmas festivities. *N. G. L.*, III. 79.

the marksman (*merkismaðr*) was the highest official at court. He is alluded to in the court poetry of the early eleventh century,¹⁴¹ and everywhere in the sagas he appears as a warrior of great distinction.¹⁴² The marksman was entrusted with the king's banner;¹⁴³ in naval fights he held it in the prow of the royal dragon, with the stem-men, the fiercest and mightiest of the king's guard, grouped about him.¹⁴⁴ The law required that he should always be near the king; he was always to sleep in the king's garth, on the king's ship or wherever the king might be. At court he acted as judge or arbitrator,¹⁴⁵ and the tendency seems to have been to increase his judicial functions.¹⁴⁶ In the thirteenth century, however, the marksman's dignity was evidently passing; he still ranked with the landed-men, but he was no longer the first official at court,¹⁴⁷ the staller and the chancellor having risen above him. With the death of the last marksman in 1320 the office became extinct.

In St. Olaf's hall, as Snorre describes it, there were two high-seats, one for the king on the north side and a lower one directly across. In the lower high-seat sat the staller (*stallari*), an official of great prominence, for a time the highest dignitary at court.¹⁴⁸ Snorre repeatedly refers to the staller in his history, and he is also alluded to in the verses of the eleventh century scalds.¹⁴⁹ Usually the sources speak of but one staller, though at times there might be several.¹⁵⁰ In the poems the staller appears mainly as a war-chief; but in the sagas we find him performing certain important civil duties as well. At great public gatherings, such as the national assemblies, he acted as an intermediary between the king and the yeomanry, presenting the requests of the populace and urging the wishes of the ruler. He performed similar functions in the king's garth.¹⁵¹ "At every 'thing' Biörn stood up and spake the king's

¹⁴¹ Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 412-413, c. 224: the poet Sighvat quoted.

¹⁴² *Egil's Saga*, c. 16, says distinctly that the marksman was the first man at court. See also Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 128, 430, 429, cc. 84, 238, 239, *et passim*.

¹⁴³ *N. G. L.*, II. 411-412: *H.* 23. There were several banners in the host; the marksman bore that of the king. *Flateyrbok*, III. 138.

¹⁴⁴ Snorre, *Harold Fairhair's Saga*, I. 98-99, c. 9.

¹⁴⁵ *N. G. L.*, II. 411-412: *H.* 23.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 64: decree of 1303; this apparently made the marksman the chief judge at court.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 411: *H.* 23.

¹⁴⁸ Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 67, c. 55. So splendidly was the staller attired at times that he was mistaken for the king himself. See *id.*, *Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga*, I. 374, c. 120; *Magnus Barefoot's Saga*, III. 240-241, c. 26.

¹⁴⁹ *Id.*, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 93, 333-334, 433, cc. 70, 170, 240. (Sighvat.)

¹⁵⁰ There were two in 1066. *Fagrskinna*, p. 135. The Court Law sometimes uses the plural form in speaking of the staller.

¹⁵¹ *N. G. L.*, II. 411: *H.* 22.

errand", says the Icelandic historian in speaking of St. Olaf's famous staller.¹⁵² Elsewhere we read of this same Biörn as being sent to Sweden on a diplomatic mission.¹⁵³ He was also a warrior as all the stallers were.¹⁵⁴ In battle they frequently commanded a division of the royal host¹⁵⁵ or one of the principal ships of the king's fleet.¹⁵⁶ When the king travelled by land the staller had some duties with regard to the stable service: he saw that horses and other equipments were properly provided.¹⁵⁷ The staller's connection with this service has led historians to believe that there is a direct connection between his office and that of the Frankish constable. The title itself seems to point to the same origin, though it appears more likely that *stallari* is derived from Old Norse *stallr* than from Latin *stabularius*. But even if we grant that the staller's title and certain of his functions were introduced from abroad, the probabilities are that these were applied or added to an office that was already enjoying a vigorous existence. The sister kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden each had a marshal (*marsk*, clearly derived from some form of O. H. G. *marashalh*—*mariscalcus*, marshal) who served as the highest military functionary in the realm and thus corresponded to the constable of Capetian France; but Norway never had such an official. The staller's chief and characteristic duty was to act as the king's spokesman. A glance at the medieval Norse constitution will reveal the importance of this function. The early Norwegian kings were not absolute monarchs; they had to consider public opinion and seek popular consent in all matters of consequence. The nation was divided into four grand jurisdictions, each with its own assembly; at these gatherings the king often appeared to consult with his fellow-freemen,¹⁵⁸ and it is readily seen that an official who possessed the gifts of oratory and diplomatic sense combined with the prestige of military leadership would be of great service to his lord.¹⁵⁹ It was probably such an official that the Danish conquerors introduced into England in the eleventh century.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵² Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 88, c. 68; see also cc. 59, 91.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, c. 67, 86. See also *Flateyrbok*, III. 118, 219.

¹⁵⁴ He fell at Stiklestad, 1030. Snorre, II. 432, c. 240.

¹⁵⁵ *Flateyrbok*, II. 547.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 583; *Fagrskinna*, p. 129.

¹⁵⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 411: *H.* 22.

¹⁵⁸ See Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, II., or any good Norwegian history.

¹⁵⁹ The staller spoke on the king's behalf in his absence and also quite generally when he was present; the Norse rulers with the exception of Sverri do not seem to have been orators.

¹⁶⁰ Larson, *King's Household in England*, p. 147.

But as royalty grew stronger the usefulness of the spokesman naturally grew less prominent; in the thirteenth century the king's chief servant was not the staller but a new functionary, the chancellor. There seems to be no direct evidence for the existence of a Norse chancery before the thirteenth century; but charters and other documents were drawn up at court before that time,¹⁶¹ and a royal seal was in use,¹⁶² so there can be little doubt that the institution did have an earlier existence. The chancellor's title may have come in at a later date, but the fact that the Court Law awards this official the highest rank at court¹⁶³ suggests that the office must have existed already for a period of some length. The probabilities are that the chancery was introduced into Norway from England with the royal chapel service in the eleventh century.¹⁶⁴ In addition to his duties in the royal *scriptorium* and additional ones that the king might assign, the chancellor seems to have exercised those of a modern comptroller. "He shall also keep most careful accounts of the crown possessions, including such as are acquired . . . also of those lands that the king may grant to certain of his men and in what year of grace the grant be made. Further he shall make sure that the books containing the land rents due to the king are properly kept, that what should be added is added and that what should be cancelled is cancelled."¹⁶⁵ The office seems always to have been held by an ecclesiastic: Aki, who was Duke Hakon's chancellor (1293-1299), was a deacon of the royal chapel in Bergen;¹⁶⁶ later, when his lord succeeded to the kingship, he was made dean of the royal chapel at Oslo where the king's residence now was.¹⁶⁷ In 1314 the chancellor's office was permanently associated with the deanship of this church. As this arrangement definitely located the chancery at Oslo and prevented the chancellor from travelling about with the king as freely as might be necessary, a vice-chancellor was provided for by the same decree, to whom were entrusted the royal seal and conscience when the king was absent from the capital.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ See *Dipl. Norv.*

¹⁶² The earl of the Orkneys had a chancellor as early as 1190. *Ibid.*, II, 2, no. 2. Seals were in use when Snorre (1177-1241) wrote his history. *Magnus Erlingsson's Saga*, c. 25. Magnus ruled from 1162 to 1184.

¹⁶³ *N. G. L.*, II, 410; *H.* 22.

¹⁶⁴ Larson, *King's Household in England*, p. 197 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *N. G. L.*, II, 409; *H.* 21.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 23. (1293.) He was a canon in 1296. *Dipl. Norv.*, IV, 15.

¹⁶⁷ *Dipl. Norv.*, II, 72; IV, 94-95.

¹⁶⁸ *Dipl. Norv.*, I, 127. The vice-chancellor was appointed by the king from among his chapel priests, the chancellor advising; he received one-fourth of the revenues of the seal when actually serving; he was competent to act at any time and place if for any reason the chancellor could not serve.

The chancellor was invested with his office at a special meeting of the henchmen; apparently all the various corps attended. "Then shall the king make known to all that he gives to the man that is named his seal with all the honors that go with it." When this had been proclaimed, the new dignitary would kneel and swear to serve faithfully, especially to conceal what the king wished to be kept secret.¹⁶⁹ The marksman was invested in much the same way; in his case the symbol employed was the banner.¹⁷⁰ The staller's office was conferred in the royal dining-hall. After grace had been said and the king's intentions had been announced, two trencher-swains led forth the chosen one; the king rose, took him by the hand and escorted him to the staller's high-seat.¹⁷¹ In the cases of the other court officials the appointments appear to have been made without any accompanying ceremonial.

The rewards and privileges of these officials were first of all those that they enjoyed as the king's henchmen, as members of the royal hird. In addition there was the enjoyment of official dignity and authority, a seat among the barons when the king entertained his magnates and a certain definite income usually awarded in the form of a landed benefice. The chancellor, while not exactly a member of the hird, shared fully in these benefits. His official income was somewhat smaller than that of the staller or the marksman, but as he was permitted to collect a fee for almost every document prepared, it seems likely that his office proved to be a source of abundant revenue.¹⁷²

The history of Norway in the fourteenth century is a record of great calamities and broken fortunes. The king's household shared in the general decline. Hakon V., the last vigorous ruler of medieval Norway, reduced the importance of the hird by abolishing the baronage: as a believer in absolutism he naturally feared an order that was rapidly developing into an aristocracy. After his death (1319) came half a century of much confusion, caused in part by the terrors of the Black Death and in part by unwise attempts to unite the crowns of Norway and Sweden. From 1380 to 1905, the country was ruled by foreign kings. After 1319 the hird gradually disintegrated. A royal household in the medieval sense could not exist without a resident king.

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¹⁶⁹ *N. G. L.*, II. 409-410: *H.* 21.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 411-412: *H.* 23.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*: *H.* 22. Cf. the method of admitting hirdmen to the baronage.

¹⁷² *N. G. L.*, II. 409, 411, 446: *H.* 21-22, 49-50; III. 77-78.

SOME NOTES ON THE TREATMENT OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

THE reign of Queen Elizabeth of England offers no more fascinating topic for historical research than the government's treatment of her Catholic subjects. Far from tolerant according to modern standards, the national attitude towards the Romanist was much gentler than that adopted towards dissenters from the state religion in most of the Continental countries at the same period; and the queen, on the whole, tended to be more lenient than her Council and her Parliament. Many and various were the methods in which the problem was handled at different stages of the reign, but there is one fundamental principle of the government's policy which remains unchanged throughout: solicitude for the material comfort and political welfare of the realm, rather than religious enthusiasm or zeal for unity of the faith, is ever the consideration of paramount importance. To sacrifice the national prosperity, political, financial or economic on the altar of ecclesiastical polity and dogma (as had been frankly done in the preceding reign), was the furthest possible thing from the minds of Queen Elizabeth and her Council; the measures which they took against the English Romanists were all primarily intended to promote the safety and strength of the realm or to enrich the crown. The contrast with the policy of contemporary Spain or of France under Louis XIV. is striking and significant: while these nations lacerated and impoverished themselves in the excess of their religious zeal, the peace and material comfort of England were preserved in a manner which makes her history in the sixteenth century unique in the annals of the Reformation.

At every turn we encounter evidences of this fundamental principle of the government's policy towards the Romanists—of the entirely practical nature of the considerations which controlled it. Let us take a few examples. In the first place, it is a noteworthy fact that the periods of greatest anti-Catholic activity on the part of the authorities coincide with, or follow closely after, serious political crises, when the safety of the realm or the life of the queen, are endangered by hostile developments abroad or by

rebellions and plots at home. The bulk of the anti-Catholic legislation passed in the Elizabethan parliaments falls in the years 1571–1572, 1581 and 1585–1587—in other words directly after the Rising of the Earls, the Norfolk and Ridolfi plots, after the advent in England of the Jesuits Campion and Parsons, or at the time of Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands, the Babington conspiracy and the execution of the Scottish queen and the immediate prospect of the sailing of the Spanish Armada. And it is not only that the acts are passed at crises like these; it is at these same crises that the authorities bestir themselves most actively to enforce them. In times of comparative quiet, many of the provisions of the penal laws were suffered practically to fall into abeyance, but when the realm was in danger, they were well-nigh certain to be revived. Secondly, in the acts themselves, and still more in the matter of their enforcement, a sharp distinction was drawn between the ardent papist, who actively endeavored to promote the restoration of Roman authority and jurisdiction within the realm, and the mere adherent of Catholic doctrine and ritual, the recusant,¹ who, if he did not frankly acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown, was passive also on the question of that of the pope. The latter was practically unmolested during the first twenty-three years of the reign and even after 1581 the statutes passed against him were by no means always rigidly enforced. For the former, who was a rebel as well as a nonconformist, harsher penalties were decreed, and moreover the authorities took far more pains to carry them into effect. But queen and Council were obviously reluctant to persecute for religion's sake alone. Thirdly, in the fact that the government's favorite penalties were fines and confiscations, and that it was clearly the intention of the authorities to make the Catholics pay the expenses of their own supervision and restraint, and if possible a little more, we have not only a characteristic example of Tudor finance, but also another striking evidence of the fundamental principle above laid down. Torture, death penalties and banishments, punishments frequently applied to religious nonconformists on the Continent, were in England sparingly used, and for the most part only in exceptional cases and for special purposes; their extreme severity, and above all the expense and economic and financial exhaustion which they entailed, were rightly judged by the government to be injurious to the weal of the state. Fourthly, it is highly significant, in the same connection, to note

¹ I use this word throughout this article in its more specific and restricted sense—i. e., a Catholic who refused to attend divine service in an Anglican church.

the sharp contrast between the government's policy towards the Protestant nonconformists or Puritans, and towards the Catholics, in its choice in times of special danger between the alternative policies of exile, and of retention, segregation and supervision in England. In general it may be said that the authorities tended more and more as the reign progressed to drive the Puritans from the land as "factional disturbers" of the state, while the policy adopted towards the Catholics was the reverse; from 1572 onward the government attempted, at all important crises, to keep them under strict watch, *within* the realm. This contrast does not come into full view until the year 1593, when both methods of procedure (the one for the Puritans, the other for the Catholics) are definitely formulated in acts passed in Parliament;² but at least twenty years earlier, the establishment of certain places of segregation—notably Ely, Broughton in Oxfordshire and Wisbeach in Cambridge³—to which the recusants were ordered to repair for a sort of easy confinement in times of special danger, gives evidence, at least on the Catholic side, of a tendency in that direction. The chief reason for the above-mentioned contrast in policy is obvious, and brings into clear relief the government's paramount interest in the political safety and welfare of the realm. By exiling the *Puritan*, England would be rid of a contentious disturber and yet would not need to fear his machinations abroad, for he would be destitute of friends and supporters in Continental Europe. To let the *Catholic* escape to France or Spain on the other hand would be highly dangerous, as he would be sure to find friends there to aid and abet any hostile plan or expedition he might conceive against his native land; safer by far, therefore, to permit the Romanist to remain in England under careful supervision.⁴ And lastly, the chief exception to the policy

² 35 Eliz. cc. 1. and 11.

³ The earliest mention of Wisbeach Castle as a place for the confinement of religious prisoners is a letter of the Council to the Bishop of Ely, March 11, 1571/2. *Acts of the Privy Council*, VIII. 73. Cf. also T. G. Law, *Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1889).

⁴ One obvious exception to this general rule is of course the provision in an act of the year 1585 (27 Eliz. c. 11.) whereby all Jesuits and seminary priests were ordered to depart from the realm within forty days after the close of the Parliamentary session. But this exception does not militate against the validity of the general proposition that the government's treatment of the English Catholics was dictated primarily by political expediency; if anything it tends to strengthen it. Jesuits and seminary priests were in a class by themselves, absolute irreconcilables, whose proselytizing in England would do more harm than their plotting on the Continent; it was doubtless safer to expel them at once. The two other exceptions to the general rule of procedure, hereafter to be noted in the text, also favor this interpretation.

of retaining, segregating and supervising the Catholics in England which has just been described is as significant a proof of the government's solicitude for the material welfare of the realm, as could be desired. In the Act of 1593 "against Popishe Recusantes" (the main purport of which was to provide means for the retention of the ordinary Catholic in England) a paragraph was inserted ordaining that very poor recusants (whose total property was of less annual value than twenty marks) should abjure the realm "to the end", as the statute frankly says, "that the Realme be not pestered and overcharged with the multitude of suche seditious and daungerous people . . . whoe havinge litle or no habilitie to answere or satisfie any compotent penaltie for their contempte and disobedience of the . . . Laws and Statutes, and beinge commytted to Prison for the same, doe lyve for the moste parte in better case there, then they colde yf they were Abrode at their own libertie"⁵—a striking comment, this, on Elizabethan finance—the man who could not pay for his keep must not be suffered to burden the realm, the more so as his very poverty would be the surest of guarantees against his ability to breed trouble for England abroad. Such are some of the principal evidences of the chiefly practical nature of the considerations that controlled the government's Catholic policy.

It has just been pointed out that in the case of very poor recusants, the usual practice of fining, retaining and segregating the English Catholics within the realm was abandoned because it did not pay. There were also certain special crises when this same generally successful policy broke down and had to be abandoned because it was inadequate and unsuccessful. Such a crisis occurred in the early eighties, when the failure of the first serious efforts to enforce the recusancy fines on any considerable scale caused the authorities for a time to consider a new plan of disposing of the English Catholics. The present article is an attempt to trace the history of this failure and the new plan that resulted from it. Though the years covered by these events witness the high-water mark of the anti-Catholic activity of the Elizabethan government, and though the new plan of dealing with the English Romanists which was then proposed, constitutes another exception to the usual practice of retaining and segregating them within the realm, there is ample evidence throughout of the adherence of the authorities to their fundamental principle of drawing the lines of their Catholic policy in accordance with the dictates of political safety and material welfare.

⁵ 35 Eliz. c. 11., section v.

Never had the problem of the English Catholics been more difficult of solution than in the winter of 1580-1581, and yet never had the need of such solution been more pressing. The crisis in the Netherlands was approaching. Ireland was aflame with revolt. The adherents of the imprisoned Scottish queen were unusually active. The first-fruits of Rheims and Douay were already in the realm; Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons had landed at Dover in June, 1580, and in the year that elapsed before the "wandering vagrant" was captured and the "lurking wolf"⁶ retired to Normandy, the result of their efforts was only too plainly evident in the increased activity of the different groups of English Catholics. The authorities on their side were certainly not asleep. The return of Sir Francis Walsingham to England from his embassy to the Netherlands in October, 1578, was signalized by a series of unprecedentedly strenuous efforts to seek out and punish recusants.⁷ For the next five years this able and strongly Protestant minister, at whose service was an extensive spy-system seldom equalled and never surpassed for efficiency in England, inspired, directed and controlled this branch of the government's activity. Arrests and imprisonments increased by leaps and bounds. In Catholic Lancashire, the queen's officers apprehended sixty men for attending mass, and were told that if they continued as they had begun, they would have to imprison the whole country.⁸ Torture by the rack was employed with a frequency which is in striking contrast to the rest of the reign.⁹ "Mr Norton the Rackmaster", was accused in a seditious book of having vaunted that he had pulled the Jesuit Alexander Briant "one good foot longer than ever God made him".¹⁰ The Spanish ambassador tells us that it was a common practice to drive iron spikes between the nails and the quick—a torment which people in Spain imagined would be employed by Anti-Christ, as the most dreadfully cruel of all.¹¹

But imprisonment and torture were by no means all. Both these

⁶ These were the names applied to the two Jesuits in the Parliamentary debates of that year. *D. N. B.*, XLIII. 413.

⁷ The number of entries on this subject in the State Papers for 1580-1582 is nearly four times as large as that for the three preceding years.

⁸ *Span. Cal. for Eliz.*, vol. III., no. 31.

⁹ Cf. D. Jardine, *On the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England*, etc., pp. 26-34.

¹⁰ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLII., no. 72. The "Mr. Norton" here mentioned is Thomas Norton (1532-1584), lawyer and poet, who conducted the examinations of most of the Catholics who were subjected to torture. He is elsewhere described as "the pyncher with paynes". He is not to be confused with Richard Norton (1488-1588), the centogenarian rebel, who died abroad, a pensioner of Philip of Spain, and was usually known as "Old Norton".

¹¹ *Span. Cal. for Eliz.*, vol. III., no. 119.

methods of persecution were expensive, and the authorities were loath to spend money on the Catholics. At all costs they must be made to pay the bills which accrued from the more aggressive attitude which the government had recently adopted towards them. Hitherto the only revenues which had been realized from the English Catholics were the confiscations of the property of those who for one reason or another had incurred the penalties of high treason, provisors and *praemunire*, or felony, the fines of one hundred marks or upwards incident on those "actively depraving" the established service, and the paltry sum of one shilling, forfeited, since 1559, for every unexcused Sunday absence from it. These did not yield enough to support the present active campaign. The obvious way to increase them was to augment the fine incident on absentees from church. Proposals for a Parliamentary statute for this purpose were made at least as early as December, 1580;¹² when the Houses met in the following January, Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer and brother-in-law of Walsingham, made an able and stirring appeal in the Commons for such a measure,¹³ and finally, March 18, 1581, the desired bill was passed under the title of "An Acte to reteine the Queenes Majesties Subjectes in their due Obedience".¹⁴ Its fourth section, which alone concerns us here, imposed the enormous fine of £20 per month on absentees from the English service. The Spanish ambassador gives us a vivid picture of the desperate efforts of the English Catholics to prevent the passage of this act, and of the dread and terror with which they received the news of their failure. They offered the queen 150,000 crowns as a bribe to stop the measure.¹⁵ When, after the statute went into effect, permission was accorded to certain imprisoned Romanists to return to their homes, on condition that they pay the fine and submit to the other provisions of the act, they elected to remain in custody.¹⁶

But the fears of the Catholics were certainly excessive. If the new statute could be enforced, it would doubtless add largely to the income of the queen and greatly weaken and impoverish her foes,

¹² *Span. Cal. for Eliz.*, vol. III., no. 57; *State Papers, Dom., Eliz.*, vols. CXXVII., no. 6 and CXXXVI., no. 15.

¹³ D'Ewes, *Journal*, pp. 285-288.

¹⁴ 23 Eliz. c. 1. After Mildmay's speech, which was delivered January 25, a committee was at once appointed to consider the drawing up of the act, which passed its first, second and third readings in the Commons, on February 8, March 4 and March 6, respectively, was sent up to the Lords and read there March 7 and 8 and finally passed March 18. Cf. D'Ewes, *Journal*, pp. 272, 274, 285-288, 293, 302.

¹⁵ *Span. Cal. for Eliz.*, vol. III., no. 79.

¹⁶ *Span. Cal. for Eliz.*, vol. III., no. 109.

whose condition would indeed be miserable, but the question of enforcement was the *crux* of the whole situation. The omission in the statute of any provision for the seizure and confiscation of lands and goods in default of payment of the fine was to prove serious. Inability to pay the entire sum became at once an excuse for paying nothing at all. The framers of the act had fallen into the grave error of fixing an almost prohibitive amount, and then failing to legislate effectively for the vast majority who could not meet it.¹⁷ The result was what might have been expected: for at least four years after the passage of the statute, there is every reason to think that it was practically inoperative. The unfortunate fact that the Privy Council Register is missing from June 26, 1582, to February 19, 1586, renders it impossible to be absolutely certain in this matter, but the evidence afforded in the different collections of State Papers, the sheriffs' accounts and the Great Roll of the Pipe all point in that direction. In the first place the almost complete absence of any account of measures to collect the fine, or of the income receivable from it in the years 1581-1585, is highly significant, when contrasted with the fullness of information on these topics in the succeeding period. Secondly, there is reason to think that the queen was not over-anxious to see the statute rigidly enforced, and in fact threw her influence in the other direction. She only consented to the passage of the act at the very climax of the crisis in the spring of 1581. The situation was far less acute in the period between 1582 and 1585, and she let her well-known tendency towards leniency to her Catholics subjects be evident in her reluctance to have it take effect. Walsingham complained bitterly of the corruption of the court as a cause of the increase of recusancy.¹⁸ "Her Majesty is slow to believe that the great increase of Papists is of danger to the realm", writes Leicester in the autumn of 1582; "The Lord of His mercye open her eyes."¹⁹ Thirdly, there are several sets of notes and memoranda in Walsingham's hand which give the clearest possible evidence that the queen's minister was profoundly dissatisfied with the working of the statute.²⁰ The most interesting of these are two undated documents which have been assigned by the

¹⁷ The eighth paragraph of the act provided indeed that each delinquent should after three months be "comitted to pryson there to remaine untill he have paid the said somes", but as the prisons were full already and imprisonment was expensive and not profitable, this part of the statute practically remained a dead letter.

¹⁸ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLVII., no. 51.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. CLV., no. 42.

²⁰ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLI., nos. 72-73 and vol. CLVII., no. 51.

editor of the *Domestic Calendar* to the year 1581.²¹ They are entitled "The causes why her majestie receyvith no greater benefyt of the penaltie of recusantship" and "The remedyes for the evasyons of the recusantes". The first complains of false returns to writs of execution, evasions of recusants by "shifting of places", fraudulent conveyances and undervaluation of lands with intent to defeat the object of the law; the second suggests measures of redress. But perhaps the clearest evidence of the ineffectiveness of the statute in the first few years after its passage is afforded by the history of the government's dealing with the recusants in the period 1585-1587.

The fall of Antwerp in August, 1585, had come as a final proof to Queen Elizabeth of the necessity of adopting active measures in behalf of the United Netherlands, the "strongest bulwark" of England. In September she agreed to dispatch the Earl of Leicester with 6,000 men to the relief of the hard-pressed Dutchmen. It was an expedition necessitated by Spanish and Catholic hostility; and it was therefore eminently fitting and proper, and thoroughly in accordance with the best of Tudor traditions that the English Catholics should contribute to its expense. Commissioners were therefore sent down to the different counties to demand of the local recusants either a number of light-horse "according to their abilitie" or else contributions in money, at the rate of twenty-five pounds for each light-horseman. There were some excuses on the ground of poverty, and some suspiciously opportune and unprecedented attendings of church in disproof of recusancy and the obligations pertaining thereto, but in general the result of the commissioners' efforts was highly satisfactory; a number of light-horse and a considerable sum of money were received by the authorities in the autumn of 1585 and the spring of 1586.²² The contrast between the comparative success of the recent effort to extract a single moderate contribution of twenty-five pounds or its equivalent from the recusants at a crisis with the almost complete failure to gain a regular monthly revenue of twenty pounds from them, was striking and significant. It showed

²¹ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLI., nos. 72-73. A number of statements in these documents about the valuation of recusants' lands might be taken to indicate that the document belongs to a later date—when seizure of lands and goods was authorized in default of the payment of the fine—which was not till after 1587. The conjectural dating in the *Calendar* may however in this case be correct, for the statement in regard to recusants' lands can be explained by the fact that a commission was sent out to value them in December, 1580, previous to the passage of the act. Cf. *Span. Cal.* for Eliz., vol. III., no. 57.

²² State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLXXXIII., nos. 15, 23, 32, 33, 35, 38, 40, 45, 46, 51, 53, 57, 61, 62, 71, 72; vol. CLXXXIV., nos. 41, 45, 46, 61.

the authorities that the enormous demand imposed by the statute of 1581 had overshot the mark, but that a less excessive fine might very likely be enforced. The next proceeding of the government shows that it took this important lesson to heart.

On February 25, 1586, the Council sent a notable letter²³ to the sheriffs and justices of the different shires. It begins with an expression of Her Majesty's satisfaction at the "readye and willinge disposicon" of the local recusants "in yeldinge to the Charge latly layd on them for the providinge and furnishinge of certaine light horses . . . for her highnes present service in the lowe Countries"; it goes on to say that Her Majesty is now content to grant them "some ease and alleuiacion" of the penalties "by the Lawes inflicted vppon them for their disobedience" and finally requires the sheriffs and justices to call all the recusants in their county before them and "requier them to make offer and sett downe euery man accordinge to his particular value what yearly sume he cane be Contented of his owne disposition to allowe as afforsaid, to be discharged of the perill and penaltie of the lawe wherunto they may stand subiecte and liable by reason of their recusancye". For the better guidance of the local authorities, the Council enclosed in each copy of this letter its own list or "scedull" of the recusants in the county to which it was sent, and adjured the sheriffs and justices to get hold of all persons named in it and also "others not named" if possible. As a hint of the government's notion of the proper amount of the recusants' "offerings", the letter goes on to lay down a few rules of proportion, and states that Her Majesty regards those with an annual income of over 240 pounds "gratiously and favorably dealte withall . . . if she accept the one halfe of the [statutory] penaltie and acquite them of the other", those whose income varies from 240 pounds to 150 "if she takes the thirde parte of their valuation" and those under 150 pounds if she accept a quarter. A number of passages in the letter emphasize the necessity of precautions against undervaluation of property: the "jurors and officers thereunto appointed by her Majestie" having proved "parcial" in times past, the recusants' estimates are to be judged in future only by "sufficient men well affected in Religyon"; such recusants as fail to "deall plainly . . . in openninge the trew state of their liuinge . . . shall aunswer the wholle penaltie inflicted by the Statute in respect of their abuse of her Majesties favour so graciously offered vnto them".

²³ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLXXXVI., nos. 81-83. Three drafts of this letter exist to-day in the Record Office, all in the hand of one of the clerks of the Council, and copiously corrected and enlarged by Walsingham himself.

If this attempt to secure at least partial enforcement of the statute of 1581 had not come so long after the passage of the act; and perhaps if it had not come so soon after the demand for light-horse, it might have been more successful. The authorities had certainly done wisely in modifying the terms of the original fine, which had defeated itself by its own excessiveness, and in adjusting their demand to the actual conditions of those on whom it was laid. But the fact that the law had been practically inoperative so long, and still more that there was lacking any adequate statutory provision for the treatment of those who failed to pay the fine, made the directions in the Council's letter of February 25, 1586, almost impossible to fulfil. Returns from seventeen different shires with notes of hand of the recusants in them are preserved in the Record Office,²⁴ and they give most interesting and diverse pictures of local conditions. The number of recusants' names in the "scedulls" sent down by the Council varies greatly: that for Hampshire contained seventy; those for Northampton and Durham but six each. Never do the local authorities succeed in finding all the persons named in the Council's list; very rarely do they manage to unearth others: against the names of absentees are entered such statements as "dead two yeres ago", "outlaw in Scotlande", "in the gaole indicted of high treason", "persuaded two yeres ago and comith diligentlie to the churche", "non inventus", "out of the shire", "thought to be in France", "in Wisbiche", "no recusant", "hath receaved and been partaker of the Holie Communion", "pretendeth that he hathe a dispensation"—all of which goes to show (particularly for the remote counties) that the Council's information was not up to date. Of those who were actually haled before the authorities, a large proportion are reported as "of no abillitie", "nothing worthe", or "nil"; many "offerings" are made of less than five pounds (some of them only ten shillings); anything over fifty pounds is decidedly the exception. Most of the notes of hand are half-pathetic, half-ludicrous corroborations of the reports of the authorities; those of the poorer recusants are not infrequently signed with "a marke". The opinion of the local authorities on the fairness of the recusants' offers is not seldom given, and very variously: while the Staffordshire officers maintained that the recusants in their county had "sett downe as moche (their estates considered) as their abilities will well stretch vnto", those of Buckingham held the offers in their shire "slendre

²⁴ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLXXXVII., nos. 45, 48, 49, 64; vol. CLXXXVIII., nos. 9, 15, 16, 29, 32, 38, 42, 51; vol. CLXXXIX., nos. 2, 17, 47, 48; vol. CXC., no. 11.

in respect of suche an Immunitie from soe greate penalties of the lawe as they be subiect to for their vngodly and contemptuouse course of lief". But in general it is clear that less was realized from the new plan of "compositions for recusansye" than had been expected. In October, 1586, after most of the reports from the different shires had come in, Walsingham drew up another rather grumbling set of "Observations in the offers of the Recusantes"²⁵ which clearly reflects his dissatisfaction. The lists were imperfect; the recusants had not been "pressed . . . to deliuer their liveli-hodes"; in estimating their property they gave only the lands lying in the county where they were called up, though "seased of far greater possessions in other shires", "manie . . . rated their Liuinges" according to ancient and obsolete "rents of assesse" and "by that proportion frame their offers"; some were "of so great Alliance and partie in the countie" that the authorities dared not "certifie the iuste values"; "manie . . . in divers counties . . . com to Church but receiue not [the Sacrament] and so escape the penaltie of the statute". The fine imposed by the statute of 1581 was no longer an absolutely dead letter perhaps, but it certainly yielded far less than its framers had looked for.

It was doubtless the increasingly threatening situation at home and abroad in the winter of 1586-1587 that caused the passage in Elizabeth's sixth parliament of the act that was to make the statute of 1581 for the first time reasonably effective in practice. It has already been pointed out that the great fault of the Act of 1581 was its failure to provide for the seizure and confiscation of the property of those who failed to pay the fine; this omission was now rectified by an enactment, which in addition to regulating the ways and times of such payment, provided that in default of it, the Queen's Majesty might seize and enjoy all the goods and two-thirds of the lands, tenements, etc., of the delinquent.²⁶ From the moment that act went into effect, the revenues the government derived from recusancy began to increase with gratifying rapidity.²⁷ Doubtless

²⁵ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CXCIV., no. 73.

²⁶ 29 Eliz. c. vi. This bill passed its first, second and third readings in the Commons, March 14, 16 and 18, respectively, was sent up to the Lords and finally passed there March 20. D'Ewes, pp. 387-388 and 415-417. There was apparently no opposition.

²⁷ The State Papers and accounts from 1588 to the close of the reign furnish ample evidence of this. The whole problem of the recusancy fines was organized and systematized as never before, queen and Council uniting in a strenuous effort to make the English Catholics a really effective source of revenue. The work of rounding up the recusants and valuing their lands was taken from the local authorities and given to minions of the Council, who, entirely removed from local

Parliament and Council, if left to themselves, would have been glad to pass it earlier. But it needed a supreme crisis to make Queen Elizabeth shake off her natural tendency towards leniency to her Catholic subjects, just as it needed a supreme crisis to conquer her aversion to war with Spain. From the nature of the case it is impossible to prove it, but there is strong reason to suppose that it was chiefly her influence that delayed so long the passage of the one measure that alone could render really effective the Act of 1581.

The discussion of the events of 1585-1586 which led to the passage of the Act of 1587 and consequently to the first really prejudices, went about their business in the most cold-blooded spirit and with the sole idea of gaining revenue for the crown. Their activity moreover was usually stimulated by a promise of an "allowance out of the forfeitures" they should secure, and also by the first chance to buy from the queen the lease of confiscated recusants' lands (State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CCXXIX., no. 68). The consequent sudden increase in the number of the incoming items naturally overburdened the Great Roll of the Pipe; the copying and arranging of them was a task of great expense and difficulty (*ibid.*, vol. CCXLI., no. 66), so that in 1591-1592 it was deemed wise to inaugurate a separate account for the recusancy revenues alone. Thus originated the Recusant Rolls, in two sets (the Chancellors Series and the Pipe Series); the latter are continuous down to 1686, save for the years 1650, 1659, 1661-1663 and 1670-1674, which are missing. In these Recusant Rolls, the rents paid and payable by lessees of confiscated lands are entered indiscriminately with the twenty-pound fines paid and payable by those recusants who were able to do so (Gardiner tells us that at the death of Elizabeth there were but sixteen of these in the realm. *History of England*, I. 96); sums actually paid the government are usually indicated by the addition of the phrase "Quietus est"; sums due, but not paid on the first demand, by the words "Fiat Commissio". The fines and rents were usually collected semi-annually—at Michaelmas and Easter—and it is interesting to note, as an evidence of the firm intention of the authorities to exact the uttermost farthing, that in the case of those who paid the fine, the months were often reckoned (as by Oliver Cromwell with the first Protectorate Parliament) on the lunar not the calendar basis, so that the yearly sum became 260 instead of 240 pounds. An accurate estimate of the amount annually realized by the government from recusancy is almost impossible to obtain. A document in the Record Office (State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CCLI., no. 53), dated "Xmo Martii 1594[5]", entitled "The names of the Recusantes with their severall sommes of monie paide into the Receipte since Michaelmas last", and signed "Edw. Wardoure, Clericum pellium" gives the total for the half-year as £3323, 1s. and 10d.; but at the close of the account Wardour sagely reflects as follows: "There is as I verelie thinke much more monie risinge by Recusantes which is still paide to the Sheriffes of the Counties, and so past in their particular accountes in the piep office"—(a conjecture which is corroborated by various statements in the Recusant Rolls for the same year such as "seu ad receptorem Scaccarii, . . . [soluta], seu ad manus vicecomitis", Rec. Rolls 37 Eliz., Bucks) and finally suggests "that all monie growinge therby should be particularlie paide into the Receipte". Whether this suggestion was acted upon or not, I have been unable to discover, but there is strong reason to think that more revenue came in to the queen from her Catholic subjects at the end of the reign, than was regularly accounted for under that head. Cf. W. H. Frere, *English Church under Elizabeth and James I.*, pp. 214, 265-267, 337.

effective operation of the Act of 1581, have carried us somewhat past the period where the rest of our story lies—the period previous to 1584, when the Act of 1581, at least as far as the twenty-pound fine went, was practically a dead letter. The early failure of that statute naturally led the government to consider other means of dealing with the English Catholics. Imprisonment and segregation had proved expensive, banishment to the Continent was in most cases deemed dangerous. Yet the critical situation at home and abroad dictated the necessity of action of some sort. Among several different solutions of the problem which suggested themselves to the authorities there is one—for a short time strenuously advocated, and probably originated by Sir Francis Walsingham himself—which deserves more attention than it has hitherto received,²⁸ though it was never actually carried out in practice. This was nothing less than a plan to transport some of the English Catholics to North America, with the idea of ridding the realm of their presence, and yet not incurring the risks which banishment to the Continent might entail. In order to see how this scheme took shape we must pause for a moment and examine briefly the biography of the man with whom it is chiefly connected—a certain Sir George Peckham of Denham, Bucks.²⁹

Born about the year 1535, this man had succeeded in 1569 to the extensive estates and considerable property which his father, famous as treasurer of the mint under Henry VIII. and Mary, had gathered in at the dissolution of the monasteries. He was a kinsman of Henry Wriothesley, third earl of Southampton, the patron of Shakespeare: indeed the first earl of Southampton had received his earliest preferment at the court of Henry VIII. through the influence of Peckham's father, in whose house he had dwelt for eight or nine years.³⁰ The latter had lived and died a zealous Catholic; his two eldest sons, Robert and Henry, were also loyal to the ancient faith: the former even exiled himself from his native land at the

²⁸ J. G. Shea (*History of the Catholic Church in the U. S.*, I. 19-24) and Father T. Hughes (*History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, I. 146-149) both discuss this project, but without adequate knowledge of all the available material.

²⁹ The principal authorities on Peckham's life are given at the close of the brief account of him in the *D. N. B.* To that list may be added R. H. Lathbury's *History of Denham* (Uxbridge, 1904); T. G. Law's "Devil Hunting in Elizabethan England" in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1894; and the *Victoria History of the County of Buckingham*, *passim*. The present writer expects soon to print certain unpublished documents and additional information concerning Peckham in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

³⁰ B. M. Lansd., 61, p. 204.

accession of Elizabeth for religion's sake and died in Rome in 1569. But with the third son, George, with whom we are now concerned, the case was very different. Up to 1578 there is not the slightest indication that he adhered to the Roman faith, and even later we have no evidence that he ever in his life openly professed it. It is true that when Queen Elizabeth visited him at Denham in 1570, the cautious sovereign—remembering the Catholic traditions of the place—took care to have a new door made for her bedchamber and to provide an enormous number of “lokes”, “boltes”, staples and hinges for the better securing of it;³¹ but her precautions were unnecessary, and she was sufficiently pleased with the welcome she had received to confer on her host the honor of knighthood. Peckham's loyalty in politics and religion is further proved by his appointment as high sheriff of Buckingham in 1573,³² and by the confidence and respect of the Lords of the Council, who from 1573 to 1578 literally deluged him with a series of orders to settle land-disputes, keep an eye on suspected persons and deal with other similar matters.³³ His name does not appear on any of the lists of local Catholics nor later on the Recusant Rolls, and it is significant that he built a church for the parish of Denham in 1580.³⁴

But though we have no evidence that he ever openly professed the Catholic faith, it is perfectly clear in the later seventies that his sympathies for it and its adherents were at last stirred in a way which caused him for the first time in his life to take active measures in its behalf. Through the influence of his second wife, the daughter of his neighbor David Penne, a notorious recusant, he was led into the serious offense of giving funds to the keepers of London prisons to be distributed to the captives there for religion's sake, and also into the much weightier crime of giving shelter to the Jesuit Campion. On these two charges he was examined before the Council, December 21, 1580, and imprisoned: his early release, March 1, 1581, under a thousand-pound bond is doubtless to be explained on the ground of the confidence of the government and his own previous good record.³⁵ But Peckham's efforts on behalf of the English Catholics did not cease there. For some time past

³¹ Bib. Bodl. Rawl. MSS., 195 C, f. 318 b.

³² B. M. Cart. Harl., 84 C, 37, 38.

³³ B. M. Cart. Harl., 84 C, 32, 37, 38; 84 I, 6; 85 E, 49; 85 G, 41; 86 B, 2, 3, 11, 20, 22-24; 112 C, 8. *Acts of the Privy Council*, VIII. 117, 118, 122-123, 136, 232, 357; IX. 239; X. 155, 191; XII. 92.

³⁴ Lipscomb's *Buckinghamshire*, IV. 457.

³⁵ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CXLIV., nos. 56, 57, 58; vol. CXLVII., no. 4. *Acts of the Privy Council*, XII. 282-283, 291, 296, 325, 346.

he had been intimate with Sir Thomas Gerard, a notorious papist, who had already been in prison for an attempt to liberate Mary Queen of Scots; in 1580 a marriage between the children of the two men rendered the bond that united them closer.³⁶ For the next six years they were almost inseparable, and busily engaged in the prosecution of new schemes for the relief of the English Romanists. The nature and extent of these schemes will soon be apparent.

As early as the year 1574, we know that Peckham had been interested in American exploration. In March of that year he had signed, in company with Sir Humphrey Gilbert and other gentlemen, a petition to the queen to be allowed to undertake a voyage of discovery in Western waters.³⁷ Nothing came of it at the time, and though Gilbert steadily pursued his efforts to gain a charter till at last he was successful in 1578,³⁸ Peckham had apparently lost interest in the matter. But after his imprisonment in the winter of 1580-1581, and after the passage of the law of March 18, 1581, which doubtless terrified him as it did others, in a way which its early non-enforcement scarcely warranted, he returned to the project of American exploration again; this time distinctly with the idea of finding a refuge in this country for oppressed recusants. Sir Thomas Gerard eagerly supported him. On June 6, 1582, they signed articles of agreement concerning their proposed expedition with Sir H. Gilbert, whose prospects of sailing were now brighter and more immediate than ever before; and whose fears of the Catholicism of his associates were much less than his need of the funds which they were prepared to contribute.³⁹

It now remains to examine the very important question of the attitude of the English government, represented by Sir Francis Walsingham, toward this new scheme of Peckham and Gerard. It is certain that the queen's minister had heard of it at least as early as April, 1582 (nearly seven weeks before the signature of the above-mentioned articles of agreement of Peckham, Gerard and Gilbert), a letter from a spy dated the nineteenth of that month gave him the gist of the whole matter.⁴⁰ But that is by no means all. There is also strong reason to think that Walsingham knew of

³⁶ Lathbury, p. 274. Gerard was of course the father of Father John Gerard of Gunpowder Plot fame. On him see J. Morris, *Condition of the Catholics under James I.*, pp. ix, x, ccliii, 26, 27.

³⁷ *Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674, no. 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 3.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 14-15.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 13.

the plan even earlier than that, nay more that he was the one who actually put into Peckham's and Gerard's heads, for purposes of his own, the idea of transporting Catholics to North America; and it is certain that from the very outset he favored the project heart and soul. It has already been pointed out that the general situation in 1582-1583 was such as would naturally cause the queen's minister to welcome an opportunity safely to dispose of a portion of the English Catholics. The measures already taken against them had proved inadequate and expensive; the realm was in danger: the plan that recommended itself to Peckham and Gerard as a measure to save the recusants from persecution would naturally appeal to the government as a means of gaining safety for England at a serious crisis. But there is far more definite and specific evidence of Walsingham's interest in and furtherance of Peckham's and Gerard's project than this. The limits of this article forbid the discussion of all the various documents in the Record Office and elsewhere⁴¹ which bear on the proposed expedition and the government's attitude towards it: but it is hoped that an analysis of the three most important ones will make clear the relations of the parties concerned.

The first is a set of articles of petition sent to Walsingham by Peckham and Gerard, probably in the spring of 1582,⁴² asking for license to "all souche persons whose names shall be sett downe in a booke Indented for that purpose" to travel into certain heathen lands, granted to the petitioners by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight. The last five paragraphs are of sufficient importance for the present purpose to be quoted in full. They read as follows:

Item, the recusantes of Abilitie that will travell as aforesaide maie have libertie vpon discharge of the penallties dewe to her Majestie in that behallfe to prepare themselves for the saide voiage.

Item that other recusantes not havinge to satisfie thesaide penaltie maie not with standinge have lyke libertie to provide As aforesaide And

⁴¹ *Ut supra* and Close Roll 24 Eliz., part 6, no. 1126; 25 Eliz., part 7, no. 1153, and part 8. State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CXLVI., no. 40; vol. CLV., no. 86; vol. CLVI., no. 13; vol. CLVIII., no. 59; vol. CLXI., no. 44; vol. CLXV., no. 35. These are summarized in *Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674, pp. 8-24. See also Hakluyt's *Voyages* (edition of 1903-1905), VIII. 41, 131; and *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. 92, pp. 396-398.

⁴² State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CXLVI., no. 40. This document was erroneously assigned to the year 1580 by the editor of the *Domestic Calendar* (vol. for 1547-1580, p. 695), while the *Colonial Calendar* places it conjecturally in August, 1582 (*Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674, p. 12). I incline to place it in the spring of that year for reasons which appear later. The document is printed in full in Shea, I. 20-22.

to sta[nde] charged for the paiement of the saide penallties vntill souche tyme as god shall make them able to paie thesame.

Item that none vnder Colour of thesaide lycence shall departe owte of the Realme vnto any other forein Christian Realme.

Item that they nor anye of them shall doo any Acte tendinge to the breache of the leage betwene her Majestie and any other Prince in amytye with her highnes neither to the preiudice of her Majestie or this Realme.

Item that the xth. person which they shall carrie with them shalbe souche as have not Any certaintie wherevppon to lyve or mainetaine themselves in Englande.

It is quite obvious in all these clauses that Peckham and Gerard had learned on what conditions the government would consent to the recusant emigration which they desired. The first two savor of a despairing attempt to collect the statutory fine before departure, the next two indicate the solicitude of the authorities that the national safety should not be endangered by the escape of Catholics to Continental Europe, or by trespass on the American lands of the King of Spain; the last looks like a frank attempt to get rid of a certain proportion of very poor recusants—a foreshadowing in fact of the famous clause in the Act of 1593.⁴³ The way in which the provisions of the petition squared with the interests of the man to whom it was addressed is very striking. Is it too much to conjecture (especially when we consider that it was a favorite practice of Tudor statesmen to evade the responsibility for measures which they originated, by forcing others to petition for them)⁴⁴ that Peckham and Gerard sent this request to the queen's minister at his own suggestion, and with the certain foreknowledge that he would, as indeed he did, accept it? The other documents that remain to be examined would tend to bear out this conclusion.

A draft of a letter, unsigned and unaddressed, dated in the year 1583, though without month or day, next claims our attention. It reads as follows:

After my Hartie Commendacions whereas I am enformed by Mr Anthonie Brigham that vpon some conference he findeth in you a verie good enclynacion to the westerne discoueries so as you maie be sufficientlie authorised so to doe and haue a Societie by yourselves without ioigning with anie gent or anie other Citties or Townes other then suche as yourself shall make choice of. I am of opinion you shall doo

⁴³ Father Hughes (I. 148) takes this clause to mean "liberty for a tenth part of the whole company to consist of servants or able-bodied retainers", but fails to adduce any additional evidence in support of this somewhat startling interpretation.

⁴⁴ Compare the origin of the "Supplication of the Commons against the Ordinances" in January, 1532, and of the First Act of Annates of the same year.

well to herken vnto suche offers as Sir Philipp Sidney and Sir George Peckham will make vnto you who have sufficient Auctoritie by and under her Majesties Letteres patentes to performe the effect of your Desire. No whit mystrusteng but that this voiaige will prove profitable to thadventurers in particler and generallie benefeciale to the whole realme. So expecteing you aunswere I bidd you hartelie farewell the daie of
1583

Your loveing Freind

As the style of this letter particularly towards its close bears strong resemblance to that of Walsingham, and as the handwriting is identical with that in which much of his correspondence is written, I conclude that it emanated from the queen's minister.⁴⁵ It was probably intended to be sent to a number of different persons—a circular letter in fact. Its contents certainly afford good evidence of the secretary's desire to advance the expedition of Peckham and Gerard. The appearance in it of the name of Sir Philip Sidney is a further corroboration of this conclusion. That young knight was at this moment a suitor for the hand of the daughter of Walsingham, who favored the match but felt that Sidney's poverty was an insuperable obstacle. Since July 7, 1582,⁴⁶ Sidney had been possessed of an American patent of considerable value: he was now desirous of selling it in order to gain the money necessary for his marriage, and Walsingham was anxious to help him. In July, 1583, a purchaser was found in Peckham himself,⁴⁷ who was just then pursuing his emigration scheme more energetically than ever: Sidney was thereby enabled to withdraw from the "adventurers", and in September wedded the lady of his choice.

The other document that remains to be presented is a passage in a letter from the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, to his master, Philip II., dated at London, July 11, 1582. It summarizes and corroborates the conclusions to which the evidence

⁴⁵ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLXV., no. 35. The calendaring of this document (*Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674, no. 30) can only be described as extraordinary. It is such as to imply that the letter was written to Walsingham. There is not a scintilla of evidence to support this save the use of the word "for" in the endorsement, which is as follows: "The mynute of a lettere for Mr Secretary"; and this can be equally well explained on the ground that it was a draft "for Mr Secretary" to approve or sign. All the rest of the evidence strongly favors the assumption that it was from Walsingham. The expressions at the beginning and end are those most frequently used in Tudor times by people of high rank and office when addressing inferior or unknown persons.

⁴⁶ Close Roll 25 Eliz., part 7, no. 1153. This document is erroneously assigned to the year 1583 in the *Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674 (p. 22), through confusion of the dates of execution and enrollment of the agreement. Mr. E. Salisbury of the Public Record Office kindly furnished me this information.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674, no. 29.

already afforded clearly points the way. The following translation of it by Major Martin Hume appears in the third volume of the *Spanish Calendar* for the reign of Elizabeth.⁴⁸

As I wrote some time ago, Humphrey Gilbert was fitting out ships to gain a footing in Florida, and in order to make this not only prejudicial to your Majesty's interests, but injurious to the Catholics here, whilst benefiting the heretics, Walsingham indirectly approached two Catholic gentlemen, whose estate had been ruined, and intimated to them that, if they would help Humphrey Gilbert in the voyage their lives and liberties might be saved, and the Queen, in consideration of the service, might be asked to allow them to settle there (Florida) in the enjoyment of freedom of conscience and of their property in England, for which purpose they might avail themselves of the intercession of Philip Sidney. As they were desirous of living as Catholics, without endangering their lives, they thought the proposal was a good one, and they gave an account of it to other Catholics, who also approved of it, and offered to aid the enterprise with money. Petitions were presented to the Queen upon the subject, and she has granted them a patent under the Great Seal of England to colonize Florida on the banks of the river Norumbeage where they are to be allowed to live as their conscience dictates, and to enjoy such revenues as they may possess in England. This privilege is not confined to those who leave here for the purpose of colonization, but is extended to all Englishmen away from England, even to those who may have been declared rebels, and whom the Queen now restores to her grace and favour, embracing them once more as loyal subjects. The only object of this is to weaken and destroy them by any means, since they have now discovered that persecution, imprisonment, and the shedding of martyrs' blood only increase the number of Catholics; and if the proposed measure be adopted the seminaries abroad cannot be maintained, nor would it be possible for the priests who come hither to continue their propaganda, if there were no persons here to shelter and support them. By this means what little sound blood be left in this diseased body would be drained. I gave notice to the Catholics, through the priests who go amongst them, what was the real object of the Queen and Council in extending this favour to them, and also that the country in question belonged to your Majesty and was defended by fortresses, so that directly they landed they would be slaughtered as Jean Ribaut was. In addition to this, I say, that their consciences will be touched, as they will be acting against the interests of His Holiness, who should be informed of the matter through Dr. Allen, so that they, the Catholics, might learn whether they could properly undertake the voyage.

This action of mine has caused some of them to withdraw whilst others, out of indifference, persist in their intention, believing that it is not really against your Majesty, because in the map the country is

⁴⁸ Pp. 384-385. Printed in full (like many of the other letters translated and summarized in the *Spanish Calendars*) in the *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. 92, pp. 396-400. Major Hume kindly sent me a copy of his transcription of the original document in Simancas, which is practically identical with the version in the *Documentos Inéditos*. The translation in the *Calendar* is a faithful rendering of both.

called "New France", which, they say, proves that it was discovered by Frenchmen, and that since Cortés fitted out ships on the coast to go and conquer countries for the Catholic church, they could do the same. I have also written about it to the Abbot Briceño in Rome, as well as to Dr. Allen, pointing out how important it is that they should make every effort to prevent the enterprise in the interest of the conversion of England.

This letter, if it can be relied on at all, not only shows that Walsingham originated and favored the project of sending the English Catholics to this country, with the idea of ridding the realm of their presence; but also that Mendoza saw through the minister's plan, made up his mind that it would weaken, rather than relieve Catholicism in England and therefore set himself strenuously to oppose it. He might have saved himself the trouble indeed, for the disaster to Gilbert's expedition⁴⁹ which finally sailed precisely eleven months after he had written this letter put an end for the time being to the whole affair, despite the efforts of Peckham, who issued a notable pamphlet on the advantages of American colonization,⁵⁰ with the idea of stirring people up to a renewal of the attempt. The story of the rest of Peckham's life is interesting but scarcely germane to the present subject, for he busied himself about other matters till his death in 1608.⁵¹ There is no record of any attempt by a Catholic to repeat the experiment which he had made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the second year of the reign of James I. a certain Mr. Winslade "with a Spanish and traitorous heart" proposed to Father Parsons, then stationed as rector of the English College at Rome, a scheme of Catholic emigration to America, similar to that of Peckham, but was dissuaded from pursuing it further by the strong disapprobation of the Jesuit leader.⁵² The letter in which Father Parsons condemned the plan is a very noteworthy vindication, from the Catholic point of view, of the attitude of Mendoza in 1582: specific reference is made in it to the project of Peckham and Gerard, the same adverse arguments—the arousing of the jealousy of the King of Spain by prob-

⁴⁹ September, 1583. Peckham and Gerard had of course remained in England.

⁵⁰ Printed in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, VIII. 89 ff.

⁵¹ In 1585-1586 he lent his ancestral estate at Denham for the purposes of John Darrell and Father William Weston, the exorcists, whose doings there are described in detail in Harsnett's *Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603), and more recently in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1894, by T. G. Law. After 1586 Peckham lost his property, and the remainder of his life is for the most part a sad commentary on the horrors of debtors' prisons in the reign of Elizabeth.

⁵² On Winslade, see Hughes, I. 153 ff.; Shea, I. 25; H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the S. J.*, IV. 169 ff.; Christopher Green, S. J., *Collectanea*, part I., f. 337 b and B. M. Add., 21, 203, Plut. CIII F.

able trespassing on his American lands, prejudice to the cause of Catholicity in England, by diminution of the Catholic body there, etc.—are advanced.⁵³ Faint traces of other similar attempts are discernible in the history of the next twenty-five years;⁵⁴ finally, under widely different circumstances, a home was found for the oppressed Catholics by Lord Baltimore in Maryland in 1634. But the other side of the picture should not be forgotten. Long before this country became a haven of refuge for religious dissenters—Catholic or Puritan—the English government planned to utilize it as a means of safely disposing of the former, an overflow for a dangerous and undesirable portion of the population, a sort of penal colony or Botany Bay. It was doubtless as practical and inexpensive a solution of the problem that confronted the authorities in 1582–1583 as could have been devised. That it was so strenuously opposed by the Catholic leaders is ample proof of its effectiveness from the government's point of view.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

⁵³ Printed in full in Hughes, *Documents*, I. 3–5.

⁵⁴ Cf. the careers of Captain George Weymouth, Edward Maria Wingfield, Andrew White and Thomas Lord Arundell of Wardour. See Shea, I. 25–27, *D. N. B.* and Hughes, I. 155 ff.

A FRENCH CO-OPERATIVE HISTORICAL ENTERPRISE

ON several occasions the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has directed the attention of its readers to the volumes published by the Commission appointed under the Ministry of Public Instruction in Paris to collect and publish documents relating to the economic life of the French Revolution. This commission is at present directing the most important enterprise of co-operative historical work which has been undertaken in France for sixty years. I have thought that a brief account of the organization of this enterprise, its operation and the results obtained up to the present time might be of some interest to American students of history, and I extend my thanks to the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for kindly agreeing to accept the following pages on this subject.¹

At the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on November 27, 1903, M. Jean Jaurès, the well-known public man, who is also a historian of great talent, proposed a preliminary appropriation for the classification and publication of the archive-documents bearing upon the economic history of the French Revolution. He showed the great value for the study of the origins of contemporary France of a systematic edition of the *cahiers de doléances* that were drawn up by cities and country districts in 1789 and submitted to the States-General, or of the documents relating to the question, still so little understood, of the sale of the nationalized property. In regard to agriculture, commerce, industry, etc., during the period of the Revolution, collections of texts published by the state would be the only means of placing at the disposition of historians desirous of going to the bottom of things the data indispensable to their work.

The proposition of M. Jaurès, eloquently presented and supported by deputies of various opinions, was adopted. Historians, too, gave it a warm reception. Up to that time the economic history of the Revolution had been greatly neglected in favor of the political, diplomatic, military and religious history. The study of its economic history presented many difficulties: the dispersion and disorder of

¹ For full details, see my articles relative to the commission in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, VI. 443, and VIII. 545. The journal called *La Révolution Française* regularly keeps its readers informed of the meetings and the work of the commission.

the documents, the lack of the elementary instruments of research and the almost complete obscurity of the main lines of the subject. An extensive, general examination of all material was needed, but it was foreseen that this would be long and costly, and there were no indications that it would be undertaken soon. From the Institute, little disposed to assume a task so heavy, and indifferent, if not hostile, to the period of the Revolution, nothing was to be expected. Neither was anything to be expected from the Comité des Travaux Historiques, a body much inclined to the same prejudices and not possessing the indispensable personnel and resources. As for the private societies—the Société d'Histoire de la Révolution and the Société d'Histoire Moderne—their slender resources rendered it impossible for them to assume such a burden. The state only could do what was required. The adoption of M. Jaurès's proposition, then, was a stroke of good fortune.

On December 23, 1903, the Minister of Public Instruction, in pursuance of this vote, appointed a special commission, with M. Jaurès as president. This commission immediately met and at its first sitting formed a permanent sub-commission of its own members to have charge of the preparation of the work. Provincial collaborators were also needed in order to collect and prepare for publication the documents preserved in the departmental archives. At the request of the commission, the minister appointed in the chief town of each department a committee of about twenty members, who, in their turn secured correspondents, especially from among the teachers, in the principal communes.

For two years past, this organization has not been modified. The commission, which was at first composed of twenty-eight members, now numbers forty-five, including senators, deputies, high officials, professors of history in the universities, archivists and men of learning. The personnel of the departmental committees has undergone many changes, but the professional historians and the archivists have kept everywhere the preponderant rôle which they played throughout the formative period.

The commission is connected with a bureau of the Direction of Higher Education. Legally, it possesses only consultative powers; it gives advice, which the administration is free to follow or not. As a matter of fact, the decisions of the commission are always carried out. The permanent sub-commission² holds its meetings

² The commission includes, in addition to the representatives of the administration, the following members: MM. A. Aulard, professor in the University of Paris; Camille Bloch, inspector-general of libraries and archives; A. Brette,

frequently. It is this body which dispatches current business; corresponds with the departmental committees; draws up the general and special instructions; weighs projects for publications; and superintends the printing. At periodic intervals, meetings of the whole commission are held, when the sub-commission reports on the work it has done, submits the instructions which it has formulated³ and the new propositions for publications that it has examined.

The departmental committees, naturally, do not manifest an equal degree of activity everywhere, but, on the whole, those which do good work are sufficiently numerous. Ordinarily, they hold four or five meetings a year. They organize documentary investigations, which their correspondents are to carry on; formulate projects for publications, which they transmit to the central commission; and receive communications relative to the local questions of the economic history of the Revolution. Several of these committees, thanks to voluntary contributions or to subventions made by the commission or by the general councils, have instituted periodical bulletins which have found both contributors and readers.

The programme of subjects to be investigated by the commission was the occasion of much discussion during the first year. As finally determined, it comprised the following:

Economic and industrial condition of France in 1789, especially as shown in the *cahiers* of the parishes, of corporations, etc. Professional associations and trades-unions. Liquidation of the arts and crafts associations. Feudal rights; their persistence and gradual abolition. Inventory of nationalized property (property of the Church and property of the *émigrés*), assets and liabilities; sale of such property; *assignats* and *billets de confiance*. Condition and changes in modes of production and exchange. Agriculture. Manufacturing and mining. Domestic and foreign commerce; custom-duties; privileged companies. Progress in industrial and agricultural appliances and technical processes. Payment of taxes during the Revolution. Subsistence: the maximum. Control and division of communal property. Movement of population in city and country. Enforcement and economic effect of the laws of the revolutionary period respecting the transmission of landed estates and the system of mortgages. Values and variations in wages and salaries. Unions. Measures of assistance.

member of the Comité des Travaux Historiques; P. Caron and Charles Schmidt, of the National Archives; E. Dejean, director of archives; Charles Seignobos, professor in the University of Paris. M. Aulard is the president and M. Caron the secretary.

³ These instructions are published in a *Bulletin Trimestriel* which has been issued since the beginning of 1906, and which contains, in addition to complete information in regard to the work of the commission and of the departmental committees, documents and original articles.

For its publications the commission has adopted a convenient octavo *format*. The printing has been done either at local establishments or at the National Printing Office in Paris. The volumes, whatever their size (often they exceed 800 pages), are sold at the very moderate price of seven francs, fifty centimes each. Many copies are distributed free of charge to scientific institutions. The commission enjoys an annual appropriation which was at first fixed at 50,000 francs, but, in 1906, was increased to 60,000 francs, and still remains at that figure. Every publication is supervised by a responsible manager selected from among the members of the commission.

As soon as the details of organization and administration were settled, the commission applied itself to determining the categories, the contents and the arrangement of the various series. At this point the difficulties began. The documents to be published formed an immense mass, scattered among a number of depositories, such as the national archives, the departmental archives, the communal archives, libraries, offices of judicial records, etc., and there was no general inventory of them. Moreover, there were no general works on the economic history of the Revolution of such a sort as to make it easy to state with security its chief problems; there were few, if any, previous publications that could be taken as models. Everything or nearly everything had to be originated. All this gave rise to inevitable groping and delay.

Of all the undertakings that which seemed the simplest was the publishing of the *cahiers* of the parishes—so valuable for an understanding of the economic conditions of the country districts in 1789. Fortunately, we had already the large collection edited by M. Brette,⁴ relating to the convocation of the States-General; and numerous *cahiers* published prior to 1904, however imperfect they might be, made it possible to determine speedily the method to be followed. The unit chosen for this first category was the *bailliage*—that is to say, the unit of convocation in 1789; and all discoverable *cahiers de doléances* (at least, all that could be found), drawn up by parishes belonging in 1789 to the same *bailliage*, were gathered into one collection. On this plan the first publication of the commission was constructed—the *cahiers* from parishes of the *bailliage* of Orléans, edited by M. Camille Bloch.

For the publication of documents relating to another very important question, that of the sale of nationalized property and its social

⁴ *Recueil de Documents relatifs à la Convocation des États Généraux en 1789*, 3 volumes octavo and an atlas (Paris, 1894-1904). The fourth and last volume is in preparation.

and economic results, the commission at first thought that the department could be taken as the unit, but it very soon became apparent that this unit was too large, so that the investigation could not be thoroughly prosecuted. Then the unit was reduced to the district, that is, to a division of a department (between 1790 and 1795 each department contained on an average five or six districts). Of all the questions studied by the commission, none has been more difficult to handle than this; it required two years' hard work, and definite instructions could not be given to the editors until a few weeks ago.

Meanwhile, the commission had taken up other parts of its programme. The importance of the question of grain-supplies during the Revolution is well known; the trade in grain was the subject of a circular of instructions issued in 1907. The documents relating to this will be published according to districts and the first collection (devoted to the district of Chaumont-en-Bassigny) will be issued in 1908. Very recently, new instructions were drawn up relative to the editing of documents concerning agriculture. These will be published by departments. At present the commission is engaged upon the subjects of manufactures, commerce and measures of public assistance. The remaining topics will be taken up later.

The publications of the commission, then, as they continue to be issued, will form several large parallel series: collections of the *cahiers* of the parishes, collections relating to the sale of nationalized property, collections dealing with the grain-trade, and so on. Each series begins with the instructions issued by the commission, followed by a collection of texts of general bearing (laws, decrees, resolutions, circulars) and an account of the administrative organs charged with the application of the laws; then comes a series of departmental collections which will make it possible for historians to trace in detail the effect of the great economic measures taken during the Revolution. Besides these, the commission has planned and commenced the publication of collections of documents preserved at Paris which have to do with France as a whole, such as the reports of the committees on agriculture and commerce of the assemblies of the Revolution, published by MM. Gerbaux and Schmidt, the collection made by MM. Sagnac and Caron relating to the abolition of the seigneurial régime and that of M. G. Bourgin upon the division of communal property.

It is essential to note that the commission very soon recognized that, if it could not employ the same territorial unit in all its collections, neither could it systematically employ the traditional scheme of chronological limits used in political history. The dates 1789 and

the year VIII. usually mark the limits of the revolutionary era ; but these do not necessarily correspond to the decisive moments in economic development. According to the subjects treated in these collections, it is necessary to have an earlier starting point than 1789 or to stop short of the year VIII. or to proceed beyond that date. Thus, for the collection upon the grain-trade, the period studied extends from 1788 to the year V. For the series pertaining to manufactures, the initial date will also be 1788, the year of the reorganization of the Bureau of Commerce, but the date chosen for the conclusion will be 1802 at the very earliest and may be deferred to 1806. The collections which relate to the sale of nationalized property ought to extend still farther, to the Restoration, and to include the enforcement of the law of 1825 (concerning the indemnities to the *émigrés*), which marks the close of this great transaction.

In respect to the technicalities of publication, the commission has adopted the rules that the French editors of modern historical texts agree, with some exceptions, in following. It was deemed useless to retain fantastic peculiarities of the original spelling which, whatever may be said of them, are of no more interest from the philological point of view than from the historical, and, if they were preserved, would only result in rendering certain volumes unreadable. Modern punctuation has been employed, according to the sense. The introductions and annotations are concise and are intended only to facilitate the use of the volumes and to lessen the difficulties of the text. To develop the instructive relations between the data, to engage in the work of synthesis, is the function of historians. Far more important is it that the editors give their attention to sifting in some way the innumerable documents to be published (except in the case of the collections of *cahiers*), so as to retain nothing but the essential and to omit whatever lacks interest. Publication without selection is impossible, and, moreover, in no wise necessary. Furthermore, the commission prescribed, in the case of all matters that are of secondary importance or of interest only in part, the liberal use of those methods of summary, citation or reference, that will become more and more general in the editing of archive-documents in the domain of modern history. "A certain number of well-chosen examples, and general conspectuses, ought to form the substance of the collections", say the instructions for the publications relating to the grain-trade.

The actual statistics of publication are as follows: out of some sixty proposals submitted to the commission, thirty-two were adopted. These thirty-two publications are to form about forty-five volumes,

of which twenty have been issued and eight are in press to come out during the current year. Of these twenty-eight volumes, fourteen are occupied with the *cahiers* of parishes,⁵ two treat of the nationalized property⁶ and twelve of various subjects.⁷

These figures bear witness to a remarkable activity, and the commission has a right to feel that in three years it has accomplished much. Yet the way in which the work has been planned and is being executed has not failed to arouse certain criticisms, of which some words may be said in closing.⁸

One charge brought against the commission is that it publishes too many documents and not enough original studies—a charge rather amusing when directed against a commission which owes its existence to an act expressly stipulating that its work should be the collecting and publishing of documents. Is it alleged that, in general, the editing of archive-documents belonging to the modern period is of little value? This paradox can be sustained, like so many others. But the truth is that these publications of the commission are destined to render the greatest services: they place the fundamental texts at the disposition of all workers and not merely

⁵ *Cahiers* from the *bailliages* or *sénéchaussées* of Angoulême and Cognac, Orléans, Marseilles, the Cotentin, Châlons-sur-Marne, Vic (in Lorraine), Nîmes, Blois and Romorantin, Cahors, Sens.

⁶ In the departments of the Rhone and of Bouches-du-Rhone.

⁷ *Procès-verbaux des Comités d'Agriculture et de Commerce des Assemblées de la Révolution*, edited by F. Gerbaux and Ch. Schmidt (2 vols.); *Les Comités de Droits Féodaux et de Législation et l'Abolition du Régime Seigneurial* (1789–1792), documents edited by MM. Sagnac and Caron; *Le Partage des Communaux, Documents sur la Préparation et l'Application de la Loi du 14 août 1792*, edited by G. Bourgin; *Réponses de Paroisses de l'Élection de Gap au Questionnaire envoyé, le 28 février 1789, par la Commission Intermédiaire des États du Dauphiné*, edited by Abbé Guillaume; *Documents d'Ordre Économique contenus dans les Registres de Délibérations des Municipalités du District d'Alençon, de 1788 à l'an VIII.*, edited by F. Mourlot (2 vols.); *Documents relatifs au Commerce des Céréales, de 1788 à l'an V.*, dans le District de Chaumont (Haute-Marne), edited by Abbé Lorain; *Documents relatifs à l'Abolition du Régime Seigneurial en Savoie avant et pendant la Révolution*, edited by M. Bruchet; *Tableaux de Dépréciation du Papier-monnaie*, reprinted by P. Caron; *Recueil de Textes Législatifs et Administratifs sur les Domaines Nationaux*, edited by P. Caron and E. Deprez.

⁸ In order to estimate correctly the value of these criticisms, it is necessary to remember that French specialists in modern history are at present divided into two camps according to their political opinions: historians of the Right and of the Left. The enterprise of the commission, owing its origin to the initiative of one of the leaders of the Socialist party, and directed by historians known to be of democratic tendencies, is an undertaking of the Left, and, *a priori*, the historians of the Right are hostile to it. With reference to this regrettable division of French historians into adverse parties, I take the liberty of referring to an article which I published in 1905 in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (XI. 261), under the title: *Des Conditions Actuelles du Travail d'Histoire Moderne en France*.

of some; they reveal, better than all the original studies in the world could have done, the importance of documents hitherto unknown, the value, for example, of the reports of the committees on agriculture and commerce; finally, the publishing of the *cahiers* of parishes, the researches in the archives of even the smallest communes, will certainly do more than all official circulars to insure the safety of documents of great interest, which are too often exposed to the ravages of time and the carelessness of men, and the destruction of which had been going on slowly for a century.

Again, it is said that the publications of the commission, for example the collections of the *cahiers*, do not present a perfect uniformity; and this has been remarked upon acrimoniously. It is undeniable that in the early volumes of the *cahiers* there may be noticed some trifling differences in procedure. This slight variation was inevitable in the period of inception; the method to be followed could take final form only after a series of experiments. But to expect that absolutely perfect uniformity can ever be realized is purely chimerical. In the first place, the documents stand in the way of this, as they frequently differ according to the locality whence they proceed. In the second place, among the editors there will always be differing degrees of carefulness, of information, of ability. This disadvantage is inherent in all co-operative enterprises, yet co-operative enterprises are on the increase in the domain of historical study. What ought to be required of such enterprises is an average product. The commission endeavored to take into account everything: exigencies of scientific work, material possibilities of execution, capacities of available investigators, etc. It concluded that the best that could be done was to produce clear, well-composed collections, supplied with good indexes and with the critical apparatus necessary and sufficient to facilitate the use of the printed volumes. When the collaborators are men of exceptional ability, the commission grants them liberty equally exceptional, and makes no effort to deprive itself of the benefit of their learning and their enthusiasm. But it always has been and still is the desire of the commission that the publications be of good average value and, as cannot be too often repeated, that they conform to the principles generally followed to-day in the editing of modern archive-documents.

A work of this kind ought to be judged by its results. It is certain that as a result of the influence of the commission considerable progress promises to be accomplished within a few years.

Already attention is being directed to those economic and social questions, too long neglected by historians yet nevertheless of capital importance to an understanding of political history, especially of that of the French Revolution. Where learned societies of the old type were wont to slumber, the departmental committees have gathered together workers animated by a more modern spirit; at last, the general inventory of the archives of the Revolution has been commenced;⁹ the circulars from the central commission to the departmental committees and those from the committees to their correspondents have helped to hasten the general diffusion of knowledge in regard to historical methods. Even now, it is safe to say that the undertaking entrusted to the commission will in time be regarded as the most remarkable effort of French historical science at the beginning of the twentieth century. As such, it deserves to be brought to the especial attention of American historians.

PIERRE CARON.

⁹ The Administration of Archives has recently begun the publication of a general inventory of the principal series of documents of the Revolution preserved in the departments.

MATERIAL FOR SOUTHWESTERN HISTORY IN THE CENTRAL ARCHIVES OF MEXICO¹

WHEN we consider the close historical relations between Mexico and what we call the "Southwest", the chief cause for surprise, as regards the Mexican archives, is not that they contain much material for Southwestern history, but rather that this material has been so little used.

In an endeavor to present in brief space a general idea of the sources of this class contained in the central archives at the City of Mexico, not touching for the present upon provincial, ecclesiastical or private collections, it seems best to attempt no more than to name the principal repositories and to describe their contents in so far as they will admit of general description. I can treat even in this general way only a part of the field, and have chosen, therefore, disregarding the demands of proportion, to devote most of my space to sources for early Southwestern history, closing with the merest hint of what there may be for recent periods. Incidentally I shall try to indicate some of the conditions of investigation in Mexico.

The central government archives proper consist of an Archivo General y Público de la Nación, commonly called the Archivo General, and of separate archives for each of the great secretariats or executive departments of the national government. To these should be added the manuscript collections in the Museo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional. Most of the manuscripts in the

¹ This paper may be regarded as a preliminary report upon a comprehensive survey of the materials for United States history in Mexican archives which the writer has undertaken on behalf of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. A fuller report in the form of a volume published by that institution may be expected at a later time.

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archives of the secretariats bear dates subsequent to the Mexican War of Independence, since which event these departments have been established; and, on the other hand, by far the larger part of those in the other collections named relate to the period of the Spanish régime. This clear differentiation of the archives reinforces the historical reasons for choosing the close of that régime, 1821, as the point of division between early and recent Southwestern history. I write mainly, therefore, of sources for the period before 1821.

It follows from what has already been said that the public collections at the capital of special importance for early history are those in the Archivo General, the Museo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional. By far the most important of these is the first, which, indeed, is the largest and richest collection of historical material in Mexico. If space would permit, a sketch of the varied and sometimes pathetic history of this archive would be instructive. Since this is impossible, suffice it to say that the idea of founding it originated in 1790 with the Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, and that it was established by the Republic in 1823, having for its basis the archive of the Secretariat of the Viceroys,² which still constitutes its most important single element. In this connection let it be noted that there is little ground, unless it be an unwarranted faith that in olden times all decrees of Spanish kings were executed, for Bancroft's remark that in the Archivo General are preserved great quantities of material "collected from all parts of the country by order of Carlos IV."³ Quite to the contrary, it appears after much study directed to this point, that, in spite of this and later orders to the same effect, provincial collections have not been drawn upon to any considerable extent in the formation of the Archivo General.

² A brief printed sketch of the Archivo General by Manuel Rivera Cármas is in *México Pintoresco, Artístico y Monumental* (Mexico, 1880), I. 16-17; one by Ignacio Rayón is in *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía* (Mexico, 1854), V. 978-983; a still briefer sketch by Professor George P. Garrison is in *The Nation*, May 30, 1901. None of these articles gives a satisfactory account of the origin and elements of the archive. Original correspondence relative to the first attempt to found it is contained in volume 267 of Sección de Historia, Archivo General. This volume is entitled "Archivo General, Su Establecimiento en Chapultepec, 1788-1819". For data on this subject see also the files of correspondence in the sections of the Archivo General named Reales Cédulas y Ordenes, and Correspondencia de los Virreyes. Valuable manuscript reports by different *archiveros* on the contents and condition of the archive of the Viceroy's Secretariat at the end of the Spanish régime and on the Archivo General y Público since its foundation in 1823, are contained in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, section Archivo General. Similar matter is contained in several memorials to the Mexican Congress by the different secretaries of the Department of Relations.

³ Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 21.

This fact is significant, for it offers the prospect that in certain of the local archives there may yet be found important stores of material. While, as has been said, the larger part of the collection in the Archivo General relates to the period before 1821, only a small part of that which does not is of importance for the history of the United States.

This archive is under the supervision of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, and permission to work in it is secured, by foreigners, from that department. It is housed in the southwestern portion of the vast building known as the Palacio Nacional, in rooms adjacent to those formerly occupied by the Secretariat of the Viceroy—quarters that are altogether inadequate for present needs. In summer it is usually open from 7:30 a. m. to 1:30 p. m., and in winter from 8:00 a. m. to 1:30 p. m. To those who are properly introduced, wide liberties are given to search among the volumes and *legajos*. Indeed, if this were not the case, little progress could be made under present circumstances.

The collection, which consists of some thirty-five thousand bound volumes of manuscripts and bundles enough to form at least as many more, is, besides being large, extremely miscellaneous, and therefore difficult to describe in general terms. Enough material to form perhaps twenty thousand volumes is piled ceiling-high in a board crib in the middle of the main hall, and, though partly classified and bound, is at present almost inaccessible. Difficulties of research are increased through lack of a catalogue, either printed or unprinted.⁴

The archive is divided into sections, the basis of division being subjects rather than the offices from which the papers have emanated. The general arrangement of these sections is chronological, with dates on the backs or title-pages of the volumes or on the labels of the *legajos*. This arrangement greatly facilitates investigation but it is frequently violated, and the dates cannot always be relied upon. Many of the volumes—in some cases entire sections—have tables of contents, called *indices*. These, when well made, which is by no means always the case, enable one readily to ascertain the general nature of the contents of a volume.

Seven sections, in particular, of the Archivo General have great importance for the early history of the Southwest. The two most

⁴ Material for the formation of a catalogue is gradually being accumulated by the archive force, but the prospects for a speedy completion of it are not good, unless the force be materially increased. There are, it is true, some special *indices* for official use but they are too general to be of much service for historical investigation.

systematically arranged and at the same time the most generally useful are those containing the royal *cédulas* and orders to the viceroys and the communications of the viceroys to the court of Spain.⁵ These two sections, taken together, form the best single documentary guide to the history of a given province, as well as to the general administrative history of New Spain, for most matters of importance became the subjects of correspondence between the viceroys and the court. The compilation of these series in their present form was begun about 1773 by Peramás, the viceroy's secretary. During his long term the arranging of current documents was kept up, and when, after an interval, Antonio Bonilla became secretary, he went back and arranged apparently all of the materials of these and some other classes that he could find. The documents are filed in chronological order, and the volumes have, besides tables of contents, alphabetical *prontuarios* or brief subject-indexes, which, in general, are very well made.

Of the royal *cédulas* and orders there are two series. The first, of 243 bound volumes, contains the originals or principals of *cédulas* and orders directed to the viceroys. The second, of 176 volumes, is very miscellaneous and fragmentary but it contains, besides extraneous matter, (a) principals of *cédulas* and orders directed to the *audiencia* of Mexico, (b) duplicates of some of those sent to the viceroys and (c) *libros de asiento* or record-books, in which *cédulas* and orders of both classes are copied.

The first series, which is by far the more important from our present viewpoint, covers the period from 1609 to 1821, being fairly complete after 1643. These royal communications deal with every conceivable kind of subject. In the *prontuarios* the headings Californias, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana and Provincias Internas occupy a prominent place, and, taken together with such headings as explorations, colonization, missions, *presidios*, Indians, defense, foreigners and appointments, guide the way to much of the early history of the Southwest.

Besides the *cédulas* and orders that are filed in this regular series, a good many principals are to be found in other places, with papers to which they are directly related. Of duplicates, separate series have been formed for the history of the Provincias Internas for the period between 1750 and 1793, and for the history of the expulsion of the Jesuits. For these excellent and useful compila-

⁵ They are named respectively, Reales Cédulas y Órdenes, and Correspondencia de los Virreyes. These titles are obviously too broad, for besides these there are other royal *cédulas* and orders and other classes of viceroys' correspondence.

tions we have to thank that best of viceroy's secretaries, Antonio Bonilla, or, perhaps, his master with the organizing genius, the Viceroy Revilla Gigedo. The former compilation consists of five large volumes, until recently scattered and forgotten, among the volumes of the second series of royal *cédulas* and orders mentioned, but now reunited.⁶ In them the *índices* cite separately the documents relating to the Provincias Internas as a whole, and likewise those for each of the provinces of New Mexico, Texas, Nuevo Santander, Nuevo León, Nueva Viscaya, Coahuila, Sonora and Sinaloa.⁷ For the period covered, the five volumes are of inestimable value, and their tables of contents are deserving of publication entire, as a partial bibliography.⁸ The compilation of *cédulas* concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits is still scattered. Volumes I. and II. have recently been brought together from different parts of the Archivo General, while III. and IV. are in the Biblioteca Nacional.⁹

The regular file of communications from the viceroys to the court of Spain does not begin, unfortunately, until 1755, in the administration of the Marqués de las Amarillas.¹⁰ From that time to 1821 they fill 244 volumes. They are arranged in three series, which, by the way, have no discoverable distinction.¹¹ These letters and reports of the viceroys, found here in the form of minutes or of copies, according to the care of the secretaries, are even more important than the royal *cédulas* and orders, for they not only present the cisatlantic viewpoint, but, being based upon detailed

⁶ Besides containing this compilation relating to the Provincias Internas, the second series of *cédulas* supplements the first in two other ways. First, the *libros de asiento* contain documents as early as 1585, and second, in this collection there are *cédulas* and orders directed to the *audiencias*. The arrangement of the series is so very bad, however, that to use it would be difficult.

⁷ The title of the series is "Colección de Reales Órdenes y Cédulas Duplicadas sobre Provincias Ynternas".

⁸ In the *índices* reference is made in each case to the series of principals, and, even if a duplicate is lacking, the principal is cited.

⁹ The title of the first volume is "Colección de Reales Ordenes, y Cédulas Sobre Expatriación de los Regulares de la Comp^a. de Jesus, y demas Asuntos Relativas, Dirigidas al Exmo. S^{or}. Virrey Marqués de Croix en los Años de 1767, 68, 69, y 70". The titles of the other volumes vary slightly from this. The series, or at least a part of it, will be listed in the forthcoming catalogue of books on jurisprudence issued by the Biblioteca.

¹⁰ The Secretariat of the Viceroys was, in its origin, only a private office. Its first official corps of three was organized in 1757. This explains, perhaps, why the file of viceroys' correspondence begins no earlier. See Juan de Dios Uribe, "Informe pedido por un apunte", etc., in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, Sección de Archivo General, *caxa* 1823-1827.

¹¹ Each of the three series contains the three main classes of correspondence, namely, that sent *por via reservada*, through the secretary of the Universal Office of Marine and Indies; that sent through the Council of the Indies; and that addressed to the different department secretaries.

reports from provincial governors, missionaries and other local authorities, they are nearer than the royal *cédulas* to the spirit of provincial affairs. For certain periods it was customary to file with the minutes of correspondence the originals or copies of documents that were transmitted to Spain. Would that this had been a constant practice! Of special value on the Southwest are the monthly extracts from the local reports of affairs in the Californias and the Provincias Internas which were more or less regularly sent by the viceroy to the king during the period between 1770 and 1777.¹²

After the establishment in 1777 of the commandancy-general at Chihuahua, practically independent of the viceroy, the latter official's correspondence suddenly lessens in value for the Southwest. From that time forth we shall have to look to Spain or to the remains of the archive of the commandancy-general for some of the most important correspondence relative to the Provincias Internas.

As a companion to the compilation of duplicate royal *cédulas* and orders concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits, Bonilla formed a similar one of the letters of the viceroys to the court of Spain relative to the same subject. This series has strayed to the Biblioteca Nacional.¹³

Scarcely less valuable than the two series just described, but, because of their miscellaneous character, infinitely more difficult to treat satisfactorily in brief space, are the sections called Historia, Provincias Internas, Californias and Misiones. These together comprise about nine hundred volumes, of whose contents perhaps one-half relates to territory that is within the United States.

The nucleus of the history section is the thirty-two volume series of "*Memorias de Nueva España*", compiled in 1791-1792 by Fray Francisco García Figuerola, at the order of the king and under the direction of the viceroy.¹⁴ These volumes are composed

¹² A considerable portion of these *noticias* of Texas, Louisiana and New Mexico are copied in the Talamantes-Pichardo Papers contained in volumes 298 and 299 of Sección de Historia, Archivo General.

¹³ I cannot say that the three volumes preserved there form the complete series; indeed, apparently they do not, although they are numbered consecutively, one, two and three. The main title of the first is "*Libro 1º. de Cartas Escritas al Ex^{mo}. S^{or}. Conde de Aranda*". The titles of the others vary slightly from this.

¹⁴ For a brief statement of the circumstances of their compilation, see the article by Professor Garrison, cited above, page 511, note 2. For a fuller statement, see a report dated July 27, 1853, by the noted Mexican scholar, Manuel Orosco y Berra, in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, Sección de México, *caxa* 1849-1853. The occasion of this report was the offer for sale in New York, by a Spanish editor, of what purported to be the original of volume I. of the "*Memorias*", together with what was called the original manuscript of Morfi's history of Texas. Since volume I. of the "*Memorias*" was

of copies of documents of great general importance—the *monumenta*, so to speak—for the history of New Spain down to the time of their compilation. Since they are relatively well-known, they need no mention here further than to say that of their number four are devoted to New Mexico, two to Upper California, two to Texas and as many more to territory just on the other side of the border and closely associated with the United States frontier. To this nucleus there have been added from time to time about five hundred volumes, mainly of original documents, dealing with various parts of New Spain.¹⁵ The section of Provincias Internas, comprising 264 volumes, is so called because it relates primarily to the northern provinces. A considerable part of the papers contained in it emanated from the division of the Viceroy's Secretariat devoted especially to the administration of these provinces. Technically, the Provincias Internas did not include the Californias, Louisiana or Florida, but there is in the section a good deal of matter relative to the first two. It contains also, for obvious reasons, a great deal of material concerning San Blas and the Philippine Islands. Probably the most distinctive class of material in this section is the correspondence of the viceroy with the commandant-general of the Provincias Internas (or, when the commandancy was divided, with the commandants of the eastern and the western provinces) and with the provincial governors. Such material, however, is not lacking from the other series. The section of Californias contains nearly all kinds of matter for Antigua and Nueva California, some of it dating nearly to the time of the American occupation, besides considerable matter for New Mexico and Texas. The section of Misiones is confined largely to the relations of missions with the central secular authorities, but it covers all New Spain.

For present purposes these four sections may be considered together, for, aside from such differences of emphasis as have been indicated, their contents are similar and overlap in a thousand places. It is in these sections especially that one must look for a large part of the important correspondence of the viceroys with the local then lacking from the set in the Archivo General, the government contemplated purchasing the one advertised, believing that it was the identical volume that had been lost. The missing volume was replaced in 1882 by a copy made in Spain. (See correspondence in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, Sección de Archivo General, under the dates given.) Its loss cannot be charged, in the customary way, to the vandalism of the American army that occupied the city in 1847, for Cubas's report of 1824 notes the absence of the volume. This is not intended, however, as a denial that the American army carried off some documents from the Mexican archives, for there is good evidence that they did so.

¹⁵ There are at present date, December 5, 1907, 530 volumes in the section.

authorities. But, instead of being made up of chronological or otherwise systematic files of correspondence between certain offices, the volumes are, for the most part, collections of *expedientes*, an *expediente* being a group of papers relating to a single subject. In these *expedientes* records of local procedure and correspondence are brought together and joined to the records of related procedure in Mexico or even in Spain. The result is that a single *expediente* may contain all of the documents necessary for tracing the history of a given matter from beginning to end. Such correspondence as could not be fitted into *expedientes* is scattered through the series in a very miscellaneous way, with here and there well unified groups.

Contained in these *expedientes* or existing separately, as the case may be, there are found several general classes of material for the history of the provinces that constituted what is now the Southwest. Some of the most important are the following: (1) diaries of exploring expeditions or other *entradas* into the north country; (2) *autos* of the founding of missions and other settlements; (3) correspondence of the viceroys with the governors, missionaries and other local authorities; (4) correspondence of the viceroys with the commandant-general or, when the jurisdiction of this official was divided, with the commandants of the eastern and western Internal Provinces; (5) *autos* of the *residencias* of governors and of other special investigations into local administration. Besides these and perhaps other classes, there are countless *expedientes* concerning special subjects. These kinds of material are found, in general, for all of the northern provinces except Florida and Louisiana, to the end of the Spanish régime, though it would be impossible, perhaps, to find a complete file of any one class of material for any single province.

In the four sections under consideration are the originals, which will never lose their value, of a large part of the documents copied in the "Memorias de Nueva España", as well of course as of thousands of others. This is not true to any great extent in cases where the documents were copied from the provincial or ecclesiastical archives, for, as has already been said, these collections have not to any considerable degree found their way into the Archivo General.¹⁶ In view of the gigantic work of collecting done by H. H. Bancroft and of the impression abroad that he may have got all there is to be had, it is in point to remark here that it

¹⁶ Notable exceptions to the last assertion are the 1,200 or 1,300 volumes of papers from the Inquisition archives, and the Jesuit records contained in the Misiones section.

appears that he copied little or nothing in the Archivo General, and that therefore he used few or none of the originals which I mention. This is said, not with any thought of disparagement of the great feat of collecting accomplished by Bancroft, but, quite to the contrary, to choose the most pointed way of illustrating the value of the yet unconquered worlds of material in this storehouse.

A large portion of the correspondence of the viceroys with the military chiefs during the Mexican War of Independence (1810-1821) is filed in the extensive section¹⁷ called *Historia: Operaciones de Guerra*, which is the seventh of the sections which have been mentioned as being of primary importance from our present standpoint. In it there are three groups of correspondence that deserve especial mention, even in so general a sketch as this. (1) That of the viceroy with Manuel de Salcedo, governor of Texas, from 1809 to 1813, is highly valuable for the affairs of the Texas-Louisiana frontier, including the first stage of the Gutierrez-Magee expedition.¹⁸ (2) For both the early and the later stages of this episode, as well as for the Mina expedition and other notable doings of the period from 1811 to 1821, there is much of value in the correspondence of Arredondo, commandant of the eastern Internal Provinces.¹⁹ Among the papers in this correspondence is the original report of the bloody battle of the Medina, of August 18, 1813. (3) In the same section is a four-volume series called "*Notas Diplomáticas*", which contains, primarily, diplomatic and consular correspondence concerning the United States for the period between 1809 and 1821. Some of the subjects of interest in it are the later doings of Bernardo de Gutierrez and Toledo, the Mina expedition, Lallemand, Aury, and James Long.²⁰ In volume IV. of this series the chief subjects of correspondence are a rumored plan

¹⁷ It contains 750 or 800 volumes. Technically, it is a part of *Sección de Historia*, but it is not so treated in practice and may be considered as a separate section.

¹⁸ An excellent calendar of these papers, prepared by Mr. E. W. Winkler, is contained in the *Thirty-First Annual Report* of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics and History of the State of Texas, part II., 1906. They were used by Dr. W. F. McCaleb in the preparation of his article on the "First Period of the Gutierrez-Magee Expedition", which appeared in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, IV. 218-230. Dr. McCaleb evidently missed the Arredondo correspondence in the same section, mentioned below.

¹⁹ Volume I. (*Operaciones de Guerra*, 56) contains correspondence for 1811-1816; II. (*O. de G.*, 57) for 1811-1820, but mainly for 1811-1812; III. (*O. de G.*, 58) for 1812-1813; IV. (*O. de G.*, 59) for 1813-1820.

²⁰ I may mention here, somewhat out of order, the bundle of documents in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations which deal with the capture and imprisonment of Long and his men. They are in *Sección de Asuntos Internacionales*, *caxa* 1817-1824. The bundle contains a number of papers taken from Long after his capture.

of Americans to invade New Mexico in 1818-1819, and corresponding plans of the Spanish government to defend that province. Taken together these three groups of documents contain much of value for the restless period of southwestward migration and of filibustering projects directed toward the Southwest between 1810 and 1821. But it must not be inferred that, because other documents on this period have not been specifically mentioned, there are no others. As a matter of fact, a great many are contained in the volumes which I have been able to describe in general terms.

The large section of Tierras probably contains a great deal of matter relative to land grants within the southwestern part of the United States, as well as sources of a wider historical bearing, but the restrictions placed upon its use are such as to have made it thus far impossible for me to consult it. Were its contents known to historical investigators, it is not improbable that this section would take rank in importance with those described above.

Besides these seven (or eight) sections of first importance, there is a larger number that contain either (a) a smaller amount or only occasional matter of direct bearing on the Southwest or (b) data for studying the Spanish provincial administrative system in general.

Of the first class are to be noted the sections or series of Marina, Oficio de Soria, Obras Públicas, Inquisición, Impresos Oficiales, Bandos, Ordenanzas, Real Caxa and Yndiferente de Guerra. Sección de Marina, which comprises two hundred or three hundred volumes, contains, primarily, reports of marine and port officials, including sometimes consuls in foreign countries, especially those in New Orleans, to the viceroys, and after the revolution to the Department of Marine. In them matters of commerce occupy first place. Concerning this subject there are reports of entry and clearance of vessels, ship-registers, port and fair regulations and much matter relative to the conduct of the Philippine trade. Filed with such documents concerning legitimate commerce, there are many reports of contraband or otherwise illegal trade in Mexican ports. In both the legitimate and the illegal trade American vessels figure prominently at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. The volumes of this section which are marked San Blas contain much matter relative to the movement of vessels up and down the Pacific coast. Mixed with these commercial affairs are a good many documents of political and military bearing, several of them touching the eighteenth-century history of Florida. One volume of the series called Oficio de Soria also contains

several reports, like those mentioned above, concerning illegal trade by American vessels (1809-1811). In addition the series contains a few papers that relate to the eighteenth-century history of New Mexico and Texas. The sections of *Impresos Oficiales*, *Ordenanzas*, and *Bandos*, supplement other files by containing many *cédulas*, viceroys' decrees, ordinances and other documents that were of such general bearing as to be given a circular character. In *Obras Públicas* there are occasional *expedientes* of interest to us concerning the construction of public works. For example, in the first volume there is one relative to the erection of the *presidio* and other public buildings at San Francisco in 1778. The 1,200 or 1,300 volumes of papers from the archives of the Inquisition contain a little matter of specific bearing on the Southwest. Probably most of it, except what may relate to California, is listed in the report prepared in 1807 for the Louisiana Boundary Commission by Torrecilla and DeNáxera, secretaries of the Holy Office. This report is in volume 301 of the history section. In the volumes of *Real Caja* devoted to the jurisdiction of Chihuahua are to be found documents dealing with the finances of the provinces comprised in *Provincias Internas*.²¹

Some thirty-five sections or series not technically called sections, forming a large part of the bulk of the archive, while of great value for the history of the interior of Mexico, are of interest from our present viewpoint mainly as illustrating the Spanish provincial administration in general. The names of most of them are given in a foot-note.²² I have not been able to examine every one of these sections volume by volume, and it may be that they contain occasional documents of direct bearing on the United States, but the aggregate amount of such is evidently not large. It must be remembered that the value for the Southwest of documents of such

²¹ It would seem that the sections of *Intendencias*, *Sublegados*, *Ayuntamientos* and *Alcaldes Mayores*, which are composed of the correspondence of the viceroys with or about these administrative agencies, should contain matter of direct bearing on the Southwest, but so far as I have been able to examine them—the volumes are in a large measure inaccessible at present—I have found nothing of this character.

²² The series entitled: *Indios*, *Encomiendas*, *Clero Regular*, *Clero Secular*, *Bienes de Comunidad*, *Temporalidades*, *Templos y Conventos*, *Cofradías y Archicofradías*, *Matrimonios*, *Registro de Fianzas*, *Real Fisco*, *Salinas*, *Minería*, *Informes de Fonseca y Urrutia*, *Real Audiencia*, *Real Acuerdo*, *Civil*, *Intestados* and *Infidencias*, are accessible. The following, which are of similar value, and perhaps others, are in the crib mentioned formerly and are only partly accessible at present: *Judicial*, *Tribunal de la Acordada*, *Arzobispo y Obispos*, *Media Annata*, *Bula de Santa Cruzada*, *Real Armada*, *Artillería*, *Presidarios*, *Comisaría General*, *Casa de Moneda*, *Tesorerías*, *Hacienda*, *Tribunal del Consulado*, *Aduanas*, *Alcabalas*, *Peages*, *Renta de Tabaco* and *Fabrica de Pólvora*.

a character is greatly lessened by the fact that the Spanish administrative system reached the distant and sparsely settled provinces of the north only in a much modified and greatly attenuated form.

Turning now from the Archivo General, the manuscripts in the Museo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional may be designated as special collections, unrelated and fragmentary, that have been acquired as odds and ends in various ways.

The chief materials in the Museo for the history of the Southwest, or, indeed, for any part of the United States, are Franciscan mission papers, of which many are of great value. They are contained primarily in three groups, known as the Lancaster-Jones Collection, the Fischer Collection and the Franciscan Convent Papers. Notable in the first are the four quarto volumes of Franciscan correspondence called "*Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias*". Their contents are mainly original correspondence of missionaries in the field and of various colleges and convents with the central Franciscan authorities. The documents deal largely with Upper California between 1769 and 1800, but touch also New Mexico and Texas. They clearly came from the central Franciscan archives, by what route I cannot say. In the same collection there are two octavo volumes of mission correspondence which have the same title as the quarto series, and whose contents are, to some extent, copies of documents found in the original in that series. In the Fischer Collection there is a volume compiled by Fray Rafael Verger under the title "*Colección y Trasunto de Varios Escritos, Alegatos, Ynformes, Memoriales, y Cartas*". It is a rare set of California mission documents for that most interesting period of beginnings, 1771-1774. The Franciscan Convent Papers contain, besides a large number of administration-books of relatively small value, enough loose papers, mainly correspondence, to form a hundred or more large volumes; but they are so disordered that it would take an expert several months to arrange and describe them properly. They come mainly from the archive of the Franciscan commissary-general of New Spain and from the colleges of San Fernando, San Gregorio and Santo Evangelio. They are much more valuable for the history of missions in Mexico and the Philippines than for those in the United States, but they contain, nevertheless, besides much matter of a general bearing on Franciscan polity, a good deal of specific bearing on the missions of California, New Mexico and Texas.

The recent preparation of a detailed bibliography of materials

in the central public archives of Mexico for the history of Alta California between 1768 and 1785 has demonstrated that these collections in the Museo Nacional, together with some of the sections of the Archivo General, contain an enormous amount of unused material of highest importance for early California history.

Besides these Franciscan documents, the Ramírez Papers deserve mention. These papers, most of which recently came from the library of the late Alfredo Chavero, are documents gathered and autograph essays written by the noted José Fernando Remírez. They deal mainly with ancient Mexico, where his interests were centred, but some of them relate to the United States. Among these is a collection of original "Documentos sobre Gaspar de Villagrà", author of the metrical history of New Mexico, part of them signed in the hand of Oñate; copies of various more or less well-known New Mexico documents; a fragment of a Jesuit *crítica* of the Benavides account of the apparition of the venerable María Jesus de Ágreda; and a forty-three page study of the Comanche nation by Ramírez himself.²³

All of these Museo papers are kept in the library, which is open to the public from 9:30 to 12:30 in the morning and from 3:30 to 6:30 in the afternoon.

The manuscript materials in the Biblioteca Nacional are not many in the aggregate, yet there are a few nuggets about which investigators of special topics would wish to know. Some of these are fragments of series contained in the Archivo General y Público. I have already mentioned part of one and all of another Bonilla compilation relative to the expulsion of the Jesuits. A larger collection is that of about forty bound volumes of documents accumulated as an incident to the administration of *real hacienda* during the eighteenth century. They consist of royal *cédulas*, viceroys' decrees, official reports and *expedientes* concerning the various branches of the royal revenue. In them is to be found a large amount of information concerning the Spanish economic and administrative systems. Many rare pamphlets and some manuscripts are gathered into the various series of "Documentos para la Historia de México" listed in the history division of the library's catalogue. Single manuscript volumes or documents deserving of

²³ Of more interest than importance in this connection are the sixty-odd volumes of original records from the archive of the Inquisition. These are said by Señor Don Luiz González Obregón, who has made a thorough study of them, to be the cream of a much larger collection to which the 1,200 or 1,300 volumes in the Archivo General y Público belong. They seem, however, to contain nothing relating specifically to the United States.

mention are: (1) a copy of Mange's "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", containing at the end Kino's "Relacion Diaria" of his *entrada* into Pimeria in 1698 (dated at N. S. de Dolores, December 8, 1698); (2) a copy of Nicolas de la Fora's "Relacion" of his expedition to New Mexico in 1766 in company with the Marqués de Rubí for the purpose of inspecting the northern establishments—an expedition that led to a complete revision of the northern military and missionary frontier; (3) still another Bonilla compilation contained in the Biblioteca is the volume called "Reconocimiento De los quatro establecimientos que el Ymperio Ruso ha formado al Norte de la California". It contains many of the important original documents concerning the Martínez exploration of 1788, including diaries and maps.

Besides the manuscripts listed in the history division of the library's catalogue, others will appear in the forthcoming division of jurisprudence. With few exceptions the manuscripts are kept in the office of the director, and may be examined only with his permission. His office is usually open from 12 m. to 2 p. m. and from 4 to 8 p. m.

As has already been stated, the archives of the active secretariats contain, primarily, materials that bear dates subsequent to the revolution. Nevertheless, occasional groups of earlier documents are to be found in them. I have already referred, in a note,²⁴ to the papers in the Secretariat of Foreign Relations relative to the imprisonment of General James Long. Two other groups in the same archive may be mentioned. One of these consists of part of the papers taken by the Spanish authorities from Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike. The correspondence that accompanies them shows that these papers lay in Chihuahua for twenty years after Pike was relieved of them there in 1807, and that they were then hunted up and sent to the City of Mexico for the use of the Texas-Louisiana Boundary Commission. The list made when they were confiscated shows twenty-one numbered documents. The first eighteen and the last of these are now preserved in the archive named, to which the whole collection was returned by the Boundary Commission in 1828. It is to be deplored that the two missing documents are, perhaps, those of greatest interest—Pike's principal diary and a book containing personal observations and memoranda of his correspondence.²⁵ The other group to which I alluded con-

²⁴ See page 518, note 20.

²⁵ These papers are in *caxa* 1817-1824, Sección de Asuntos Internacionales, in a *carpeta* labelled "Sobre busca y entrega á la Comision de limites de los docu-

sists of a part of the Pichardo Papers. In 1807 Father José Pichardo was appointed by the viceroy to succeed Talamantes, who before his untimely death had worked two years as commissioner to report, through historical investigation, on the true Texas-Louisiana boundary. After five years of additional labor, Pichardo submitted to the viceroy, in February, 1812, a ponderous study of nearly all phases of the history of Texas and of many phases of that of New Mexico and Louisiana. This work has frequently been referred to in Mexican manuscript records and has for some time been sought, by myself, at least, but I doubt if it has been used since Terán returned it in 1828. The report, which is of true Spanish length, filling more than four thousand quarto pages,²⁶ is in the same section as the Pike Papers, together with part of Pichardo's documents. Many other Talamantes-Pichardo documents are in the Archivo General y Público.²⁷ Over a year ago I found in the cartography department of the Secretariat of Fomento the original map made by Pichardo in 1811 to accompany his report, together with the rare original of the La Fora map, made about 1767.²⁸

One of the puzzles that I have not been able to solve is the whereabouts of the many other old maps of different parts of the Southwest that are mentioned in the sources and whose accompanying documents are available. Of course, the originals or copies of many of them were sent to Spain, but it is inconceivable that copies, at least, should not have been kept in Mexico. In fact, in a good many instances we have proof that copies or the originals were kept but where the larger part of them now are is a mystery. A considerable number, it is true, are here and there in the Archivo General and the Biblioteca Nacional. A much larger number are in *carpetas* 2, 3, 11 and 12 of the department of cartography of the Secretariat of Fomento, among them being the Pichardo and La Fora maps already mentioned. But these four boxes contain only the merest fraction of what should be in existence.

mentos q. se tomaron al viagero Paiké". Such of them as are historically important and have not been printed heretofore will be published in the next number of this journal.

²⁶ The copy of the report and the accompanying documents which in 1842 were in the hydrographic department of the Secretaría de Gobierno of Spain, filled fifteen volumes. See correspondence of the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations with the Minister to Spain, in the same archive, Sección de México, *caxa* 1842-1844.

²⁷ See Bolton, in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, VII. 210-212.

²⁸ My attention was first called to the collection of old maps in this department by Mr. William Beer of the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans.

Having spent on the early period nearly all of the space allotted to me and not having completed my investigations, I can only suggest here what there is for later times, a period of greater interest to most of us, perhaps, than the other. Some groups of papers of recent date bearing on the Southwest are contained in the Archivo General and the Biblioteca Nacional, but they cannot be mentioned in the brief *résumé* which follows.²⁹ In my work I have not proceeded very far with the examination of the department archives, which, as I said, contain most of the records accumulated since 1821; but even now I can pronounce three of them rich in materials for the history of the relations between the United States and Mexico since that date. These three are the secretariats of Foreign Relations, War, and Fomento, or Public Improvements.

The names of these departments indicate their special functions and the general classes of materials which we might expect to find in their archives. In general, the materials of these archives are contained in *legajos* or boxes, which are classified into sections on the basis of subjects treated. So far as I have examined, the most important section of the archive of the Secretariat of War is that of Military Operations. This contains, primarily, correspondence of the Secretary of War with the officers in the field and with other departments of government directly concerned in active operations, principally those of Hacienda and Foreign Relations. In the Secretariat of Foreign Relations there is extensive diplomatic and consular correspondence concerning nearly all exterior political relations; while, so far as I am able to report at present, the most important materials in the Secretariat of Fomento are the old maps and other documents, including old maps, concerning the Anglo-American colonization of the Southwest and industrial concessions to Americans in more recent times. Since two or all of these departments, in many cases, contain documents relating to the same subject, I shall not treat separately each archive, but shall only mention some of the principal topics for which they collectively contain material.

Concerning Anglo-American colonization before the Mexican War there are in the secretariats of Fomento and Foreign Relations hundreds of applications for lands in Texas and other parts of the Southwest; schemes proposed by Mexicans and foreigners to offset Anglo-American aggrandizement by planting in the Southwest

²⁹ It may be noted that all of the records of the general archive of the Secretariat of Justice down to 1886 have recently been sent to the Archivo General.

colonies of Europeans; maps of lands asked for; and records of concessions granted or refused. The mass of documents concerning Anglo-American colonization in Texas alone after 1821, would probably fill fifteen or twenty large volumes. Of greatest single interest among them, perhaps, are the many papers relating to the efforts of Moses and Stephen F. Austin, although the material seems to be relatively full for other leading *empresarios*. One of the colonization projects of considerable antiquarian interest, at least, is that proposed to the Mexican government in 1826 by Robert Owen. His memorial, present in his own handwriting, asks for a concession of all Texas, with guaranteed independence and protection, as a place in which to test on a large scale his favorite plan, which he outlines, of regenerating humanity.

Parallel with the plans for Anglo-American colonies are the fears of Anglo-American aggression, then of revolution in Texas. Giving expression to these fears there are in the secretariats of Foreign Relations and War bewildering quantities of correspondence with local authorities and diplomatic agents. In this connection may be noted the bundle of papers in the Secretariat of War which give the details of the arrest and imprisonment of Stephen F. Austin. For California and New Mexico there are many documents, dated between 1830 and 1840, concerning political disturbances caused, according to the reports, by Americans and factious Spaniards, as well as reports regarding the movements of the Russians. The Oregon migration also calls for the use of much ink and paper.

What appear to be very complete files of correspondence between the Secretary of War and the frontier military authorities from 1830 to 1845 fill about thirty-five *legajos* of some 1,200 pages each. In them are the original reports, not only of the general movements of Americans and Mexicans during this momentous period, but also Mexican reports of the principal military engagements of the Texas War. Notable among the latter, of course, are those of the recapture of San Antonio by the Mexicans, the fall of the Alamo and the defeat of Santa Anna at San Jacinto. I had the unique experience of breaking the seals, in the presence and with the permission of the *archivero*, of packages containing some fifteen personal letters and official orders addressed to Santa Anna about the time of his capture but never delivered because of that event. It is interesting to note, as a reflection of the Mexican view of events, that from 1830 on to 1835 the Texas bundles are marked "The Revolution in Texas", as though the revolution were

already a fact at the earlier date, while those from 1835 to 1845 are marked "The Texas Campaign", as though the war had continued for a decade, instead of ending at San Jacinto, the usual American view. The views expressed by the labels seem to prevail in the documents.

The secretariats of War and Foreign Relations combined, contain voluminous reports of the raids and counter-raids across the borders between the time of the Texas Revolution and that of the Mexican War. For the Texas-Santa Fé expedition, for example, there are not only rumors and reports of the approaching expedition and accounts of the capture and imprisonment of the Americans, but also many papers taken from the captives, as well as autograph letters subsequently written by them to the United States minister to Mexico, in which they quite uniformly explain their misunderstanding of the enterprise. For the only less famous Mier expedition there is the same wealth of material, touching, it would seem, every important phase, not excepting the romantic break for liberty and the tragic decimation of the unfortunates. Concerning the Mexican War of 1846-1848 there are some fifty large *legajos* in the one section named of the archives of the Secretariat of War and perhaps nearly as much material in the Secretariat of Foreign Relations.

In the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations there are extensive files of correspondence relative to the connection of the United States government with all phases of Southwestern affairs after 1821; files of treaties and records of their negotiation; reports of the various boundary commissions; diplomatic correspondence with the Confederacy; and endless records of claims that grew out of Southwestern border troubles extending over the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

The above brief summary of the results of an incompletd task will give, I hope, some idea of the extent and importance of the materials of the kind in question contained in the central public archives of Mexico. To those who are conversant with the bibliography of Southwestern history it is needless to say that the sources described, particularly those for the nineteenth century, have been all but unused. Indeed, I should shrink from presenting a view of these later materials so very general that it contains little but the obvious, were it not for the fact that students seem to have ignored the obvious regarding these recent materials in the Mexican archives.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

DOCUMENTS

*Narrative and Letter of William Henry Trescot, concerning the
Negotiations between South Carolina and President
Buchanan in December, 1860.*

WILLIAM HENRY TRESNOT was born in Charleston, South Carolina, November 22, 1822, and when he was thirty years old was appointed Secretary of Legation at London, serving for two years, when he returned to Charleston and entered upon the practice of law. He also wrote on diplomatic and international subjects on which he soon became recognized as an authority.

In 1852 appeared his book, *The Diplomacy of the Revolution; an Historical Study* (New York), and in 1857 *The Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams* (Boston). He had planned the writing of a complete diplomatic history of the United States, dividing it into four parts—the period of the Revolution, from Washington to Jefferson, from Jefferson to Monroe's declaration, and from Monroe to his own time. The enduring value of the only two volumes he completed must cause regret that circumstances drew him away from carrying out his project.

His volume of the *Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams* was still fresh from the press when President Buchanan invited him to occupy the congenial and dignified office of Assistant Secretary of State.

The President regarded the place as one of great importance, for he was aware that Lewis Cass, whom he appointed to be Secretary of State, was indisposed to responsibility and not possessed of the peculiar talents necessary to make a shining success in the office he called him to fill.¹ But Cass had a large following and brought support to the Administration; and Trescot's appointment also meant more than merely bringing his individual talents into the service of the government, for he represented in a notable degree the ruling class of South Carolina and South Carolina represented and led the advanced school of slavery and states'-rights sentiment in the South. Himself of one of the old patrician families of the state, his marriage to Miss Eliza Natalie Cuthbert had widened

¹ See Curtis's *Buchanan*, II. 399.

and confirmed his family influence, and family influence counted for much in this unique commonwealth. He had a house in Charleston where his law office was, a farm in the up-country at Pendleton and an island on the coast which had come down to his wife by royal grant of George III.

It cannot be truthfully said that the service which he found himself performing soon after he became Assistant Secretary of State came wholly as a surprise to him, for in the dedication of his *Diplomatic History* written in 1857 he had spoken gloomily of the "miserable dissension" then distracting the country, and his knowledge of the sentiment of the people of his state must have prepared him for what happened. How he became the unaccredited envoy of South Carolina near the government of the United States conducting negotiations upon the adjustment of which seemed to hang the fate of the nation and of his state is explained in the narrative which follows and which in its original form has never before seen the light of day. It was written in February, 1861, immediately after Mr. Trescot returned to South Carolina to cast in his fortunes with his native state. Ten years later (in 1871) using this account as the basis he wrote a second narrative, which some years afterwards he lent to General Samuel Wylie Crawford under stipulation and restrictions as to its use which the borrower failed to observe, and a part of it was printed in General Crawford's book *The Genesis of the Civil War: the Story of Sumter* (New York, 1887). The original narrative has never been heretofore printed.

During the Civil War Mr. Trescot served in the legislature, as a member of the executive council of South Carolina and as a colonel on the staff of General Roswell S. Ripley, C. S. A.; but in his chosen field, where he was a master and where his talents would have been of greatest avail to the Confederate government, he was given no opportunity to perform any service, being prevented by the same cause which obscured so much of the best talent of the South when it was most needed. In common with many other Southerners he was not in sympathy with Jefferson Davis and held him in slight esteem, and Davis made no effort to make use of him in his administration.

The war having closed Mr. Trescot came to Washington, which he made his chief place of residence until a few years before his death, when he retired to Pendleton where he died May 4, 1898. During the years of his residence in Washington he performed much service for the government, all of the highest order, and occasionally con-

tributed able and suggestive articles to the magazines. The complete list of the public offices he held follows, with dates of appointment: secretary of legation at London, December 30, 1852; assistant secretary of state, June 11, 1860; commissioner to China to negotiate treaty, April 9, 1880 (he signed the treaty); special envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Chile, November 28, 1881; commissioner to negotiate commercial treaty with Mexico, August 7, 1882 (he signed the treaty); delegate to Pan-American Conference, April 2, 1889; counsel for the United States before the Halifax Fishery Commission in 1877.

The following is a partial list of his writings. Books: *The Diplomacy of the Revolution; an Historical Study* (New York, 1852); *The Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams, 1789-1801* (Boston, 1857). Pamphlets: *A Few Thoughts on the Foreign Policy of the United States* (Charleston, 1849); ² *Oration delivered before the Beaufort Volunteer Artillery on July 4, 1850* (Charleston, 1850); ² *The Position and Course of the South* (Charleston, 1850); ² *A Letter to Honorable A. P. Butler, U. S. Senate, on the Diplomatic System of the United States* (Charleston, 1853); ³ *An American View of the Eastern Question* (Charleston, 1854); ³ *Oration delivered before the South Carolina Historical Society* (printed in the *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, 1889, vol. III.); *The Late General Stephen Elliott: Eulogy delivered in the House of Representatives of South Carolina, Friday, September 7, 1866* (London, 1867); ² *Three Letters for James L. Orr, Governor of South Carolina, to the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury in reference to the Sea Islands* (Washington, Gibson Brothers, 1868); *Memorial of the Life of J. Johnston Pettigrew, Brigadier General, C. S. A.* (Charleston, 1870); ² *Letter Reviewing the Bayard-Chamberlain Fishery Treaty* (Washington, 1888); ³ *Oration before the Alumni of the College of Charleston* (Charleston, 1889).

GAILLARD HUNT.

[Although that version of his narrative which Mr. Trescot wrote in February, 1861, is for obvious reasons preferred, as more nearly contemporaneous, to that which he prepared in 1870, certain portions of the latter which are not represented by parallel passages in the former, and not printed in General Crawford's book, have been inserted below in square brackets. For the contribution which follows, we are indebted to Edward A. Trescot, Esq., the writer's son. ED.]

² A copy is in the Library of Congress.

³ A copy is in the Department of State.

[*Introduction to the second version, dated August, 1870:*—These pages make no pretension to be either literature or history. They are simply a record of the impression made upon me by events which have been the subject of much controversy and the truth about which is of essential importance to the future history of the Country.

I do not even claim that my impressions are correct. All I can claim is that they are the honest impressions made by facts truthfully stated. There may be other facts, unknown to me, equally true, and very different impressions may have been made by them on men equally honest.

But it is only by a rigid and impartial scrutiny of all the testimony that the future historian can reach the positive truth. This is only a contribution to the materials of that future history.

These pages were written in February 1861, immediately upon my return from Washington, now nearly ten years ago.]

About the beginning of June 1860, I reached Washington and was confirmed by the Senate as Assistant Secretary of State in the place of the Hon John Appleton appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. I did not know then and have not learned since to what influence the appointment was due. It was made without consultation with my friends and without previous intimation to me. At the time I was entirely withdrawn from public life and indeed with the exception of a very short Diplomatic service as Secretary of Legation at London while the Hon J. R. Ingersoll was Minister and Mr Everett, Sec of State, I had never been in public life at all, had never taken any active part in public affairs either in the State or in the Union. Gen Cass, who was Secretary of State was pleased to say that the appointment was made entirely for its fitness evidenced by certain publications upon the subject of our Diplomatic History to which it is unnecessary further to refer. Upon my arrival in Washington I saw Mr Buchanan and Gen Cass for the first time and with the exception of the Senators and some of the Members from South Carolina I had no personal acquaintance with any of the public characters of the day. I ought perhaps to except Mr Slidell the Senator from Louisiana whom I knew slightly.

Soon after my arrival Congress adjourned and just before the adjournment Gen Cass left on leave of absence to spend his summer at Detroit and I was appointed by the President's warrant and in conformity with the Act of 1797 Acting Secretary of State.

Placed thus at the head of the State Department my relations with the President, the Cabinet and the Foreign Ministers were naturally and necessarily freer and more intimate than they would have been under ordinary circumstances, with the President especially as he took a special interest in that Department and watched its proceedings minutely and carefully. His Diplomatic experience was large and his views very cautious as well as very clear. I shall always consider my official intercourse with him a great advantage and whatever may have happened since shall always remember with kindness his uniform courtesy and

confidence and the many pleasant incidents of that summers association. Of him and his cabinet I shall record my impressions hereafter. At present my object is simply to preserve while they are fresh in my memory a narrative of the events connected with the visit of the Commissioners from South Carolina.

By the time the autumn arrived a common interest in the political questions of the day and frequent association had brought me into rather intimate relations with the Southern Members of the Cabinet, Cobb, Floyd and Thomson. At length the decisive day came and Lincolns election presented a practical issue to the South. The attitude of South Carolina gave additional importance to my position for I was the only South Carolinian connected with the administration with anything like official rank and the only one who held anything like confidential relations with the leaders of public opinion in the State and as Congress was not in session it was very natural that upon the question of the relations of the Government to the State I should be very freely consulted.

It is unnecessary now to go through the various conversations especially with Mr Cobb and Gov: Floyd which accompanied the progress of events. It is sufficient to say that from the election of Lincoln and indeed from the time that his election was probable, Mr Cobb expressed but one opinion, that it was the duty of the South in defence both of honour and interest to dissolve the Union. He thought that every State should secede by itself and that secession should be practically accomplished on the 4th of March upon the close of Mr Buchanans administration. This he thought most likely to unite the South and only due to Mr Buchanans consistent support of Southern rights.

Gov: Floyd thought secession unwise and dissolution unnecessary. He believed the Black republican triumph only temporary and that their success would be their destruction. As a matter of policy therefore he wished to fight in the Union but recognised the right of a State to secede if she thought it necessary and fully sympathised with the South in the opinion that as far as the North was concerned enough had been done to justify any action the South might take.

Mr Thomsons general views I never did understand clearly. As far as I could learn, he would go with the South but did not seem to think that the South would act or would be forced to act.

The President and Gov: Toucey the Sec of the Navy seemed to me to agree most perfectly. They thought with Gov Floyd that the republican victory was only illusory—that the party could not survive success and that great and universal re-action had commenced at the North. They did not believe that the South was in earnest and thought that secession was probable only in the case of S. C. but they neither recognised the right of a State to secede.

Gen Cass stood I think by himself. From the beginning he believed Lincolns election certain and the dissolution of the Union inevitable.

Not recognising any right in a State to secede except as a revolutionary right, he would have resisted the right at the commencement and as the sworn officer of the U. S. have done his utmost to preserve its integrity. That he believed to be his duty and he would have done it altho he believed he would not succeed in his attempt for a long and bloody civil war, he has over and over again said to me, was the sure and necessary result of the existing condition of things.

Judge Black, the Atty Gen, agreed more nearly with Gen Cass than with anybody else but the Judge never at least before I left Washington seemed to get beyond the legal bearings of the question. It was not with him a question of State but a legal question submitted to the Atty Gen for his opinion.

Of Mr Holt's opinion I had no personal knowledge—what it was has been made very evident of late.

The first time that I was called on to do more than exchange opinions was just after the Legislature of the State had determined to call the Convention but before the election of Members of that body. Just as I was sitting down to dinner one day I received a telegraph from Charleston saying that intense excitement prevailed in the city on account of the removal by Col. Gardner then in command at Fort Moultrie of some arms or ammunition from the U. S. Arsenal in the City, that if the removal was by orders from the Dep of War, it ought to be revoked, otherwise collision was inevitable. Knowing that the Cabinet were then in session I went over immediately to the White House and met the members as the Council broke up, coming down. I called Gov: Floyd aside and he was joined I think by Cobb and Toucey to whom I shewed the Despatch. Gov: Floyd replied "Telegraph back at once, say you have seen me, that no such orders have been issued and none such will be issued under any circumstances". This I did immediately. When a day or two after I received letters giving me a more detailed account of the whole transaction I again saw Gov Floyd who communicated to me in a very full conversation the information he had received and his impressions and his final determination to remove Col. Gardiner and supply his place with Major Robert Anderson in whose discretion coolness and judgment he put great confidence.⁴ He also determined to send Col. Ben Huger to take charge of the Arsenal, believing that his high reputation, and his close association with many of the most influential people in Charleston and the fact of his being a Carolinian would satis[f]y the people of the intentions of the Government. He said that with his opinions he never could and never would consent to the coercion of a Sovereign State—that while he did not think the action of S. C. wise, he sympathised deeply with her spirit—that considering the re-inforcement of the garrisons in Charleston Harbour as looking very like coercion and at any rate only calculated to excite and irritate the popular feeling he would not consent to it. But that he would not submit to

⁴ See *Official Records of the War*, I. 69-73.

any attempt on the part of the people to take the forts—that he was bound to resist and would resist. What would be the consequence of the secession of the State was a grave question which had not yet arisen but that at present he was resolved upon two things—not to reinforce the forts and not to allow them to be taken by an unlawful force. In these positions I agreed with him and both he and I agreed further in believing that there was no danger of an attack on the forts by an unlawful mob and that the State would take action she might deem necessary regularly and with due notice to the Government at Washington. The position of Gov Floyd I explained fully by letters to those at home who could in my opinion best use the knowledge for the purpose of quieting the alarm and apprehension of the citizens of Charleston.

The apprehension of the people of Charleston however was not easily quieted and Gen Cass and Judge Black were anxious to send reinforcements to the Forts. The subject was one of constant discussion. Gov: Floyd was earnest in his determination and resolved not to re-inforce but he thought that when such were his opinions he ought to be trusted, that if in the ordinary routine of the business of his Dep, he sent a few men to Fort Sumt[e]r or a few boxes of ammunition to Fort Moultrie, they ought not to be objects of suspicion. They would never be used and he argued with great force—"You tell me that if any attempt is made to do what under ordinary circumstances is done every day, you will be unable to restrain your people—suppose you are not able to restrain them now, am I bound to leave those garrisons unprotected to the mercy of a mob—am I not bound to enable *them* to resist the unlawful violence which *you* cannot resist?"

While I felt the force of this reasoning I knew also that in the then condition of feeling in Charleston, anything that could be even misunderstood or misrepresented as reinforcement would lead to an explosion which would injure the whole Southern cause. I therefore saw Gov Cobb, explained to him what I understood to be Gov Floyds position. I told him that while I admitted its strength things were in that condition that he could not act from it—that I had the most perfect confidence in him and had pledged myself that our people could trust him perfectly but that any nice difference between what was re-inforcement for the purpose of re-inforcement and what was only ordinary routine would not be understood at such a time—and that unless the Sec of War could make up his mind to allow no change in the Forts important or not, I could not answer for the consequences and after what I had written home would feel bound to resign and tell the authorities there to judge for themselves. I believed such a step would lead to the occupation of Fort Sumter in forty eight hours. And I told him that I was on my way to Gov Floyd to announce to him my conclusion. He proposed that I should postpone my visit until after a conference which he was to have that morning with Gov Floyd and Mr Thomson. I did so. That night Gov Floyd called at my house and had a long and very free

conversation in which he expressed his former convictions, his feeling that the South ought to accept his action without suspicion as his opinions were well known and fixed and had been acted on consistently long before this crisis had come, but that if I thought that collision between the people of the State and the Government forces would be precipitated he would not consent that a man nor a gun should be sent to any of the Forts in the harbour of Charleston and if his sense of duty induced any change in his determination, I would be informed by him in advance of any action and in ample time to pursue such a course as I deemed proper. Things continued upon this footing while the cabinet was engaged in the discussion of the President's annual message, but those members of the Cabinet who desired that re-inforcements should be sent pressed their policy and a few evenings after the last conversation with Gov Floyd, he called upon me evidently much excited. He said that just after dinner the President had sent for him, that when he reached him (at his room in the State Dep: which he occupied while preparing his message) he found Gen Cass and Judge Black there who retired immediately upon his entrance. The President then informed him that he had determined to re-inforce the garrisons in Charleston harbour upon which a very animated discussion arose which had finally ended by the Presidents suspending his decision until Gen Scott reached Washington and the Gen. had been immediately telegraphed to come on to Washington. Gov: Floyd thought that he could satisfy Scott of the impolicy of such a step. He asked me to accompany him to Mr Cobb. Mr Cobb had been quite sick for a day or two and when we reached his house we found that the Dr had given orders that he should not be disturbed. We then started for Mr Thomson's but met him a very few steps off on his way to Mr Cobbs and we all returned to Gov: Floyds where we had a very long discussion of the whole question. Gov: Floyd declared that his mind was made up, that he would cut off his right hand before he would sign an order to send re-inforcements to the Carolina forts and if the President insisted he would resign. Mr Thomson said he agreed with him perfectly and would sustain his course and follow him.

The practical question was by what means the President could be induced to change his purpose. I suggested three.

1. I was not a Cabinet Minister but as Acting Sec of State during a great part of the summer had been in confidential relations with the President. I was the only S. C. in Washington who occupied any position that brought me into official relation with the President directly—he had conversed with me more than once on this subject with freedom and my relations to the public men at home enabled me to speak authoritatively of and to them. I proposed that I should go to the President, state to him that the Sec of War had communicated to me his intentions, disabuse his mind of any unfounded apprehensions as to the action of the State and submit to him the reasons against such a policy as he

thought of adopting. Should I make no impression I would then say that under the circumstances it was my duty however painful to submit my resignation then and there and leave for Columbia the next morning to submit all the facts to the Executive of S. C. I would be in Columbia in 36 hours and upon such information there could be no earthly doubt that the Forts would be occupied in the following 24. Such a resolution respectfully but firmly stated would I thought make the President hesitate. Indeed he could not have acted for he would have been forced to remove Gov: Floyd and the time occupied in the changes and in the execution of the orders would be more than enough to give the State the necessary opportunity. This for reasons unnecessary now to state but which were conclusive, was rejected.

2. To telegraph Mr Miles the M.C. from Charleston to come on immediately in hopes that his representation of the public feeling in Charleston very much exaggerated by the telegraph and letter writers, would relieve the President. This was also rejected.

3. The third which was adopted was that I should write to the Governor of the State (Gist) tell him that the President was under very strong apprehensions that the people would sieze the Forts—that in consequence he felt bound to send re-inforcements. That the Southern Members of the Cabinet would resist this policy to resignation but that they thought that if he felt authorized to write a letter assuring the President that if no reinforcements were sent, there would be no attempt upon the Forts before the meeting of the Convention and that then Commissioners would be sent to negotiate all the points of difference, that their hands would be strengthened, the responsibility of provoking collision would be taken from the State and the President would probably be relieved from the necessity of pursuing this policy. They added that if such a letter was written and failed he should have information in ample time to take such steps as the interest of the State required.

I wrote such a letter and in a few days received the following answer—(see Letter)⁵ which I communicated to Govs Floyd Cobb and Mr Thomson.

While these consultations and conversations were occurring, the President had prepared his Message and in view of its tenor and the probable action of my State, I deemed it proper to say to the President that I had informed Gen Cass I felt it my duty to resign and I would be glad if he would make his selection for my successor as it would probably not be convenient to him for me to leave the office without any one in charge. My interview with the President was a very kind one and at that time Mr Ledyard it was understood would be appointed. He was the son-in-law of Gen Cass, had been his Sec. Legation in France and was in every way very well qualified for the Post. I heard

⁵ Trescot's letter of November 26, 1860, and Governor Gist's reply of November 29, and other letter of the same date, will be found in Crawford, *Genesis of the Civil War*, pp. 30-32.

afterwards that great objection was entertained in some quarters against his appointment on account of his supposed preference for Mr Douglass or a sympathy with the Black republicans. Of this I know nothing. My intercourse with him was always pleasant. We differed widely but respected each others differences and never discussed party politics. A day or two after the receipt of Gov. Gist's letter on the Saturday preceeding the Monday on which Congress assembled, Gov Cobb informed me that the President was desirous that I should take a special copy of his message in advance of its publication to Gov: Gist. That I had been conversant with the discussions relating to it, understood the Presidents views and could while in Columbia explain what was misunderstood there and bring back correct and authoritative account of the state of opinion in S. C. and thus serve to prepare the way for a temperate solution of the issues which must soon arise. The secession of the State was considered certain but it was desirable that an issue of force or a rude collision should if possible be avoided. I saw the President immediately and expressed my willingness to go if he deemed it advisable and he then requested me to withhold my resignation until my return and appointed the hour of nine the next night to give me such instructions as he thought necessary.

On Sunday night⁶ about nine o'clock the President sent for me. While the President was preparing his Annual Message for Congress it was his custom to spend the morning in a room at the State Dep. specially set apart for him and on several occasions he had sent for me in reference to Treaties and other papers relating to the Foreign Affairs of the year. On several of these occasions the conversation had turned upon the present condition of public affairs. As events developed the President became very anxious and would always enquire for the news from Carolina. He had come to the conclusion that the State would secede and the two issues that seemed most to render him uneasy were the collection of the revenues and the seizure of the Forts. I assured him that I did not think he had much to apprehend in the way of unlawful force, that the people of So. Ca. not only held the right of Secession but that they took special pride in carrying out that right quietly, regularly, peaceably as a *right* not as a revolutionary measure—that I really believed it would mortify them to be compelled to resort to force. That they would pass the Ordonnance of Secession and then send regularly accredited agents to negotiate with the governments. "But" said he "you know I cannot recognize them, all I can do is to refer them to Congress". I told him that I believed such a reference courteously made and in good faith would be accepted and that the State would wait a reasonable time for the decision of Congress—this he seemed to think would be sufficient if the Secession was inevitable but still he was very cautious and his great hope seemed to be by temporizing to avoid an issue before the 4th March.

⁶ December 2.

On Sunday night when I saw him, he went over the old ground, said that he thought his message ought to be acceptable to the South that he had spoken the truth boldly and clearly and that all that he had declared was that with regard to the laws of the U. S and the property he would discharge the obligations of his official oath.

I told him that I would take the message with pleasure because it was a courtesy to the Executive of the State and because I thought that waiving the opinions as to the right of Secession it was as conciliatory as it was possible for him to make it from his position and indeed more so than I had expected. But that I must say in candour that it would have no effect upon the action of the Convention, that my recent letters satisfied me that the State would not only secede but that it would secede immediately—that delay until the 4th March was impossible but that having said that much I was perfectly willing to take the message as he desired and I felt confident that he might rely upon my assurance that there would be no violence used towards the Forts by any unlawful assemblage or mob, and that I had in my pocket a letter from the Governor of the State which I would read to him if he desired and the tenour of which I then communicated to him. He then asked me if I had seen Gen Cass. I said not that day but that I had talked over the whole subject with him again and again and we always ended where we began. He said however that I must see him when I left the White House—he wished it particularly and say to him all that I had just said to him. I went to the Generals and did repeat my conversation with the President and left Washington for Columbia on Monday morning.⁷

[Governor Gist received the message in the spirit in which it was sent but he said at once, what indeed was evident from even two or three days association with the members of the Legislature, that the State was determined on immediate secession, that no scheme of policy however plausible could induce delay until the 4th March either in deference to Mr Buchanans position or with a view to the co-operation of other states. At the same time it was evident that the leaders of public opinion did not desire an issue of force and would proceed temperately but resolutely in their work. It was also clear that to avoid such an issue, the Federal Government, however it temporized, would have to concede the principle upon which the State stood. There was also a strong resolution to prevent if possible any popular demonstration of force either in violation of the laws or in the seizure of the property of the United States.]

I reached Washington on Sunday⁸ on my return and saw the President for a few moments that evening and made an appointment for Monday.

On Monday when I called, the Carolina Delegation were with him.

⁷ December 3.

⁸ December 9.

I did not interrupt them but when they had gone I saw him. He shewed me a paper signed by all of them I think but Col Ashmore—the paper which has been published in the correspondence between the President and the Commissioners.⁹ He appeared to be much gratified by it and much relieved and said that he had asked them to see me and he would then have a talk with me. I told him that I had not seen them but that paper did not go any farther if as far as the Governors letter which I had communicated to him. “What letter” said he “I do not recollect it and when?” “The evening on which you gave me your message to take to Columbia.” He said he did not remember it, “have you got it?” I said it was at my house and I could get it in five minutes and added that as the Sec of the Interior had just come in I would leave them to their business while I went for it. I brought it back and read it to the President in Mr Thomson’s presence. We then discussed it and the whole subject and I told the President that my impression from my visit confirmed exactly what I had said to him before I went. “Well”, said he, “that is all very well up to the point where the negotiation stops—for Congress may refuse to entertain it—what then?” “Then Sir”, said I, “I will speak with the most perfect candour, then the State will take the Forts—what else can she do if she is in earnest? But I hope the negotiation will not fail. And”, I added, “Mr President, why keep troops in the Forts at all?—If I understand your message rightly you consider them simply as property just as you do the Post Office and the Sub Treasury building—You dont propose to guard them do you?” He said “No”. “Then”, said I, “why not treat the Forts precisely in the same manner—keep an orderly sergeant and one or two men there only?” He said he had great faith in the honour of the State and that the Governors letter and the Memorandum of the M.C’s was a guarantee he believed that nothing violent would be done. That he would receive the Commissioners kindly and refer the whole matter to Congress and so on travelling round in the same circle—and I took my leave.

Soon after my return to Washington I received late one night a telegraph from Charleston informing me that some muskets had been removed from the Arsenal in Charleston by Captn Foster U. S. A. I took the telegraph over to Gov: Floyd who was confined to his bed and was requested by him to see Col Drinkard the C.C. of the Dep and tell him to issue an order by telegraph for their immediate restoration. The order was sent and by the telegraph which was kept open all night, was acknowledged. The next morning the arms were restored.¹⁰

⁹ 36 Cong., 2 sess., *House Ex. Doc.*, no. 26, vol. VI., p. 9; *Official Records of the War*, I. 116; Curtis, *Buchanan*, II. 377. Statement of Miles and Keitt to the South Carolina Convention, *Official Records*, I. 125-128.

¹⁰ *Official Records*, I. 95-100. Two telegrams to Mr. Trescot upon the subject, taken from the second version of his narrative, are given in Crawford, *Genesis*, pp. 77, 78.

In the meantime Gen Cass who had from the beginning of the controversy held but one opinion and one language, submitted to the President his formal advice that re-inforcements should be sent to the Forts at Charleston. The morning on which he submitted his opinion I went into his room to hand him my resignation which I had withdrawn until my return from Columbia. He begged me to keep it for a day or two for events might render it unnecessary, at least he perhaps could not act on it—he said he could not speak more plainly then but the next day he would explain all altho I probably understood him. This of course I knew meant only one thing and the next day he resigned, the President having refused to accept his advice. Under the circumstances I felt bound to say to the President that I would continue in office until he appointed a New Secretary provided the appointment was made before the Act of Secession was passed by the Convention. For the refusal to adopt Gen Cass' advice was in the interest of the State and it would have embarrassed the President to have the Dep without either a Secretary or an Asst Sec. Judge Black, the Atty Gen who was appointed was very busy in the Supreme Court and it was not I think before the 17th the day of the passage of the Act that I fairly ceased official action at the Dep.

The Legislature of S. C. had elected by this time the new Governor Pickens. I wrote to him informing him that his predecessor Gov: Gist had desired me to remain in Washington after my resignation in order that there might be some authorized channel of communication until the arrival of Commissioners from the Convention and I described to the Gov: the then condition of things. This invitation of Gov: Gist I had communicated to the Pres and such members of the Cabinet as I consulted or even spoke to freely on public affairs. (See letter.)¹¹

Soon after Gov P's election the Convention met and passed the Ordinance of Secession, but before the Ordinance passed, D. H. Hamilton arrived from Gov: P. with a letter for me¹² covering a sealed letter to

¹¹ The letter, Trescot to Pickens, December 14, 1860, follows on a later page.

¹² This letter, dated Columbia, December 17, and marked "Strictly confidential", is here transcribed from the copy in the second version of Mr. Trescot's narrative:

"*My Dear Sir:*—I send Daniel H. Hamilton, the bearer of a very important confidential letter to the President of the United States and would be deeply obliged to you, as you are now in Washington under request of Gov: Gist, to attend to him immediately and go with him to see that he most certainly is able to deliver himself the letter to the President of the U. S.

"You will take occasion to say to the President that Mr Hamilton will remain one day if it is desired he shall wait that long, to receive any letter or communication that may be made and that you will deliver it yourself—and if you think it necessary you may yourself bring the answer if the President accompanies it by any verbal explanation that may be trusted to you from the President.

"And by the end of one day you will communicate with Mr Hamilton and inform him whether he will bring the answer or whether you will bring it yourself."

the President which I was directed to see delivered by Hamilton. Its contents were not communicated but I was informed that Hamilton was to wait 24 hours for an answer, but that if the President preferred sending an answer by me accompanied by a verbal communication, I was instructed to bring it. The nature of this extraordinary missive I had received notice of in a confidential letter by the previous mail *not* from the Gov: however. I saw the President and returned with Hamilton at an hour appointed. The President received us in the Library, read the letter and asked Hamilton when he expected to return. He replied the next morning. The P. said it was impossible to give him the answer by that time—could he not wait longer? Hamilton said Yes, until the next evening. The P. said the answer would then be ready. Hamilton then said, “Mr President I am aware of the contents of that letter and think that if you would accept them it would greatly facilitate the negotiations between my government and the U. S.” The President said he would consider it and give Mr Hamilton his answer the next day. The President as I was leaving the room called me back, gave me the letter, asked me to read it and return to him, to talk it over.¹³

The letter proposed that in order to quiet the apprehensions of the people of the State as to the Forts, Gov P. should be authorized by the President to occupy Fort Sumter with a small body of State troops, the answer to the request or demand to be given in 24 hours.

The objections to this demand it is useless to state, but if Gov P had simply asked the President for an assurance that Sumter should not be occupied and that Anderson should be so instructed I think it could have been obtained. As it was, this demand if persisted in released the President from his pledge to the Members of C and placed them in a very awkward attitude and in my opinion would lead to exactly what it wanted to avoid. I consulted Senators Davis and Slidell and we were very much embarrassed what to do. Gen Bonham and McQueen dined with me that day and as Hamilton had told them of the object of his mission I communicated to them the contents of his letter and told them that if they would join me I would telegraph the Gov for authority to withdraw it. We did so, I received the authority and the next morning withdrew the letter.¹⁴ The President expressed his gratification, repeated to me over and again his desire to avoid a collision, his readiness to receive Commissioners, to refer them to Congress in good faith and his determination not to disturb the Status of the Forts but to wait the result of their negotiation. He was pledged, he said, not to disturb the Status in the favour of the U. S. and the Gov ought not and could not justly ask him to disturb it in favour of the State. He was trusting to

¹³ This letter of Pickens, December 17, 1860, the day of his inauguration as governor, and three days before the secession of the state, was printed in the *Journal of the House of Representatives of South Carolina*, regular session of November, 1861, p. 67, and reprinted in Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, III. 2.

¹⁴ See Buchanan's memorandum in Curtis, II. 383.

the honour of Carolina and they ought not to suspect him, he was acting under the obligations of his honour and I and the State might rely upon it, would redeem it to the uttermost. He said he had taken no copy of the letter but would be glad if I had no objections to have a copy of the telegraph under which I withdrew it which I gave him. I accordingly returned the letter to Hamilton with a letter to the Governor stating my reasons for desiring to withdraw it. (See letter.)¹⁵

[On the 23^d I received the following telegram

W H Trescott

CHARLESTON Decr 23, 60

I have been informed that thirteen men have arrived by the North Eastern rail road and they say they were sent to Fort Moultrie and are a part of one hundred and fifty (150). I desire to know immediately if it is intended to reinforce the forts or to transfer any force from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. I want a clear answer on this immediately. Until the Commissioners shall negotiate at Washington, there can be no change here.

F. W. PICKENS.

Again I called upon Gov: Floyd. The Gov was evidently becoming impatient under the embarrassments of his position for it was difficult to be accountable to the President on the one hand and to the State of S. C. on the other. He had done every thing that a man in his situation could do to prove his good faith and he felt very naturally that the difficulties of his position ought to be appreciated and that explanations and pledges perhaps inconsistent with his duties should not be pressed except under the very gravest necessity. It was moreover a matter of great moment that in this juncture Gov Floyd should retain his place in the Cabinet as long as possible and every step he took or did not take was watched and misrepresented for no man at the South was more cordially detested by the Black Republican Party. Gov Floyd told me to reply to the Governor that there was not the slightest foundation for any alarm, that he knew nothing of any such men and any statement to such an effect was a sheer fabrication, made he must suppose, for purposes of mischief. As for the removal of troops to Sumter, he could not see any likelihood of it, that he did not think it necessary to send special orders to that end to Maj Anderson for he could not consider it at all probable and that in fact he thought any such contingency provided against by orders already sent to which he did not feel at liberty to refer more specially; that the Commissioners must soon be in Washington and that he could see no rational ground for anticipating premature difficulty. I thought this as far really as he could go and that to press upon him or the President more positive action was to risk the advantage that continued delay on the part of the Government was giving to the State. I therefore telegraphed the Governor the contradiction he authorized and waited with anxiety the arrival of the Commissioners.]

¹⁵ This letter, Trescott to Pickens, December 21, 1860, was printed in the *Journal of the House of Representatives of South Carolina*, regular session of November, 1861, pp. 169-171, and reprinted in Nicolay and Hay, III. 7-9.

Within a very few days I received from the Governor a formal despatch by telegraph stating the appointment by the Convention of Commissioners and instructing me to communicate their appointment and the time of their departure to the President which I did. He asked the character of the appointments, expressed himself pleased with the selection, disclosed his readiness to see them and to refer them courteously to Congress and his intention to act in perfect good faith.

The Commissioners telegraphed me to remain in Washington until they came. I made the necessary arrangements for them, received them and called the evening of their arrival¹⁰ on the President to inform him of their presence in Washington. Judge Black was with him. We talked over a good deal that we had gone over before and the President appointed an hour—one, I think, the next day—to receive them. I told him they would submit their credentials to him and have an informal conversation with him but that if he submitted the matter of their reception to Congress they would wish to send a communication to go in with his message—they would come prepared with it, or if he agreed with me in thinking it best, they would not prepare it until after the conversation when perhaps all parties would understand each other better but it was to be considered as submitted on the conversation, to which he cheerfully assented.

The Commissioners upon their arrival invited me to act as their Secretary which I declined for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention and they then insisted upon my remaining with them in Washington and acting with them unofficially which I did altho with great reluctance.

The day after their arrival was spent in preparing their credentials for delivery to the President. The next morning I was at their residence and while talking over the condition of affairs Col Wigfall one of the Texas Senators came in to inform us that the telegraph had just brought the news that Major Anderson had left Fort Moultrie, spiked his guns, burned his gun carriages, cut down the flag staff and removed his command to Sumter. We all expressed our disbelief in the intelligence and after a good deal of discussion I said, "Well at any rate Col., True or not I will pledge my life that if it has been done it has been without orders from Washington". Just as I made the remark Gov: Floyd, the Sec at War was announced. After the usual courtesies of a meeting I said, "Gov., Col Wigfall has just brought us this news and as you were coming up the stairs I said I would pledge my life it was without orders". "You can do more" said he smiling "You can pledge your life Mr Trescot that it is not so. It is impossible. It would be not only against orders but in the face of orders. To be very frank Anderson was instructed in case he had to abandon his position, to dismantle Fort Sumter not Fort Moultrie". I asked him if his carriage was at the door to let me take it and go home—there might be telegraphs there.

¹⁰ Wednesday, December 26. The commissioners, it will be remembered, were Robert W. Barnwell, James H. Adams and James L. Orr.

I took the carriage, drove home and returned immediately with two telegrams for Col Barnwell which he read and handed them to Gov Floyd saying "I am afraid Gov: it is too true". Floyd read the telegram (from Gen Jones) asked the Commissioners whether they considered the authority sufficient and then rose adding "I must go to the Dep: at once". He immediately went to the War Dep. I went up to the Senate, communicated the news to Senator Davis of Miss and Senator Hunter and asked them if they would go with me to the President. We drove down to the White House and sent in our names, were asked into the Presidents room where he joined us in a few moments. When he came in he was evidently nervous. I knew his manner too well to be mistaken and he immediately commenced by making some remark to Mr Hunter about the removal of Beverly Tucker the Consul at Liverpool to which Mr Hunter made a general reply. Col Davis then said "Mr President we have called upon an infinitely greater matter than any consulate". "What is it", asked the P. "Have you received any intel[1]igence from Charleston in the last two or three hours", said Col D. "None", said the P. "Then", said Col D. "I have a great calamity to announce to you". He then stated the facts and added "and now Mr President you are surrounded with blood and dishonour on all sides". The President was standing by the mantelpiece crushing up a cigar into pieces in his hand—a habit I have seen him practice often. He sat down as Col D finished and exclaimed—"My God are calamities (or misfortunes, I forget which) never to come singly. I call God to witness—you gentlemen better than anybody know—that this is not only without but against my orders, it is against my policy." He then expressed his doubt of the truth of the telegram, thought it strange that nothing had been heard at the War Dep—said he had not seen Gov: Floyd and finally sent a messenger for him. When Gov Floyd came he said that no telegram had come to the Dep: that the heads of Bureaux there thought it unlikely but that he had telegraphed to this effect himself—"There is a report here that you have abandoned Fort Moultrie, spiked your guns, burned your carriages and gone to Fort Sumter. It is not believed as you had no orders to justify it. Say at one [once] what could have given rise to such a story".¹⁷

The President was urged to take immediate action—he was told that the probability was that the remaining Forts would be seized and garrisoned by S. C and that Fort Sumter would be attacked—that if he would only say that he would replace matters as he had pledged himself that they should remain, there was yet time to remedy the mischief. The discussion was long and earnest. At first he seemed disposed to declare that he would restore the Status but then hesitated, said he must call his cabinet together, he could not condemn Maj Anderson unheard. He was told that nobody asked that, only say that *if* the

¹⁷ The texts of the telegram and of Anderson's replies are in *Official Records*, I. 3.

move had been made without a previous attack on Anderson he would restore the status. Assure us of that determination and then take what time was necessary for consultation and information. That resolution telegraphed would restore confidence and enable the Commissioners to continue their negotiation. This he declined doing and we left. On our way out we met Gen Lane, Senator Bigler, Yulee, Mallory on their way to make the same remonstrance for the news was over the City. Later in the day I saw him to shew him some more detailed telegraphs. Senator Slidell was with him but all that he did was to authorize me to telegraph that Andersons movement was not only without but against his orders.

The interview with the Commissioners was postponed until the next day when they presented him their credentials and the first letter of their correspondence (See Correspondence).¹⁸ I was not present at that interview.

The following days were consumed in Cabinet meetings duri[n]g which Gov: Floyd resigned for the reasons stated in his published letter.¹⁹ The answer to the Commissioners was in the mean while sent. Upon Floyds resignation Holt was appointed Sec at War. On Sunday I determined to see the President once more. I found him with Mr Toucey the Sec of the Navy. I told him I would like with his permission to have a half hours conversation with him to which he very courteously assented. I then as temperately as I could reviewed the whole transaction—he stopped me at first saying that I of all persons ought to know it was exceedingly irregular and improper for the President to discuss such matters with the Sec of the Commission. I told him I was not Sec nor had any sort of official connection with the Comm: that I came to him simply because he himself had established my connection with this affair and in such a way that I had a right I thought to speak freely to him. He then said—in that case proceed. I could not now repeat the conversation, it was very earnest but very temperate. He shewed a good deal of feeling and seemed very much worn and distressed. I inferred from all that passed that his difficulty consisted in this—that the seizure of the other Forts by S. C. rendered the restoration of the former status impossible for if he ordered Anderson from Sumter he had nowhere to send him unless he withdrew him altogether from the harbour. Under this impression I went to Mr Hunter of Virginia and told him if this is the difficulty tell the President that if he will withdraw from Sumter, the State will withdraw from the other Forts and that Maj Anderson will be as safe in Fort Moultrie as if he were here. The Comm: will accept this return to the status and guarantee his safety. Mr Hunter immediately went to

¹⁸ 36 Cong., 2 sess., *House Ex. Doc.* no. 26, vol. VI., pp. 5-12. Buchanan's account of the interview of December 28 is in *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, pp. 181, 182; an account by one of the commissioners is in Crawford, *Genesis of the Civil War*, p. 148.

¹⁹ Printed in Moore's *Rebellion Record*, I., Documents, p. 10.

him and when he returned—I was waiting at his rooms—he said: “Tell the Comm: it is hopeless. The President has taken his ground—I *cant* repeat what passed between us but if you can get a telegram to Charleston, telegraph at once to your people to sink vessels in the channel of the harbour.” This message he sent the next morni[n]g again to the Comm by his colleague Mr Mason. There is no doubt that orders for reinforcements had then been issued altho afterwards countermanded. After this there was no further hope, the Commissioners replied as appears by their correspondence²⁰ and left Washington.

The above is merely a rough outline to be made complete at my leisure and the letters and telegrams to be inserted. One or two facts and some conversations are omitted and I intend to add my views of the facts as they occur.

WM HENRY TRESCOTT

Feby 1861

In the whole of these transactions Mr Buchanans position was a very difficult one and it was aggravated by three things. 1. Mr Buchanan never not even I think at the last moment realized the danger. The representations made to him of the condition of feeling and opinion of the South he never would believe. He thought it likely that South Carolina would secede but that she would not be supported by any other state and not even Mr Cobbs resignation opened his eyes altho he had great respect for Mr Cobbs judgment and must have seen that this resignation was the utter destruction of Mr Cobbs future if he had misinterpreted Georgia. The first time he seemed really to begin to believe in what was so near at hand was when Mr Toombs called on him. While the Commissioners from S. C. were waiting in Washington, several gentlemen of influence in Savannah Georgia, telegraphed both Mr Toombs and Mr Orr to know whether Fort Sumter would be restored to its status by the withdrawal of Anderson and whether it would be held by the Government. The object of the enquiry was clear and it was thought not impolitic to give the President information of the consequence of his persistence. Mr Toombs accordingly went to the White House and sent in his card. The Cabinet was in session but the President received him in the next room. “I am aware Mr President” said T “that the Cabinet is in session and that today is the annual dinner to the Supreme Court and that you have scarcely time to see me. But while I apologize for the intrusion, it is an evidence what importance I attach to the interview. I would ask Mr President whether you have decided upon your course as to Fort Sumter?” “No Sir, I have not yet decided. The Cabinet is now in session upon that very subject.” “I thank you Sir for the information that is all I wanted to know”, said T. retiring. “But Mr T. why do you ask?”

²⁰ *Official Records*, I. 120-125.

"Because Sir my State has a deep interest in the decision." "How your State—what is it to Georgia whether a fort in Charleston harbour is abandoned?" "Sir, the cause of Charleston is the cause of the South". "Good God Mr Toombs do you mean that I am in the midst of a revolution?" "Yes Sir—more than that—you have been there for a year and have not yet found it out"—and he retired. When the President returned to the Cabinet he seemed very much excited and said, "Gentlemen I really begin to believe that this is revolution". But Mr Buchanan ought to have known the truth better and sooner. He was not ignorant of the consequences of such a move as one state at least even in his opinion was sure to make. I was much impressed with a remark of his on that very subject. I was spending one night with him during the summer at his residence—the Soldiers Home—and after tea Gov: Floyd joined us in the porch and the conversation became very interesting. Turning at last upon the probable result of the coming Presidential election and its consequences, he said "well there is no danger as long as the States wait upon each other—as long as they wait for joint resolutions to act, but if any one state is bold enough to act—to secede by itself, then questions will be raised beyond the solution of any statesman in this country"—or words to that effect.

But when the fact happened, he could not believe it. Accustomed like all Northern statesmen to look at the Union rather than the States, habituated to use state politics merely as counters in the game for Federal power and belonging to a party which had never hesitated to make "a cry" of the most solemn and important issues, he could not realize that this popular excitement was any thing wider or deeper than the thousand and one political agitations on which skillful men had come into power. It would run its course, a little more violently perhaps than usual—there would be a re-action at the North and all would be well for another four years.

2. In the next place Mr B. was really powerless. Few men have ever in four years been so completely stripped of real authority. Cold and calculating, with a clear head but no heart, ready at any moment to desert a friend whom he had used in order to secure an enemy whom he wanted to use—with a habit of indirectness that at times almost became falsehood and a wariness that sometimes degenerated into craftiness—with no faith in sentiment and a cynical estimate of men the result of long party experience, and all this justified in his own eyes by the fact, which nobody can dispute who knows him, that he really had no ulterior selfish purpose—that he wished to serve his country and was a man in his individual relations of perfectly clean hands—Mr Buchanan was just the man to utterly belittle a great cause, misunderstand a real national crisis and compromise a great position by small acts and smaller motives. He had identified the Government with himself and to take care therefore of his own position, to save himself embarrassment and mortification, was to protect the government. When Mr Buchanan

therefore became aware of the trouble which was closing all round him—"apres moi le deluge" was his first principle of action. To protract the issue, not to close it, was his policy. Like Heseekiah when the prophet denounced the destruction of his house and the captivity of his children, the piteous burden of his cry was "Is it not good, if peace and truth be in my day?"

He therefore diplomatized with those whose action he could not entirely stay. He promised not to force an issue, to receive Commissioners, to refer to Congress and in this policy he persevered even in face of Gen Cass's resignation. But the issue came nevertheless and Maj Andersons removal to Sumter, placed it sharp and sudden before the country. Now this policy of delay and compromise and reference was Mr Buchanans not his cabinets—it was conducted without the intervention of his Northern Members and in private consultations with his Southern—not exactly in official pledges but in conversations with Southern Members of Congress—in adopting suggestions from Floyd and Thompson—and keeping up indirect communications with those in authority and influence in South Carolina. When Andersons conduct made the issue, official action was necessary. Mr Buchanan had to take his choice between two courses, to sustain him or to condemn. The conduct of his officer was in direct contradiction to the whole undercurrent of his policy but not so in regard to the position of his message, nor the official action of the Cabinet. He wavered—but what could he do—Cobb was gone, Floyd went, Thompson and Thomas had to go, the excitement in the South grew fiercer, the act of Anderson had fired the whole train of Southern feeling—to go with the South now was to go entirely with them. Black and Toucey, Stanton and Holt, said decide—whatever you may have done we are uncommitted—keep the word which the South says you have pledged and we resign—we believe in the Union and will not betray it. In the Senate, every State that seceded—and at length even he saw that the secession of six states was certain—swept away his former friends and the Black Republican Majority grew in grim proportions, while the few Southern Senators left bore him no love and owed him no allegiance. He surrendered into the hands of the North and refused to withdraw Anderson. Besides, like the Northern Members of his Cabinet, he was a Northern man. If this revolution was checked he and they would claim credit for their firmness, if it succeeded they were to remain at the North and must be supported by Northern opinion. To those Southern men who were for conciliating and humouring Mr B, this was evident from the first—when the issue came, they and he must separate but they were willing for reasons of their own to make the issue as peaceful as possible and lost nothing by meeting Mr Buchanan, half way. A day or two before I left Washington I called on Judge Black at the State Dep: to tell him goodbye. I liked the Judge very much; he was peculiar almost eccentric in his way, a very simple and somewhat awkward manner, a rumpled look as

if neither his wig nor his clothes would fit his ungainly person, but his conversation was delightful, original and rather quaint in his conceptions and at times wonderfully rich and full in his expression. We had a very curious conversation, all things considered. We first talked about the appointment of the new collector for Charleston upon which I said, "Well Judge if you people of Pennsylvania are not statesmen, at least you are heroes." "How?"—"Why, have you not found a man bold enough to make a martyr of himself by taking the collectorship at Charleston?" "You are joking aren't you—there is no *danger*." "The devil—there isn't. I would not like to be in his place. Why they will hang him to a certainty." "Then by the Lord Jehovah—do it and add murder to your other crimes but you will repent it in sackcloth and ashes—and the Judge hitched up his trousers and walked up and down the room very indignantly." After a hearty laugh I said, "Not exactly hang him Judge, but seriously he will be informed that he cannot assume his office and be politely requested to leave at his earliest possible convenience." "Well, Well"—said the Judge "that wont hurt him and if he cant stay why he'll have to go I suppose." Then the Judge broke out into an eulogy on South Carolina, "There," said he, "a little state no bigger than the palm of my hand, has broken up this mighty empire. Like Athens you controul Greece—you have made and you will controul this revolution by your indomitable spirit. Up to this time you have played your part with great wisdom—unequalled, but now you are going wrong". Then he went into a discussion of the position of things but what seemed to annoy him that we would not call it revolution, that we claimed secession to be a right under the constitution and said what his policy would have been from the first. As I understand him, but I am by no means sure that I did understand him, he would have garrisoned every southern port so that a violent secession would have been hopeless and the State would have been forced to call a convention of states to decide upon the alleged grievances and that convention called upon the re-action at the North would have represented the true conservative element of the nation, have done full justice to the South and thus settled the Union firmly forever. When he was done I said jestingly, "Well if we have made mistakes, some other people have made mistakes too." "Yes," he said—"there were two broad roads to be followed and one narrow strip between where nobody could move and with wonderful ingenuity we have got just on that spot. Yes, you nearly carried your point, you had every thing your own way. As for anybodys word of honour being involved I cant help that. The President must take care of his own honour. We had to take care of the countrys. I dont know anything about that, if he committed himself so much the worse—it was for a good, an honest purpose but that is not our concern. You nearly beat us but we had one card left and fortunately that was a trump, so we beat you."

3. But there was another motive at the bottom of the Presidents

vacillation and apparent weakness. He could not bring himself to take decisive measures in Lincolns interest. While he was anxious to preserve the Union—was not willing to allow the extent of the danger, his secret sympathy was with the South. In his heart he felt that their protest was his defence. The Black Republican triumph was one especially over him—they had denounced him and his policy—they had taken away his own Pennsylvania—they had personally libelled him and held him up to scorn by the famous Covode Committee. The South had elected him, had supported his administration and after all their indignation to accept Lincoln and submit to Bk. Republican rule was almost to acquiesce in his condemnation. He had no objections to see the storm rage if it stopped short of shipwreck—to see the Republicans broken to pieces in the very flush of their insolent triumph and a reaction sweep over the North and float the old Democracy into power in 1864. He would not therefore encourage “the rebels”, he would check them as far as he could, but the Constitution had not given him authority, he could not stain his executive robes with the blood of American citizens and if he could fight off the issue instead of fighting it, until Lincoln who had sowed the storm had arrived in person to reap the whirlwind, why that was all the country had a right to expect and he could go home to Wheatlands with a quiet conscience and if the ship of state must go down—at least his hand was not on the helm. Now I could not prove all this but if human nature is human nature it is true and I firmly believe it and it is the only explanation of the extraordinary conduct of the President from the departure of the Commissioners until the inauguration of Lincoln.

Note.

I have omitted to mention above, Mr Cobbs resignation as Secretary of the Treasury, because it was not directly connected with the events to which I was referring. Mr Cobb had early in the summer made up his mind as to what ought to be the consequences of Lincolns election and as the day of election drew nigh had written to his friends in Georgia that whatever the State might do in that event they must should it occur withdraw his name from before the Legislature as a candidate for the vacant Senatorship U. S. as he could not consent to represent the State under such circumstances and preferred to consider his public life closed. But Mr Cobb was personally much attached to Mr Buchanan. He thought the South owed it to Mr B to save him this issue if possible and moreover there was a greater probability of action on the part of Georgia if the people were called on to resist the inauguration of a Black Republican Administration than if compelled to secede under an Administration which they had brought into power and the course of which had generally met their approbation. He was also anxious that Mr Buchanans message should take such ground in reference to the great question dividing the country as to justify if possible the course which the South would probably adopt. He therefore determined to

remain until the message went in to Congress and used what influence he possessed in support of that policy which proposed the joint Secession of the Southern States on the 4th March. When the Message went in therefore, he published an address to the people of Georgia declaring his views and as they included both the right and duty of the Secession of that State, he naturally but not abruptly closed his connection with Mr Buchanans administration.

Mr Cobb made a very favourable impression on me. He was a man of amiable and conciliatory temper well adapted to serve as a modifying centre for extreme opinions, with a clear head, very decided opinions himself but always willing to listen to and combine the opinions of others for practical action and as far as I could judge, truly heartily and unselfishly devoted to the cause of the South.

[Mr Cobb with his usual clear judgment and sound common sense retired before the issue became too complicated. The States to which Gov Floyd and Mr Thomson belonged had not yet seceded. Until they did these gentlemen had a perfect constitutional right to remain in the Cabinet for two purposes. 1. Either to devise some plan of compromise or, 2. to maintain if they could the constitutional doctrine which they held, that force could not be used against a seceding State. This was all they did and this they had a right to do. Gov: Floyd refused to use force against South Carolina and the President sustained him until the seizure of Fort Sumter and then changing his policy, Gov Floyd very properly resigned. Mr Thomson, thinking that until this change of policy was carried into action it might be again reversed, remained but in a few days was forced to follow Gov: Floyd and leaving the President free to re-construct his Cabinet which he did by making Mr Holt Sec at War and Mr Stanton Atty General, thus giving it an unity of purpose and an ability which would soon have been felt but for his own persistent and consistent indecision, if that can properly be called indecision which was really a fixed purpose to be undecided.]

The position of all the Southern Members of the Cabint was difficult and anomalous and just as in any other government the Secession of a State would have been absolute rebellion, so in any other kind of Administration, their conduct may have been denounced as treason. But with the theory upon which the South has based its action that the Union was a confederacy the members of the cabinet must be allowed the same freedom of contrave[n]ing the policy of the administration as the states have of destroying the structure of the Constitution. In other words, the Administration being only the official exponent of the constitution in its daily practical life, the moment the Union is disintegrated, so is the cabinet, and the contest there to prevent the power of the Government from interfering against either party on the ground that is the mere agent of both and without independent authority, becomes legitimate. To apply the words treason and treachery therefore to the conduct of the Southern Members of Mr B's Cabinet is to borrow a technical

language from Foreign Governments which has no true application to the circumstances of our own. In fact the condition of the Cabinet was the genuine exponent of the unexampled condition of the Country.

That such a state of things is desirable or profitable either to the character or interest of a Nation, I am far from saying, but it is the inevitable result of our history which in its results has now proved that the Union was only a state of transition and that the U. S were in no true sense ever one nation.

What the new development will be, it is now too early to speculate upon but as a generalization it does not seem to be risking much to say that if there is real homogeneity in the sentiment and interests of the South, it will find its expression in unity of national feeling and centralization of national Government, accelerated or retarded of course by the influence of external events.

[The negotiation which the Commissioners from South Carolina went to Washington to open was never commenced. The Commissioners themselves were admirably selected. They had all filled with distinction very eminent places either in the Federal or State Governments, some of them in both. They were men of decided and varied ability and while they represented the unity of the States purpose, also represented with singular accuracy the minor differences of opinion which existed in the State. They came to Washington with an implicit confidence in Mr Buchanans intention to deal fairly with them and were anxious to do all that was consistent with their sense of duty, to solve the issue as temperately as circumstances would permit and however they may have been controuled by their knowledge of public opinion at home, they were allowed by the Convention which appointed them, unlimited discretion in the discharge of their grave responsibility. That Mr Buchanan was sincere in his desire to meet them in the same spirit is evident from the necessities of his position and his course both before and after their visit. But Major Andersons movement, made the very day of their arrival, complicated the whole subject beyond solution. That Mr Buchanan failed to redeem very solemn pledges when he acquiesced in Major Andersons conduct, there can be no question. But it is a question whether he could have done otherwise. At the commencement of an Administration, with a strong and successful party behind him he could have done it. Perhaps even then with a resolute will and perfect directness of purpose he could have done it. But all substantial authority had departed from him and he was not a man of direct ways. The threat of impeachment with no friendly Senate to sit in judgment stood in his way, popular clamour became loud at the North and as he said to a friend "If I withdraw Anderson from Sumter, I can travel home to Wheatlands by the light of my own burning effigies". His cabinet was resolute, as Mr Stanton expressed himself very strongly to me "You say the President has pledged himself. I dont know it, I have not heard his account but I know you believe it. For the present I will admit it. The President

was pledged. Andersons conduct has broken that pledge. You had two courses to choose. You had a right to either. You could have appealed to the President to redeem his pledge or you could have said the circumstances under which Anderson has acted prove bad faith, we will not trust you any further and then have acted as you saw fit; but you have no right to adopt both—stand on the Presidents pledge and give him the chance to redeem it or take the matter in your own hands. Now you have chosen—you have by seizing the remaining forts and arsenals undertaken to redress yourselves. The Presidents pledge may be broken or not—that *now* concerns him individually—as to the Government you have passed by the pledge and assumed in vindication a position of hostility—with that alone I have to deal.”

But while it was impossible for Mr Buchanan to redeem his word, the Commissioners could accept nothing less. They knew the temper of their people, they knew with what difficulty they had been restrained from seizing Fort Sumter when it was undefended, they knew that the possession of Fort Sumter meant the sealing up of the harbour of Charleston and the collection of Federal Revenue by the Federal navy and they knew that nothing but the practical disavowal of instant removal would convince the State that she had not been treacherously duped. All this they stated frankly to Mr Buchanan in their interview and in their first letter. His reply left little hope that there would be room for negotiation. He refused positively to disavow Major Anderson or to countermand his movement. Even then the Commissioners hesitated to abandon all hope of an arrangement. After careful deliberation, with a full sense of the responsibility of their act, an act indeed touching the utmost verge of their largest discretion, they made as I have already stated through Mr Hunter the proposition that they would engage to restore the forts which had been seized if the President would withdraw Major Anderson from Sumter and return him to Moultrie and with the status thus re-established they were still ready to negotiate. This was declined and Mr Hunters message indicated that active measures had been taken in precisely the contrary direction. Then but not until then did the Commissioners write their concluding letter. It was in no sense a Diplomatic Document. It was formally addressed to the President but in reality to the country. It was meant and ought so to be considered as a vindication of the earnestness and sincerity of the State in the pacific course which she had attempted, as a proof to the South that the issue was not to be avoided and as an explanation and justification of their own conduct in terminating their mission and returning home.]

TRESPOT TO THE GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.²¹*Confidential*

To His Excellency

The Governor of the State of So. Ca.

WASHINGTON, D. C

Decem. 14, 1860

Sir

Having resigned my place as Assistant Secretary of State of the U. S. I shall remain here in pursuance of the request of Gov: Gist, conveyed to me in a letter of the 29th Novem. and in conformity with the wishes expressed in the same letter shall submit to your attention such information as I deem either interesting or important in the present condition of public affairs.

Before entering upon the immediate subject of this communication it is proper that I should inform you of an event of very considerable significance which has just occurred. You will have learned from the papers that previous to the delivery of the Presidents Message there was a general apprehension that its publication would lead to a dissolution of the Cabinet. This did not happen, the concessions of the message appeared to have brought about the agreement of the Cabinet upon a common but rather uncertain ground. Immediately after its promulgation however Mr Cobb, the Secretary of the Treasury deemed it his duty to retire from the Cabinet for reasons which he has given to the public. He was succeeded by Gov: Thomas of Maryland whose views are considered as identical with those of the Southern section of the Cabinet and the balance might therefore be fairly held to be undisturbed. Within the last two or three days Gen Cass, the Secretary of State, submitted to the President his opinion that a reinforcement of the garrisons in Charleston Harbour was the imperative duty of the Administration and upon the refusal of the President to concur in that policy, Gen Cass has resigned. His resignation has been accepted and the President thus stands committed to maintain a policy, the advantage of which to South Carolina it is impossible to exaggerate. I have no doubt that the resignation of Gen Cass will be made the subject of universal eulogy at the North and North West and the opportunity be improved for the extremest denunciation of the President. I am satisfied that you will feel with me that such a course on the part of the President deserves the recognition of South Carolina and gives him a claim as far as it can be done consistently with our principles and our interest, that the State should facilitate any honourable accommodation which will avoid collision. It is clear that in a movement like the present it will be impossible to reach any temporary accommodation if both parties stand upon strict logical consequence, there must be a mutual recognition that the position is an anomalous one to be treated with reference to the

²¹ From a press copy, separate from the manuscript of the foregoing narrative. Pickens was inaugurated December 17.

great interests involved rather than to the theoretical consistency of the principles implied.

There is I assume no rational doubt that the Convention of S.C will pass the Ordinance of Secession within a week from its organization. No such doubt exists here—that is considered as an accomplished fact. Upon this occurrence questions demanding immediate solution arise.

1. In reference to U. S. property including the Forts and Garrisons
2. In reference to the execution of the revenue laws
3. In reference to the Postal arrangements.

1. In reference to the Forts and Garrisons I believe that owing to the fact, that the Southern Members of the Cabinet are pledged to resist to resignation any attempt at re-inforcement—that the temper of the President leads him most earnestly as far as his sense of duty will permit to avoid anything that will in the present excited condition of public feeling, provoke conflict—and to the event to which I have referred, that the resignation of the Secretary of State has been accepted because the President would not consent to send more troops into the Harbour, it may safely be inferred that this question is capable of arrangement. But it is scarcely necessary to add that when the resignation of Gen Cass is publicly announced the probability is that a great pressure of Northern opinion will be created for the purpose of forcing the President from the ground which he has taken, clamour which ought not to be allowed to disturb our own public feeling or to force us into precipitate action but which it would be judicious and right to meet by giving to the President whatever support we can under the circumstances.

2. With regard to the revenue laws. It is impossible now to enter into any detail as to these laws but the point to which I would call your attention is that upon the Secession of the State, force need not be resorted to by the Federal Government to produce great confusion and perhaps distress. The resignation of the Collector would by itself if his place were left vacant bring about these results as a cursory inspection of our commercial regulations will shew. I shall only mention one illustration. The Beacon lights and light houses along our coast are Government property and if the Act of Secession prevents their keepers from the discharge of their ordinary duties until that question of proprietorship is settled, they will all go out.

3. The postal regulations. The Post Master General holds that the Ordinance of Secession once passed and notice of that fact communicated to Congress he has no right individually to decide the question but that until it is settled he is bound to continue the Mails wherever there are Post Masters to receive them. If the action of the State or the resignation of the Post Masters, removes the necessary officers he can do nothing because the postal laws require imperatively that no mail shall be *delivered to any but sworn officers of the U.S.*

In view of these difficulties I consulted several Southern Senators whose characters and eminent abilities give weight to their advice.

After a very full and free discussion in which the question submitted was—If South Carolina passes her Ordinance of Secession immediately say within the first week of the session of her Convention—is there a practical and practicable plan of accommodating these difficulties which must arise between the time of her action and the action of other States which shall neither compromise her principles nor her honour. I cannot go now into a detailed account of the very interesting consultation. The result I must briefly indicate. It was this. That the State should pass her Ordinance of Secession definitely clearly and irrevocably declaring the State of South Carolina out of the Union, that then she should appoint a Commissioner or Commissioners to announce to the Government of the U.S. that fact and that they were fully empowered to enter into a Treaty of Arrangement for all points such as public debt, public property etc., etc. And lastly that the Ordinance should state that in order for the orderly and peaceable execution of its provisions all Collectors, Post Masters, Treasury and other officers holding Commissions under the U.S. should be allowed —— days to settle the accounts and close the business of their respective offices, at the end of which time their offices should be considered vacated and abolished.

Whether this period runs with the time allowed the Commissioners or falls short does not make much difference. The Act of Secession is complete, the officers of the Government are allowed such time to settle their accounts etc as would not be denied a dissolving firm and while they are winding up their business the mails could be received, the revenue collected and accounted for and collision thus avoided until the action of other Conventions in January had placed other States in the same position. This plan explains itself so plainly and forcibly that I do not deem it necessary to dwell upon it especially as I have made this letter a longer one than is desirable altho it has seemed to me necessary.

I must therefore defer until another time such information and views as to the general condition of parties and interests here as I wish to submit to your attention.

It is proper to state that in consequence of the resignation of Gen Cass, altho my resignation had been tendered and accepted, I am as a matter of courtesy discharging those duties which belong to the routine of the Department until the appointment of a successor but hope to be entirely relieved by a nomination of a New Sec of State to the Senate on Monday.

I have the honour to be

Sir

Very Respectfully
WM HENRY TRESCOT.

P.S. I must ask your indulgence for a letter written in the midst of constant interruption as you may well suppose under the circumstances but I think it advisable to write by this mail.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The History of Babylonia and Assyria. By HUGO WINCKLER, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Berlin. Translated and edited by JAMES ALEXANDER CRAIG, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature in the University of Michigan. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xii, 352.)

THE publication of this little work of Professor Winckler comes somewhat as a surprise at this time. It was first written as a contribution to Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte* and published therein in 1899. In very few of the historical sciences has so much water run under the mill as in Assyriology since that date. The demand of the hour would seem to be rather for a new book than for the retranslation of this old one. I have used the word retranslation advisedly, for this portion of Helmolt's big book has already appeared in an English translation in London (Heinemann) and in New York (Dodd, Mead and Company). Professor Craig has now translated it afresh into good vigorous English in a manner far superior to the former translation, and has added some useful and instructive notes. Professor Winckler has also contributed a few corrections and made some additions.

The volume is subdivided into three main divisions: Babylonia, Assyria, and the New Babylonian-Chaldean Kingdom. This method of treatment, while it involves some repetitions, has the advantage of maintaining a certain clearness of distinction between the two peoples, alike in some respects but so different in others, which cannot be easily secured if the strict chronological method be followed. At the conclusion of the first section of the book there is a most interesting and valuable Historical Retrospect and Outlook which discusses, with Winckler's well-known acumen, boldness and originality, the sources, lands, irrigation, the arts, religion and science, commerce, business and industry. At the conclusion of the second section there is a brilliant chapter on the civilization of Assyria. The book as a whole is fairly representative of Winckler's best manner; it is suggestive, full of interesting combinations and much less influenced by astrological theories than the learned author's later work.

When this has all been said it must reluctantly be confessed that it is disappointing. On many points it needs correction already, though it is fresh from the press. Some of these ought perhaps to have been met when the book was printing, and would doubtless have been if the

work had been written by the translator, who perhaps would scarcely feel free to make large changes without consulting the author. I may perhaps venture to point out a few places in which readers of the book would do well to introduce marginal corrections.

In the account of Sargon I. is this statement: "He records that in an expedition which lasted for three years he conquered regions beyond the sea. We do not know whether he here refers only to Cyprus, but the conquest would appear to have been more far reaching than that." It is now quite certain (King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, p. 36) that Sargon did not cross the sea of the West at all, but rather the sea of the East (Persian Gulf) and so did not reach Cyprus or any other far western point. The whole of chapter VIII. in the first section of the book is now superseded. In this chapter Winckler discusses the so-called second dynasty of Babylon which, as is now known, did not reign in Babylon at all but was contemporaneous with the first dynasty. This makes it necessary to reduce the first dynasty so that, for example, Hammurabi instead of being placed at 2267-2213 B. C. must now be set down at about 1950 B. C. This is a correction of considerable importance, and might have been introduced into the book. I have marked other minor matters which might call for comment in an extended notice. The book has indeed its uses, but I cannot but feel that Professor Craig, an able and accurate scholar, would have served better the aim that he had in view, if he had written an entirely new book over his own name.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Life in the Homeric Age. By THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR, Hillhouse Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Yale University. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 704.)

FROM our long surfeit of Homeric theory it is a relief to turn to the simple facts of Homeric life. Here is what we may confidently hail as the best book on Homer in the English language; and yet its bibliography of a hundred titles does not include Wolf or Lachmann, Nitzsche or Fick. Questions of origin whether ethnological or literary are very properly waived; and the author seeks "to set forth with regard to Homeric antiquities simply what may be learned from the poems themselves, with such illustration as is obvious or naturally presented from other sources". At the same time, the author's own attitude toward these questions is defined at some length in the introduction. The spade of Schliemann and his successors having laid bare a sufficient historical basis for the Homeric story, "we may believe that Troy was sacked about 1200 B. C. by an expedition from Hellas under the leadership of the king of Mycenae—whatever may have been his name and the cause of the war. . . . That the names of Ilium and Dardanians are historical seems probable. Priam and Hector, too, may be real persons."

Assuming such historical basis, the *Iliad* should have been begun within a century or so after the war, while the events were still fresh in the public mind. "The early elements of the poems may be as old as the close of the second millennium B. C." But "some parts of the poems may be two or even three centuries older than others." Yet a great poem implies a great poet; and the stamp of a great personality seems to lie upon each of the great poems. Apparent sutures may be due to the rhapsode in adapting his recitation to the occasion and the audience, so that the poems were rather "sung to pieces" than composed separately and then stitched together. In any case, the "poems have such unity as cannot easily be explained if they are the work of several poets"; and, without going the length of Andrew Lang in championing that unity and even insisting on a pre-Phoenician written text, the conclusion is that "at present, and for the chief questions before us, we are obliged to accept the Homeric poems as units."

Further, Homer is not an archaeologist composing a species of historical novel and carefully avoiding anachronisms; but while dealing with the traditional events of a greater foretime he reflects the custom and complexion of his own age. Apparent inconsistencies there are; but the general consistency in a picture of life even more complete than that drawn from the more voluminous Old Testament, far outweighs them. And this is the more remarkable considering how rarely the poet stops to paint a picture (as that of Alkinoos's palace and garden), while leaving us—and this is his usual method—to put together our picture of the rudeness of Odysseus's house from a dozen incidental touches scattered through seven books of the *Odyssey*. Naturally, the poet idealizes his age, as all poets do; golden goblets may not have been used so freely as the poems would lead us to suppose. Yet he still falls short of the great foretime which, as the royal tombs of Mycenae have taught us, indulged in gold-studded swords and golden garters whereas the poet contents himself with silver in these uses.

Coming now to the body of the book, we find it a well-nigh exhaustive digest of the Homeric subject-matter in eighteen chapters—Cosmogony and Geography; the State; Women and the Family (including Education and Recreation); Dress and Decoration; House and Furniture; Property; Slavery and Servitude; Trade and the Crafts; Sea Life and Ships; Agriculture, Plants and Trees; Animals, etc.; Olympus and the Gods; Hades and his Realm; Temples, Worship and Divination; the Troad; Homeric War; Homeric Arms.

We can touch but a few points in this wide range. Our author's attitude is everywhere judicial; he never chooses the old for its age or the new for its novelty. He cannot follow M. Bérard in his minute chart of the wanderings of Odysseus to the isle of Calypso outside the straits of Gibraltar (illustrated by photographs of the Oxen of the Sun) nor can he accept M. Champault's Phoenician-Phaeacians. All that belongs to a Wonderland in which the Wanderer again and again "sails

for an unspecified time in an unspecified direction"; and "we need not be more definite than Homer himself." But the claims of Leukas to be the true Ithaca are admirably stated, with an evident leaning to Doerpfeld's theory. On the Triphylian site of Nestor's Pylos, which Strabo argued convincingly and Doerpfeld is now reported to have practically settled, he is less pronounced. From this chapter one should turn to those on the Troad and Homeric War which show first-hand study of the topography of Troy.

The Homeric state is a very simple affair. "Indeed the government was the king." Yet Odysseus leaves Ithaca twenty years without a regent, council or assembly; but the people by simply doing what is right in their own eyes get on very well. So Agamemnon leaves merely a minstrel to care for his wife; and all goes well until the bard is "removed and slain by Aegisthus" (marooned rather, as the poet tells us). Sparta gets on as it may for seventeen years without king, queen or regent. One cannot read this just and luminous chapter without recognizing in germ the best elements of Hellenic democracy.

The women of Homer have been often praised, as in the dithyrambics of Symonds, but never more justly appraised than here. Their superior position is not to be accounted for by any theory of a matriarchate in early Greece. Could it have been due to Aeolian influence? That race could boast of Sappho, Erinna and Corinna; and there was clearly a close connection between epic poetry and the Aeolians. Judging from Sappho's career, Fick's Lesbian Homer might have found the women about him enjoying much of the freedom and dignity with which he invests his own heroines.

Homer's men are able eaters but not hard drinkers. But three instances of actual drunkenness occur in the story, and each with disastrous consequences. Still, wine increases the strength of a weary man, as Hecuba assures Hector; and a posset of Pramnian with goat's cheese and barley meal is relished by the wounded leech, Machaon, as well as by Nestor. The ritual use of barleycorns is a survival of a "parched corn stage of culture" never anywhere quite outgrown—witness the women of Salamis parching their corn with oars, and Ruth eating parched corn from the hand of Boaz, and Robinson Crusoe and the American pioneer. These pages on the evolution of bread, the "marrow of men", happily illustrate the author's handling as well as the intrinsic interest of the simple life depicted. With it may well be read the story of the corn from the ploughing to the winnowing (pp. 331-335).

But we cannot pursue these fascinating themes. Everywhere the book is compact with solid learning lit up by not a little dry wit and racy observation. Less rigid in classification than Buchholz's *Realien* and far less minute, it sets forth the main facts of Homeric life in a far more genial and stimulating way. The author is never wise beyond what is written. He is content to read his facts out of, rather than into,

Homer. Indeed, one could wish he had made more free with the rich store of archaeological illustration ready to his hand. Believing, as he does, that "the life depicted in the poems and that which is indicated by the Mycenaean remains are much closer than was supposed a quarter of a century ago", and that "the study of Mycenaean antiquities has done more than anything else of recent years to throw light on the life of the Homeric age", one would wish every ray of that light to be utilized. Take, for example, the subject of art—certainly no negligible element in the life of any people, but strangely neglected in this work. The Vaphio cups are reproduced in the chapter on Property and the sword-blade with the lion hunt under Homeric Arms, but without a word about the art in either case. Again, while we are told that "Hephaestus makes arms for Achilles" (p. 296), the great shield is nowhere described nor is there any note of its remarkable agreement in materials, technique and design with the inlaid dagger-blades and other Mycenaean works. Again (p. 304), "the Achaeans before Troy had no ivory, but the poet was familiar with it." Yet many of these Achaeans came from Mycenae whose tombs already held store of ivory in various forms, notably in richly carved mirror handles; while many more of them hailed from Knossos whose ivory sculptures now known are miracles of art. Indeed, the head here reproduced to illustrate the Homeric helmet is an ivory sculpture from Mycenae.

Since he has gone to be with Homer, there is hardly left among us the scholar who could safely call in question Seymour's authority in the field of Homeric learning. And in this book he has left us a rich legacy—a companion to Homer that every humanist will prize and the humblest student may profit by. It is the ripe fruit of a devoted scholar's life; and it should keep his memory green as long as the poet whom he knew so well and cherished so fondly is remembered among us.

J. IRVING MANATT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Die Entwicklung des Deutschen Städtewesens. Von HUGO PREUSS.
Band I. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1906. Pp. xii, 379.)

THE present volume is the first of two in which Dr. Preuss of the University of Berlin proposes to outline and to analyze the evolution of municipal organization and civic functions in Germany from earliest times to the present day. Of these two volumes the first contains a historical survey of organic development; the second will present, the author promises, an outline of the growth of the various important civic functions, treated topically.

The field of German municipal history has indeed been very well exploited during the past half-century; and the student of the subject has already at his service the treatises of von Maurer, Bornak, von Below, Kuntze, Hallman and Sohm, with several others less elaborate.

There is, in addition, a formidable mass of printed material relating to special fields of German municipal history, as, for example, the administration of the Hanseatic cities, and the municipal reforms of Stein. It has been Dr. Preuss's aim not alone to embody within moderate compass the pith of these comprehensive and detailed studies but to indicate the significance of each advance or reaction in municipal evolution, and to relate each local movement to the general political or economic tendencies of its time. To this end the author has marked off five chronological periods to each of which a chapter of the volume has been allotted. These chapters deal successively with the beginnings of German city administration; the political organization of cities in the Middle Ages with special attention to the Hansa; the municipal system during the era of German national absolutism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the thorough reorganization of civic administration during and after the French Revolution; and, finally, the development of city government in the German states since the time of Stein.

The discussion is throughout comprehensive, concise and suggestive. It is not a mere narrative of historical events concerning the municipalities, but a careful interpretation of them in the light of contemporary political and economic environment; in truth, it might fairly be termed an essay on the philosophy of German municipal history. The writer's thorough mastery of the background of German political and economic history has enabled him to give to much of his narrative a distinctly new and illuminating interpretation, as well as to place in their proper perspective many local movements which have not always been so placed. This is especially true of his excellent chapter on the municipal systems of the absolutist régime; but it is a salient feature of the volume as a whole. Indeed it is precisely this feature that gives the book its chief claim to value.

While the volume, unlike most works of its kind, is entirely unprovided with foot-notes or bibliographical apparatus, the broad scope of the author's study and research, as well as his *häuslicher Fleiss* in condensing the results into readable narrative, are afforded convincing testimony by the text itself. In fact its qualities of proportion, arrangement and style are not least among the merits of the book. When the work reaches completion it will undoubtedly receive due recognition as an important contribution to our knowledge of the subject with which it deals.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

The Mongols: A History. By JEREMIAH CURTIN. With a Foreword by THEODORE ROOSEVELT. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1908. Pp. xxvi, 426.)

JEREMIAH CURTIN will live in the memory of students through his many valuable studies of the myths and folk-lore of various peoples of the old and new worlds, while the English-speaking nations owe him a

lasting debt of gratitude for having made known to them by his translations the historical novels of the eminent Polish writer, Sienkiewicz.

The present work, published after Curtin's death, and which, from internal evidence, it seems fair to assume had not reached the final stage of elaboration when the pen fell from the writer's hand, purports to give a history of the rise and fall of Mongol power. This history of the Mongols is, as President Roosevelt justly remarks in his Foreword, "of tremendous importance in world history" and "imperatively necessary to all who would understand the development of Asia and of Eastern Europe".

Curtin begins his history of the Mongols in the ninth century of our era, when the name first appears in Chinese history as that of a small tribe, of Shih-wei race, living in the valleys of the Onon and Kerulun, rivers south of Lake Baikal. Previous writers have gone farther back; they have brought out the close racial connections which united the Mongols with the Turks who ruled and modified Northern Asia and Eastern Europe in the sixth century, and with the still earlier Huns, the Hiung-nu of the Chinese, who played a similar role in the history of Asia centuries before them. Knowledge of these racial connections is necessary to understand how Jinghis Khan could confederate at the beginning of the thirteenth century the then disunited Turkish tribes with the purely Mongol ones related and mixed with them for centuries, and create an autonomous nation, every element of which was animated with the same racial incarnate military spirit, and in some fourteen years found an empire greater in area than that of any conqueror the world has known.

Curtin has brought together many of the facts scattered about in Eastern and Western works, contemporary and modern, necessary for a proper comprehension of this great subject, but time was not given him to co-ordinate and explain them so that the reader can discern the causes which underlie and which brought about the sudden and phenomenal rise of Mongol power, and its likewise sudden and complete collapse. To cite but an example, Curtin tells us in several succeeding chapters of Jinghis Khan's triumphant advance into China, of his destruction of the Kwaresmian Empire, of the campaigns of his generals in Western Asia and Eastern Europe, but we look in vain for some explanation of these phenomenal successes achieved with the comparatively small forces the Mongols put in the field. The cause of the Mongol success was not only that in every element and individual of the nation was embodied the very incarnation of the military spirit, but that Jinghis Khan and his great generals, Djebé, Subutai, Mukhuli and others, had revolutionized the art of war. The Mongol campaign on the Oxus in 1219, León Cahun, a recent writer of Mongol history, remarks, was as regular and as well planned as Napoleon's classical campaign of 1805.

The absence of all references to authorities used, identifications of medieval geographical terms with modern ones, explanations of Oriental words, add considerably to the difficulty of reading this work.

Sir Henry Howorth in the introduction to his exhaustive *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century* has given an account of the sources from which he collected his history, the authorities to which he was indebted. The list covers twelve pages; Mongol, Persian, Arab, Turk, Armenian and Chinese, contemporary European authors and modern writers. Curtin has only made use, so far as I can detect, of some of these authorities, much of the best literature on the subject has not been put to contribution. Thus I cannot find that any use whatever has been made of the admirable *Historia Mongalorum* of Friar John of Pian di Carpine or of the narrative of a mission to the court of Mangu Khan by Friar William of Rubruk.

Notwithstanding the imperfections of this work—for which I repeat I do not think Curtin should be held responsible—it contains so much that is interesting, it preserves so well in many places the peculiar flavor of the Oriental writers from which it has been drawn, and puts before the public the outlines, at least, of an epic of such wonderful interest and which is so little known to us, that we must be thankful that it has seen the light. The Foreword of President Roosevelt brings out in terse and vigorous style the great outlines of Mongol history, it elucidates Curtin's work and fixes the attention of the reader on the points which best deserve it.

W. W. ROCKHILL.

Innocent the Great. An Essay on His Life and Times. By C. H. C. PIRIE-GORDON, B.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xxiv, 273.)

SINCE it is generally agreed that Innocent III. is the greatest of all popes, it is strange that no English biography of him has before appeared. The author of *Innocent the Great* must therefore be praised for undertaking to furnish something for which there is a place. It is a pity that his work does not fill the place.

The essay is an undigested product, 210 pages long, based principally on secondary works. To be sure the author has examined original materials; he has, for example, compared a manuscript with a printed source (pp. xi-xii), and has thus demonstrated, what is perfectly well known, that the Migne texts are inaccurate. That neither sources nor secondary works were really exploited is patent from the omissions in the short list of "chief works" which the author found useful, since even such important works as Winkelmann's *Philipp von Schwaben* and Else Gütschow's *Innocenz III. und England* (1904) are not mentioned.

The diction of the book is fairly startling by its affectation. It seems as though the author, to quote his words in another connection (p. 108), was "thoroughly infected with Francis Bacon's *Eidola Fori*,—the strange power of words and phrases over the mind . . ." We read of "paparchy" (p. 16), "sabastocracy" (p. 72), "diplarchy" (p. 6). Sultan becomes "Soldan" (p. 60); "John Softsword" is preferred to the more com-

mon John Lackland (p. 33). King "En Peyre" (p. 122) is no other than King Peter; "Levon" of Armenia (p. 180) has hitherto been known as Leo. Such dictionary expressions as "banausically-minded" Venice (p. 64), "euthanasiastic fakirs" (p. 117), the "*scribendi cacoethes*" of Innocent (p. 37), seem quite commonplace when we read that Foulques de Neuilly was a "tolutiloquent fogleman" (p. 61), or that Innocent's predecessors had to cope with "the indignatiunculae of mulierose kings" (p. 102). Capital letters are superabundant. The reason for their frequency is not apparent except that in capitalizing the "pontifical pronoun" the author explains he is following "the traditional usage, now happily reviving" (p. xiii). Every pronoun referring to a pope is capitalized, a practice which results in a ridiculously fine distinction when in the account of Innocent's election the author relates the tradition that a white dove "descended upon his head at the moment of His election" (p. 19).

A more serious criticism of the work is its inaccuracy. "Labbé" (p. xiii) is incorrect; *Hürter* occurs repeatedly (pp. 19, 30 n., 62) instead of Hurter; "Konstanz" and "Cöln" ought at least not to be used on the same page (p. 40). The interdict on France began January, 1200, not September, 1198 (p. 192). Appendix I. especially illustrates the untrustworthiness of the book. The list of cardinals given in this appendix is based on Ciacconius-Oldoinus and Cristofori. Had the author consulted the later and more authoritative Eubel, *Hierarchia*, or even used Gams more scientifically, he would have identified Guillaume de Blois and Guillaume de Champagne instead of having the same man occupy two cardinalates (p. 211); and he would have perceived that Egidio Pierleoni whom he erroneously notes as cardinal-deacon of D. Nicholas in *Carcere Tulliano* in 1198 (p. 213) is the same as Wido Pierleoni who, he states, was created cardinal-deacon of the above title in 1205 (p. 215).

This appendix is only part of sixty pages of similar matter which encumbers the book. There are ten pages filled with a list of "principal contemporary princes and prelates mentioned in the text" (pp. xv-xxiii). Of the eight well-arranged genealogical tables scattered through the book none except that of the House of Conti is particularly relevant. Appendix VI. "does not pretend to be anything more than a very brief epitome of the voluminous correspondence of the Lord Innocent. At most it hopes to illustrate—the meticulous and unwearying attention which He accorded to all matters—which came into His pontifical purview" (p. 235). The effort expended upon it was misapplied; the student cannot depend on such a table, and the lay reader has no use for it.

Appendix IV., a translation of Innocent's sermon at his own consecration, is the oasis in the desert; it does more to make one feel the personality of the great pontiff than anything else in the book. But Innocent's personality appealed to our author less than did his heraldic

device, if one may judge from the characteristic flourish with which the book ends (p. 210). "So passed out of this life the Most Holy Lord Innocent the Third, in the fifty-sixth year of His age, and the nineteenth of His reign as God's Vicegerent upon earth. And He bore Arms, of His Tusculan House of Conti di Segni, *gules, an argent-headed eagle displayed chequy sable and or, orientally crowned of the last.*"

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL.

Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291-1327). In two volumes. Herausgegeben von Dr. HEINRICH FINKE, Professor der Geschichte in Freiburg i. B. (Berlin und Leipzig: Walter Rothschild. 1908. Pp. clxxx, 510; 511-973.)

AMONG the foremost of that notable group of Catholic scholars whose researches have during the past quarter-century so enriched our knowledge of the closing centuries of the Middle Ages is Professor Heinrich Finke, known especially to students of history by his studies relative to that first great international congress of Europe, the reforming Council of Constance. As a foundation for the definitive history of that body which we are some day to have from his pen, he began a dozen years ago, on a scale far more comprehensive than that of the long standard collection of Hermann von der Hardt, the publication, under the title of *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, of all the extant documents bearing upon the proceedings of the council. It was while laying under tribute the archives of Europe for this great enterprise that Dr. Finke discovered the astonishing wealth of those of the crown of Aragon, at Barcelona. That Aragon, the home, the refuge and the hope of the recalcitrant Benedict XIII., should furnish much for the story of the council was indeed not strange; but when, in the spring of 1901, his gleaning for that task complete, the historian found himself with leisure still upon his hands and gave rein to his collector's zeal, he stumbled on a harvest more surprising.

It has been the grief of the medieval historian that his sources permit no such insight into motive and character as do those of modern history. His men and women flit across the stage like shadows or stalk it stiffly as mere types—the knight, the monk, the lady, the prelate. It is only when the gossip reports of the envoys of Venice give flesh and blood to the actors in the drama of politics that the pen of a Ranke is tempted to interpret it in terms of human purpose and effort. But it was precisely such a series of diplomatic relations, almost comparable to those of the Venetians in fullness and in freedom, which now revealed itself to the astonished Dr. Finke in the Aragonese archives; and that not alone for the fifteenth century, but from the end of the thirteenth onward. At a time when, in the rest of Europe, the archives of

sovereigns were just beginning to take on systematic organization, those of Aragon were already gathering and storing records with a ripe activity, and not more for the affairs of her kings at home than for their dealings with all the world. Provençal more than Spanish by speech and literature and feudal ties, her princes had from the twelfth century found themselves in the very vortex of Christian politics. In the thirteenth the marriage with the heiress of the Hohenstaufen had broadened their interests to Italy and the Orient and had quickened their watch of pope and of Saracen. At the opening of the fourteenth the numerous progeny of Jayme of Aragon opened to him a career as a father-in-law comparable to that of Rudolf of Hapsburg in the generation before his own or that of the late King of Denmark in ours; and, in particular, the wedding of his daughter Isabella to Frederic the Handsome, the Hapsburg claimant to the German throne, brought him into closest touch with the affairs of central Europe. And Jayme himself, son of a Hohenstaufen mother and spouse of an Angevin wife, with a love of pen and ink worthy of a descendant of the troubadour Alfonso and an ancestor of the scribbling Philip II. brought to this breadth of international relations a zeal in correspondence and a system in the direction of his envoys and the preservation of their reports which make his diplomatic archives without a parallel in the Middle Ages.

The earliest fruit of Professor Finke's discovery was his well-documented *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.: Funde und Forschungen*, published in 1902, which threw so new and brilliant a light on the personality not only of that pontiff himself, but on that of his strange theologian-physician, Arnold of Villanova. In 1904 his Salzburg address before the German historians (later printed in the Austrian *Mitteilungen* under the title of *Zur Charakteristik Philipps des Schönen*) brought the Aragonese archives to bear upon the yet more problematic character of the pope's great antagonist, Philip of France. Their wealth of material on the *cause célèbre* of the suppression of the Templars he found enough for two volumes, lately published. But all this has only cleared the ground for his more comprehensive *Acta Aragonensia*, to whose selection he has devoted a half-dozen successive vacation sojourns in Barcelona, and which he believes to embody the most interesting contents of all King Jayme's royal correspondence.

It is, indeed, only a selection—of the more than sixteen thousand *cartas reales diplomáticas* some six hundred only are here printed, though hundreds more are laid under contribution for the introductions and notes—but it is the selection of a trained and thorough eye. "Scarcely a prominent name of the Age of Dante", boasts Dr. Finke with justice, "is here unmentioned." Leaving Spanish affairs for Spanish scholars, he restricts himself almost wholly to what concerns the world at large. The kernel of the collection is formed by the diplomatic reports from the papal court; and first of all, filling two hundred pages and more, are printed those whose chief worth is for

papal history. These are most abundant for the period preceding the death of Boniface VIII. (1290-1304), a few deal with the brief pontificate of Benedict XI. and with the election of Clement V., then comes a wide gap, and all the rest have to do with the electoral struggle which ended in the choice of John XXII. There follow a couple of hundred pages throwing light on the affairs of Germany and of the emperors during the long reign of Jayme; then sixty on those of France close the first volume. A full half of the second is devoted to the politics of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, a chapter to Jayme's relations with the Christian Orient, three to the relations of the Roman see to state and church in Aragon, with glimpses into the ecclesiastical life of Aragon itself and notably into its Inquisition, while the closing two bring tidings of her scholars, her university, her art, her literature.

To the whole Professor Finke has prefixed two notable contributions of his own: an essay of a hundred pages on *Das Urkundenwesen unter Jayme II.*, which is far our best account of the Aragonese chancellery and archives, and one almost as long on Jayme's diplomatic system and his other sources of foreign intelligence. Now that this task is done, he promises us speedily the completion of his books—both proceedings and history—on the Council of Constance.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494.

By M. MARGARET NEWETT, B.A. (Manchester: University Press. 1907. Pp. vii, 427.)

THIS is a deeply interesting record, not merely of a Syrian pilgrimage, but of Mediterranean life, and of the experiences of an intelligent Italian gentleman at the close of the Middle Ages—two years after the discovery of America. It would not be easy to find a more graphic picture, in old days, of a voyage from Venice to the Levant, or of the miseries, insults and extortions suffered by Christian pilgrims of the post-Crusading time, in their dealings with those "cruel mastiffs and raging dogs", the triumphant Moslems of the Mameluke empire. Casola's sense of humor (he finds the Old Man of the Faith in Jerusalem a picturesque personage, worth looking at "besides the faith"), his capacity for taking care of himself ("to fare better, I never left the captain": "I supported the captain, because even on land, he paid my expenses"), his success in escaping *mal-de-mer* ("the sea did not upset my stomach, like many others"), all furnish diverting touches to this delightful narrative. Upon the editing much trouble has been spent; yet perhaps the picture would have been even better if the painter had taken more pains. A careful revision might have averted some mistakes in detail, infelicities of style and vagaries of printing and punctuation. Thus in the first sentence of note 80 (p. 387), the placing of the commas hardly aids the sense; on p. 2, Madame de Chitrow is surely

Madame de Khitrovo, the well-known editor of the *Itinéraires Russes* for the Société de l'Orient Latin; the treatment of *missa sicca* on p. 373, and of the Roman missal on p. 349, seems hardly sufficient; and the suggestion on p. 3 that the great work of Friar Odoric of Pordenone is a narrative of a Palestine pilgrimage, is based on misconception. Odoric's *De Terra Sancta* is almost certainly spurious, while his undoubted *magnum opus*, the *Descriptio Orientalium Partium*, never touches the Holy Land. The references to earlier medieval pilgrimages on pp. 5-6 are inadequate, if anything of an account, however summary, is intended; and if it is merely two or three examples which are desired, the selection is not representative or happy. The notice of Antoninus of Placentia shows perhaps less familiarity than could be wished with a chapter of history not unconnected with Casola's work. Antoninus Martyr's *De Locis Sanctis* is not merely "mentioned by Tobler", but is edited by him in *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (1877, pp. 90-138), as well as by Gildemeister (1889); it is a tract of greater importance and celebrity than Miss Newett's allusion would suggest. Why, again, do we have Tholomarij on certain pages (*e. g.*, 60, 88-89, III, etc.) and Tholomarii on others (*e. g.*, 61), "Bragadino after the terrible tortures, was flayed", and similar oddities? And in citing Hakluyt's great collection, with the italicized title which implies precision, is it not better to quote it as the *Principal Navigations*, rather than as *Voyages and Discoveries*? On the other hand, warm praise must be given to the sketch (as it is too modestly called) of Venetian legislation upon pilgrim passenger-transport, to the whole account of the organization of this pilgrimage-system in Casola's day, to the summary of our pilgrim's life and writings and to many of the notes, at the end of this volume, upon people and places mentioned in Casola's narrative. Among other advisers the editor especially acknowledges her debt to Professor Tout, whose skilful aid was well bestowed upon a study thoroughly deserving of a place in the publications of Manchester University.

Weltgeschichte der Neuzeit. In two volumes. VON DIETRICH SCHÄFER. (Berlin: E. S. Mittler and Son. 1907. Pp. viii, 381; vii, 418.)

THIS work is a history of the world from about 1500 to the present time. In selecting his title Professor Schäfer has made it clear that he is not writing a *Weltgeschichte* in the older and more commonly accepted sense of the term. He does not begin with the history of Sumer and Akkad and trace in chronological sequence the progress of civilization through Greece, Rome and the Middle Ages to the founding of the modern German Empire. He interprets "world history" to mean a history of the world geographically considered, a history, that is, of a period no more remote than the era of discovery and colonization, when the world, as we know it to-day, first came to the knowledge of

men. *Weltgeschichte der Neuzeit* is, therefore, the history of the development and interrelation of the different peoples and nations of both hemispheres during the last four hundred years, presented with regard for the unity and continuity of the subject and with the purpose of explaining the conditions from which have sprung the ideas and institutions of the present time. The author believes that such a story should be told by a single writer, who alone can give the proportion and perspective the subject demands and can present a definite point of view and adhere to it consistently. Manifestly such a history can be little more than a work of co-ordination, containing a rapid survey of the events in Europe and America since the time of Columbus.

Were this all that Professor Schäfer has tried to accomplish, his work would call for little further comment than the statement that it is accurate and trustworthy. In his introduction, however, he presents another motive that has influenced him, a motive which is perhaps the most interesting and suggestive portion of his work. He has written this history for the purpose of educating the German people in higher historical ideals and in a better appreciation of themselves. He wishes to arouse in the minds of German readers a truer understanding of the meaning and significance of history and a more just conception of the place that Germany occupies in the world of to-day.

He criticizes his fellow Germans in three important particulars. In the first place, he thinks that German historical work has become so far specialized as to be in danger of deteriorating into mere antiquarianism; and he is impressed with the fact that German historical writers are displaying in their productions a lack of historical insight, comprehension and judgment. In the second place, he believes that the average German's idea of world-history is radically wrong, in that it views the past in order to glorify the present and to magnify the part which Germany has played in the upbuilding of her empire. He reminds his compatriots that such a patriotic motive is working an injury to German standards in that it blinds the German people to the real problems which world-history has to offer. He wishes to show that since the founding of the empire so many new conditions have appeared as to demand an entire shifting of the point of view and that unless the Germans read the lesson aright they run the risk of losing their prestige among the nations. In the third place, he reminds his readers that the Germans are the youngest of modern peoples and that others older than themselves have developed more highly the sense of national unity. He sees many forces at work to-day in the empire which are weakening the bonds of German unity and thinks that the German people will be living a life of self-deception if they believe that they are superior to or even equal to other nations in this particular. To check the current of this belief he has endeavored in his work to present a fair-minded and well-proportioned account of the history of modern times. He is not confident that he has attained the ideal he has set before himself, but if

his effort prove unsuccessful, the failure, he declares, will be due to the difficulties of the task and not to any lack of desire on his own part.

Professor Schäfer has succeeded to no considerable degree and shows a mental detachment from Continental prejudices that is unusual in a German writer of contemporary history. His attitude toward England, France, Austria and Russia is remarkably just and honorable. Of the United States he speaks with high appreciation; he justly values her size, appreciates her power and her ideals and even respects the Monroe doctrine. But he does not permit us to become unduly elated, for he disposes of our national history in about twenty-five pages, ten fewer than he devotes to the history of the Germanic Confederation from 1830 to 1848. Such treatment is, however, better than we have been led to expect in the past from German annuals and year-books. The Müller-Wippermann *Geschichte der Gegenwart* used to allot to the United States from half a page to seven pages and to Germany from 175 to 215 pages in its yearly record of events; in the *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, written before 1888 but recently translated and in part rewritten and published as *A History of All Nations*, the United States scarcely found mention. During the last decade, however, Germany has found reason to believe that some portions of our history are worth considering. This is an interesting fact, but it is more interesting that a German historian should be found who is willing to make such a frank acknowledgment as is contained in this work of his country's shortcomings in historical writing and interpretation.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Factors in Modern History. By A. F. POLLARD, M.A., Professor of Constitutional History in University College, London. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. xi, 287.)

HAVING established for himself a reputation in the field of Reformation history, by a number of brilliant monographs on sixteenth century subjects and characters in England and on the Continent, Professor Pollard comes before the public with a work of a less special nature—a collection of eleven lectures dealing with a variety of different topics ranging from Nationality to the Study of History in the University of London. The title *Factors in Modern History* is, however, too inclusive and somewhat misleading: the book deals primarily with British affairs, and though clever and illuminating comparisons with Continental men and events are liberally scattered throughout its pages, the reader will be disappointed if he expects to find more than these. The topics chosen for discussion, moreover, fall, for the most part, in the period of the Tudors and Stuarts; the eighteenth century is dealt with meagrely, the nineteenth not at all.

Like everything that proceeds from Mr. Pollard's pen, the present book is vigorous and stimulating. Familiar facts are presented 'in

original ways. The reader is sure to be interested, and when he does not agree, to be irresistibly impelled to an attempt at refutation; and this is high praise for any lecturer. The book abounds in apt and forcible illustrations. There is some exaggeration. To say that there was "as much justification" for the executions of More and Fisher as for that of Campion (p. 113) or that "there is no greater error than to think that [the Reformation] had anything to do with political liberty" (p. 70), is too much. And there are many sentences, which if strictly verbally correct, certainly convey a wrong impression; *e. g.*, the statement on page 111 that for "fourteen years" after 1515 Henry VIII. "tried to govern without Parliament", which is to ignore the session of 1523, or the words at the top of page 255, which would imply that Connecticut was not in the New England Confederation. There are, moreover, some definite misstatements of facts; as for instance, that Louisiana was French "about the middle of the seventeenth century" (p. 241), or (p. 81) that "only four English dukes" lived in the reign of Henry VIII. (there were five: two Howards, Brandon, Stafford and Fitzroy).

One of the most interesting lectures in the book is the eighth—entitled Church and State in England and Scotland—which ascribes the divergence between the two nations up to the end of the seventeenth century primarily to the fact that the former was Erastian and the latter theocratic, and their final union in 1707 to the decline of the theological and the rise of the latitudinarian and commercial spirit evident in both. Noteworthy also are chapters iv. and v., in which Professor Pollard returns with undiminished vigor to the somewhat revolutionary ideas concerning Henry VIII.'s dealings with his parliaments which he first enunciated in his admirable life of that monarch (published in 1902 and again in 1905)—dealings which he maintains to have been much less tyrannical and corrupt than is usually supposed. Some of the statements in his earlier works have been considerably modified, others have been strengthened by comparison with the methods of other Tudor sovereigns, but the net effect of his contention in both books is the same. Those who are interested in the discussion of this important subject will look forward with eagerness to the publication of Professor Pollard's forthcoming work on England, 1547-1603, in the series of Messrs. Hunt and Poole, in which he will have an opportunity, which we trust he will not leave unimproved, to treat Henrician parliaments retrospectively in comparison with those of Elizabeth.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

History of the People of the Netherlands. By PETRUS JOHANNES BLOK, Professor of Dutch History in the University of Leyden. Translated by OSCAR A. BIERSTADT. Part IV. *Frederick Henry, John De Witt, William III.* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. v, 566.)

By promise, this volume in translation is penultimate. It includes matter condensed as well as rendered from the Dutch text of volumes IV. and V. The honors belong notably to Mr. Oscar A. Bierstadt, who has given us a narrative in free, flowing and idiomatic English. Having tested the work in a number of places, by comparison with the Dutch text, we believe that the English version gains in force, clearness and interest by Mr. Bierstadt's renderings and judicious omissions. These latter are purely matters that concern the question of good English, or of justifiable terseness; for rarely has any statement of historical rather than rhetorical value been omitted. With most of the notes, the usual chapter in the appendix on the sources of Netherlands history (in this case from 1621 to 1702) has been retained. There are three colored maps, one of the Netherlands in 1648 and one in 1702, showing the ever-shifting boundaries of the agglomeration called the Netherlands, with one map of the North Sea and the English Channel, showing the location of the chief events in the naval wars, and a good index. This apparatus affords the scholar valuable guidance, for Dr. Blok's many years of research have covered the archives in other countries than his own and he seems to be abreast of their modern historical literature.

Dutch history, as read or written by foreigners, suffers from disproportionate treatment. To the average reader, though probably not to most students, the time covered by this volume forms the most interesting era in the evolution of the Dutch people, for it is that of the "Golden Age", when art, science, discovery, exploration, invention, wealth and comfort were at their height. The two-fold struggle, between the centralizing and decentralizing forces and between the Calvinists and Arminians, was over and the age of healthy unification in state and of Rembrandt's might in art had come. Dr. Blok limns in clear outline and touches with firm hand the pictures of Frederick Henry, De Groot and other greater or minor characters, making a brilliant panorama of a prosperous and happy people. Yet one seems to miss the colossal figures of William, Barneveldt and Maurice. The chapter on the United Netherlands in 1640 reveals the fact that while toleration was neither perfect nor had reached the point of full religious liberty, yet the Netherlands led the world in freedom of conscience. The career of John De Witt, sublime in its purity and vigor, shows clearly how much the Republic still bore the marks of the limitations suffered in its origin.

Though this volume treats so largely of political history, it is the political history of the people, while liberal space is granted also to other

utterances of the popular life. Notably is this true in those chapters which tell of the preparations for the great coalition which William III. was to direct. We learn how and why one-half of the army of William III. in England were Huguenots, and why even to-day fifty per cent. of Leyden's population are of the same stock. After a clear description of the movements, in the coalition war, of England's Dutch deliverer of 1688, and an account of his last years, the volume closes with a brilliant chapter on the commercial situation and the life of the people at the end of the seventeenth century.

Since this volume treats of events which are more familiar to most of us, and of Holland's relation to the great powers of France and England, we are glad that Professor Blok shows throughout great judicial poise. His work is on the whole admirable. It is especially interesting to those who would know something of the actual history and life in the home-land of the early New Netherlanders, their thought and enterprises, fears and hopes, their religious and intellectual inheritances and sympathies. More than any other of Dr. Blok's volumes this one lives up to its title.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

Letters and Papers of Charles, Lord Barham, Admiral of the Red Squadron, 1758-1813. Volume I. Edited by Sir JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON, M.A., D.Litt. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume XXXII.] (Printed for the Society. 1907. Pp. lxvi, 422, 4.)

THE present volume of Lord Barham's papers contains only those relating to the period when he was plain Captain Middleton (1758-1787), and is valuable rather because it contains letters from celebrated naval commanders of the time, or from men closely associated with them, than because of the few letters written by himself. Here one finds letters from Sir Samuel, afterwards Lord Hood, with enclosures from Campbell, Carleton, Digby, Galvez, Graves, Pigot, Prescott, Rodney and Prince William Henry. There are letters from Joseph Hunt, Sir George Rodney, Sir Charles Douglas, Captain Kempenfelt, Admiral Barrington and from one Captain Walter Young, who is quite unknown to fame, but whose intimate relations with Rodney give to his letters an interest second to none in the volume. The larger part of the interest of these letters belongs to the war in American and West Indian waters during and immediately following the American Revolution. The letters of Young, Rodney's flag captain, and of Hood, throw much new light on Rodney's campaigns. Hood's well-known criticisms of Rodney's vanity and greed, of his want of energy, decision and self-restraint, are corroborated by Young's criticisms, which are only in part vitiated by the fact that in some instances Young attributes to himself (pp. 65-66) certain strokes of Rodney's "genius". The Guichen and Rodney naval contest of April 12, 1780, is here described (pp. 53-55.

101-107) with greater detail and precision than ever before. Rodney's failure to crush Guichen on that occasion is plainly shown to have been due to the former's failure to make his instructions to the captains of the fleet plainly understood. It is hardly possible that he could have been clear when *all* misunderstood. An interesting light is also thrown upon Arbuthnot's mutinous reception of Rodney, when the latter appeared off Sandy Hook in September, 1780. Young thinks it was largely due to the rascality of Arbuthnot's secretary (p. 81) and he makes specific charges. The Hood letters are complementary to those already published by the Naval Records Society in volume III. of their publications. The most important of these relate to the skirmish off Chesapeake Bay, September 5, 1781, which left Cornwallis no alternative but to surrender. They show the British commander's complete ignorance of DeGrasse's plans which is easily explained by the fact that he did not fix them until the very last, and then in direct opposition to his earlier ideas.

One of the most important facts impressed upon the student by these letters is the erroneousness of the idea that the French naval power in the West Indies was broken completely by the famous victory of Rodney, April 12, 1782.

The editorial work of Professor Laughton is admirable. There is a good index, and some interesting court-martial records are printed in the appendices.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Die Polnischen Provinzen Russlands unter Katharina II. in den Jahren 1772-1782. Versuch einer Darstellung der Anfänglichen Beziehungen der Russischen Regierung zu ihren Polnischen Untertanen. Von U. L. LEHTONEN. Aus dem Finnischen Original übersetzt von GUSTAV SCHMIDT. (Berlin: George Reimer. 1907. Pp. xxxvii, 634.)

THIS study of the relations between the government of Russia and its Polish subjects after the first partition of Poland is the work of a Finnish scholar. It is clear, systematic, scientific and impartial. The author has used in carrying out his task the Russian archives at St. Petersburg and the German archives at Berlin. In addition, he has gone through all the published sources and all the most important secondary works, including publications in Russian, and in German particularly, but without neglecting French and Polish books, and using at least one book in the English language. He declares that he regrets his inability to make as much use as might be desirable of Polish works, but thinks that as his essential object was to describe the measures of the Russian government no important errors have resulted. He is undoubtedly right.

The book is divided into two parts, the first of which is devoted to a consideration of the most important causes for the downfall of Poland. It is an excellent exposition of these causes, going thoroughly but succinctly into the subjects of the social classes in Poland; the religious situation; the trade and commerce of the country; its economic condition; its lack of order and security; its lawlessness; its divided and disorganized government; its want of good roads; its system of taxes. The author shows conclusively that the responsibility for all the difficulties in Poland lay primarily in the character and the policy of the nobility, who made it impossible to create an efficient centralized government, who oppressed the peasantry and who were responsible for the intolerance in religious matters which played so important a part in the ruin of the country.

We have in the second and much the larger part of the book a detailed account of the work of the Russian government in attempting to apply Russian governmental methods and the Russian system of government to the Polish provinces. The writer presents a minute and painstaking description of the new methods and institutions introduced, and shows clearly their superiority over those previously existing. He concludes that White Russia was the gainer by annexation in respect to the condition of the peasantry, of the Jews, of the middle classes, and in regard to public buildings, roads and bridges, the administration of justice, the security of property, the system of taxes and, above all, internal tranquillity. There was no attempt to exploit the conquered lands and their administration was at least on an equality with that existing elsewhere in Russia.

The reader is impressed as he proceeds with the energy, the insight, the seriousness, the common-sense and the devotion to duty which characterize Katherine II. as the head of the Russian state. It is a phase of Katherine's character not commonly brought out, and certainly not with the fullness and particularity here displayed. It is true, of course, that Katherine's efforts in White Russia, as elsewhere, were only partially successful, but it is also plain that she was not guilty, as frequently supposed, of attempting the impossible, of being misled as a consequence of holding eighteenth-century views on the nature of man and of institutions. She attempted more than she could do, but she did much of what she attempted, and the greatest of statesmen resembled her in these respects. There was too much haste both on her part and on that of her subordinates, and the task was too great to be settled rapidly. Lehtonen's dispassionate description of what was attempted makes this clear, while it reveals how thoroughly under benevolent despotism the government becomes little more than a gigantic business machine controlling the lives of its subjects in every relation.

Lehtonen displays remarkable skill in his character sketches of the men who were the instruments of the great empress in carrying out her plans in the Polish provinces. Especially good is his portrait of

Chernisheff. He and his assistants were men of gigantic abilities and of gigantic vices. Whatever success was gained was due in large measure to their abilities; whatever failure came was due in an even greater measure to their vices. It is true that Katherine used the best instruments she had, and that White Russia suffered in no greater degree than did the rest of Russia from the shortcomings of its rulers.

A grave danger in writing Russian history is that of depending too fully upon state papers, and upon the letters and the memorials of the parties interested. But Lehtonen has guarded carefully against falling into this error. Though he builds upon the letters, instructions and memorials of the principal actors, he does not neglect the accounts of travellers and the memoirs and letters of people not directly interested in the government. In these he finds material which leads him to modify conclusions which follow from the reading of the state papers only. He weighs the differing views carefully and judiciously, and comes to his own conclusions.

An excellent bibliography of the principal secondary books on the subject is affixed to the work. RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

Taine, Historien de la Révolution Française. Par A. AULARD, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1907. Pp. xi, 333.)

THIS volume is a reprint of the articles that appeared in the *Révolution Française* in the years 1906 and 1907. The addition of a Conclusion gives a finish to the book that one missed in the articles, and sums up the results of the investigation touching the value of Taine's *Origines*, or at least the first four volumes of that work, as a history of the French Revolution.

To a few specialists upon the French Revolution, it has for a long time been no secret that Taine enjoyed a reputation that he did not deserve, but even to those who knew from personal investigation the worthlessness of this famous work in some detail, the revelations of Aulard concerning its general worthlessness as a history will come with something of a shock. Aulard's volume is one of the most exhaustive and destructive pieces of historical criticism that, to my knowledge, has been produced upon the period of the French Revolution. Probably no living man but Aulard was capable of writing it. His knowledge of the sources, both printed and manuscript, is so extensive, his mastery of the established facts and their meaning so great that the task of criticizing Taine's work presented but one serious problem, namely, how to formulate the results of the investigation.

After an introductory chapter in which Taine's early career as a writer, his credulous and uncritical temper and the circumstances under which he conceived and executed his project of writing a history of the Revolution are described—mostly from Taine's own letters and journals—Aulard examines the four volumes, chapter by chapter, treating

the questions of investigation, criticism and synthesis in a masterly manner. The criticism though is so destructive that before the task is half done one feels inclined to call a halt out of pity for the victim. It is a reflection upon historical scholarship, both in Europe and in this country, that a work of this uncritical character should have acquired and maintained so long the reputation that it enjoys to-day even among historians. The explanation is probably found in the fact that Taine deceived himself before he deceived others. He had the poorest kind of natural equipment for historical work, being credulous to a degree that is seldom encountered in a man of his reputation, and the situation was rendered even worse by the lack of all scientific training in historical research and historical criticism. The temerity with which he plunged into his work, the brief period of time devoted to his investigations for the various volumes, are almost inconceivable. Aulard's ruthless criticism shows that his investigations in the archives were almost farcical. Out of hundreds of cartons, in a series, he examined but one or two, here and there; of the thousand or more (1777) of documents in a certain series, one of the most important for his work, he consulted but twenty-six. Of the printed sources, he used chiefly the *mémoires* and the letters of foreigners, for the most part hostile to the Revolution. Of the great mass of newspapers, he made use only of the *Moniteur* and the *Mercure*. He seems to have been unacquainted with the *procès-verbaux* of the assemblies. Not only is his documentation pitifully meagre, but he uses his sources in the most uncritical manner. "The document did not talk to him, but he talked to the document all the time." Inexact references, inexact and garbled quotations, statements of fact based solely on a worthless affirmation of a contemporary writer, generalizations based upon evidence limited in quantity and of questionable value, a synthesis that knows neither time nor place, but constructs a mosaic from material drawn from different regions and different ages, that leaves out of account such an all important fact as the revolutionary wars, these are the defects of Taine's *monumental* work that are demonstrated by Aulard in over three hundred pages of detailed criticism. One closes the book with a feeling of profound respect for Aulard's critical scholarship and of regret that he should have been compelled to devote so much of his time to such negative work.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Napoleon. A History of the Art of War, from the Beginning of the French Revolution to the End of the Eighteenth Century, with a Detailed Account of the Wars of the French Revolution. In four volumes. Volumes III. and IV. By THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE, U. S. A. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1907. Pp. xv, 747; ix, 808.)

THE last two volumes of Colonel Dodge's *Napoleon* are a distinct

improvement over the first two; and the manner in which the diminution of the physical energy and relentless vigor in following up to the very end every advantage gained, together with the ever-growing self-deception and egotism which brought about the downfall of the greatest of all strategists is traced through its varying stages, is admirably done. According to the author's postulate, "the great captain's equipment consists of intellect, character and opportunity, each to an exceptional degree and all working together" (III. 474) and he demonstrates conclusively that whenever any of these traits becomes impaired to a material extent the master-hand must necessarily lose its grasp and fall below its normal standard, if not end by being overwhelmed by circumstances over which absolute control could otherwise have been maintained. Napoleon himself epitomized the case perfectly when he wrote on September 26, 1797, to Talleyrand, the Minister of Exterior Relations: "All great events hang always only by a hair. The able man profits by everything, neglects nothing at all which may yield him some chances more. The less able man, sometimes by neglecting a single one of these, makes everything fail" (IV. 93).

Basing his argument on the hypothesis that "Napoleon can be measured only by himself" (IV. 562), the author declares—and there can be no doubt of his correctness—that in 1805 and 1806 Napoleon's "intellectual force and vigor of character and clearness of vision may be said to have been at their highest" (III. 653), and he lays particular emphasis on the maxim contained in the order sent to Soult at 10 p. m. on December 3, 1805, the day after Austerlitz, the most decisive battle of modern times. In this despatch Berthier wrote at Napoleon's dictation, "The Emperor will personally stick to the heels of the enemy. His opinion is that in war nothing has been done so long as something yet remains to be done; no victory is complete so long as one can do more" (IV. 594).

Such was the standard which Napoleon set for himself and by which he must be judged, although after 1805 even he was compelled to acknowledge that "One has only a certain time for war; I will be good for it six years more, after that even I must cry halt" (III. 329).

The third volume of Colonel Dodge's work opens with the operations in Spain, where, in 1808, Napoleon "conducted a beautiful campaign on a clearly thought out plan, and successful apparently at all points" (III. 125), which contrasted strongly with the subsequent lamentable failures of his marshals when left to their own devices, thus proving the truth of Napoleon's assertion that "in war men are nothing; it is a man who is all" (III. 55) and demonstrating that his adversaries did not overrate his genius in the appellation of the "The Hundred Thousand Man" (IV. 681). The dual personality of Napoleon the Captain and Napoleon the Emperor then began to appear, the latter militating more with each successive year against the former, as the author shows, and illustrating potently the proverb of Frederick the Great that "he who seeks to hold everything will end by losing everything" (IV. 281).

Although the Five Days' Campaign of Eckmühl—of which Napoleon was proudest—showed the great captain at his best, he failed to pursue the defeated Austrians after they crossed the Danube at Ratisbon with the relentless vigor he would have employed in his earlier campaigns, was checked at Aspern and Essling, and was compelled to put forth his mightiest efforts to escape defeat at Wagram where he again failed to follow up and annihilate the archduke (III. 217-328). Purely military wisdom ought to have made him return instantly to Spain, but, as Colonel Dodge aptly says, "from 1809 his old sense of perspective, of the relative values of things on a grand scale, had begun to weaken" (IV. 411), "he was unwilling or unable to exert himself as he had formerly been wont to do" (III. 259) and "with ever growing love of comfort . . . he disliked the kind of struggle which a great victory would not end. He was no longer acting on military grounds, and his natural impatience was growing of things which did not work his way" (III. 380). Underrating Wellington (III. 424), he most unwisely attempted to dictate operations from a distance (III. 349) and one must agree with the author that "it is hard to conceive how the great soldier could have been so blind as not to consolidate the forces in Spain and thus oblige his lieutenants to work together, on the constant theory that, when you have beaten the main force of the enemy, other things will take care of themselves. This had through life been his strongest principle, and yet in Spain he 'saw too many things at once', and 'striving to keep everything, he thereby lost everything'" (IV. 474).

In the Campaign of Russia, Colonel Dodge asserts, "it is not so much a fact that Napoleon undertook too gigantic a task for his power at its best, as it is that he did not show in its doing his ancient power of body and character" and "had he used his opportunities in 1812 with the judgment and energy of 1805, the armies of Barclay and Bagration would have been destroyed in July, and a glorious peace have ended the operations before the Grand Army had reached Smolensk" (III. 428). But his belief in his own invincibility and his insatiate craving to dominate the political world were permitted to outweigh military wisdom, an *ignis fatuus* lured him on to Moscow only to vanish there, and the awful retreat, culminating in the utter ruin of his mightiest army, furnished a pitiful example of the dire straits to which even the greatest general of modern times can be reduced.

The Campaign of Germany "does not exhibit the great captain to advantage" (IV. 198), not only because the grasping egotist often overcame the military genius but inasmuch as his operations were "weakened by his no longer commanding the veterans of 1805 and 1806, nor indeed being himself the same man. It was not only his physique which years of hard work and self-indulgence had sapped, his force of character had equally suffered. . . . Along with his capacity for bodily exertion, his moral courage had shrunk, and . . . instead of pushing home relentlessly, he sought the line of least resistance" (IV.

84-85). "There was a certain loss of moral energy in the man himself"; "he was wearing out" (IV. 92, 93). "He was on longer conducting war as he had taught his enemies to do it" (IV. 229). "He was continually conceiving brilliant manoeuvres, and never putting any of them to use. Instead of keeping the allies at a distance, he unconcernedly sat down in worthless Dresden and waited for them to surround him. And in going to Leipsic to fight a battle, he deliberately committed strategic suicide" (IV. 240).

Leipzig proved his undoing which is by no means surprising since, as the author pertinently remarks, "history narrates but one brilliant victory gained by an army fighting with a river at its back—Cannae", where Hannibal rose far superior to Napoleon in 1813 (IV. 261). Yet it was the latter who charges us to remember that "Fortune is a woman; if you fail her to-day, look not to find her to-morrow" (III. 507).

The Campaign of France showed Napoleon flashing forth scarcely one whit less brilliant than in 1796, 1797, at Ulm and Austerlitz, in spite of the fact that his "habit of deceiving himself had grown to fatal proportions, and his judgment had deteriorated every year. . . . His plans were founded on estimates and assumptions the like of which scarce one of the generals he had beaten in the past was capable of equaling in absurdity. . . . And yet, when it came to action, Napoleon was never more like himself than in this memorable campaign. It is all like a strange case of mental aberration" (IV. 325).

The inevitable end is thus admirably summarized: "The French people . . . had been crushed by its awful sacrifices, and was no longer willing to abet a continuance of the never-ending wars. Up to a certain point Napoleon's wars had been justifiable; but of late years they had been a drain to France and a menace to Europe. His breaking up of nationalities ran counter to all the tendencies of the age, and this was being recognized as much at home as abroad. . . . He had no conception of the depth of the feeling that he was the arch-disturber of European peace and must be put an end to. . . . While every soldier wonders at his audacity and skill, the student of character must equally wonder at the Emperor's utter cecity" (IV. 401).

At the opening of the operations in 1815, "his mind remained as alert and searching as it ever was" (IV. 517) and the campaign "was planned with as exquisite skill as any of Napoleon's masterpieces; neither Ulm nor Jena was better. But its conduct, like that of the three previous campaigns, fell short of Napoleonic perfection, and, better than any other, it illustrates how, from the days of Wagram, the great captain had fallen from his high estate" (IV. 520).

The failure to see that both *Quatre Bras* and *Ligny* were seized on June 15 and the fatal procrastination of the sixteenth and seventeenth were far from in keeping with "the leader who, in the days of *Castiglione*, rode to a standstill five of the best horses that could be found in Italy, or who called on his lieutenants for two days' work in one—and

got it" (IV. 567), or the indefatigable general of whom Prince Adam Czartoryski wrote in April, 1806, that "Bonaparte is the only man in Europe who knows the value of time." As for the battle itself, the impartial student can scarcely fail to agree with Colonel Dodge that "most of the faults committed at Waterloo—and they were grave—were Ney's faults, due to Napoleon's want of supervision" (IV. 659) and that "the campaign of Waterloo was lost by Napoleon's laxness" (IV. 612).

There is a wealth of detail in Colonel Dodge's volumes concerning every branch of the Napoleonic armies which will not be found in any other work in English and his descriptions of the various campaigns are excellent—indeed with the exception of those which quote *in extenso* the orders and reports of Eckmühl, we know none better than he gives of those astonishing operations. He emphasizes admirably the defects of the training of the marshals, which made them far too dependent upon the Emperor and rendered them incapable of rising to the difficulties of the situations he was wont to create, as well as Napoleon's error in failing to employ both Davout and Soult in their proper capacities in 1813, 1814 and 1815. Attention is properly called to the insufficient organization of the so-called General Staff and the varying efficiency of the systems of supply.

The maps not infrequently leave something to be desired, and, as in the opening volumes, it is a pity that more care was not exercised to make the spelling of the names agree with that of the text. The tables and appendixes at the end of volume IV. form a most valuable adjunct to the work, and have been compiled with herculean labor. To the military student they are teeming with interest, particularly appendix D, entitled Some Noteworthy Marches, where the reader will discover such astonishing feats as the march of the Imperial Guard from Paris to Osnaburg in thirteen days in September, 1806, covering 435 miles at the rate of thirty-three miles a day. Appendix F contains a partial list of authorities from which information has been derived, but it would have been preferable had they been classified according to the chapters to which they relate, as in Fournier's *Napoleon*, rather than arranged alphabetically in accordance to surnames. The final chapter on Early Military Critics gives a succinct estimate of the works of Bülow, Jomini and Napoleon, while the preceding chapter on the Man and Soldier contains a most admirable résumé of this unique character and contrasts him with Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Gustavus Adolphus and Frederick the Great. In summing up the great Corsican, the author pithily remarks that "Napoleon carries us to the highest plane of genius and power and success, and then declines. We begin by feeling that here is indeed the greatest of the captains, and we end by recognizing that he has not acted out his part" (IV. 717). One other paragraph epitomizes the greatest of all strategists admirably: "As a captain he had what rarely coexists,—an equally clear head on

the map and in the field. On the map he was able in both theory and practice. His theories are text-books; his letters are treatises. No higher praise can be spoken than to say that every one of his campaigns was, in a military sense, properly planned. It is he who collated all that was done by the other great captains, clothed it in a dress fit for our own days, and taught the modern world how to make war in perfect form" (IV. 713).

Taken as a whole, this work constitutes an invaluable addition to military literature; certainly there is nothing else in English possessing the same scope and exhaustiveness, and, perhaps, it is not too much to say that the student may search every other language in vain for a general military history of the most consummate of the great captains which is better than Colonel Dodge's *Napoleon*.

FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER.

The Political History of England. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A. Volume XII. *The History of England during the Reign of Victoria (1837-1901)*. By SIDNEY LOW, M.A., Fellow of King's College, London, and LLOYD C. SANDERS, B.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xviii, 532.)

To the authors of the twelfth volume of the *Political History of England* is assigned the whole of the long reign of Queen Victoria—sixty-four years. When Dr. Hunt and Mr. Poole laid out the plan of the history and compressed this long and crowded period into a single volume, it is evident that in approaching modern times, they considered it better to have simply a compendium of events with little or no opportunity for the expression of opinions or ideas that might lead to controversy. This is the only reasonable explanation of the fact that this volume should cover a longer period than any previous volume of the *History* since volume IV., which ends with the death of Richard III., in 1485. As a colorless record of events and a clear elucidation of the history of parties and of political developments in England during the last half of the nineteenth century, the work of Messrs. Low and Sanders is completely successful, and, as a book of reference of this character, it has no rival in the field. No earlier writer of any standing had made a similar attempt to produce in one volume a complete and reliable history of the Victorian era in England. Of the two histories of any account that had previously appeared—Mr. Herbert Paul's *Modern England* and Sir Spencer Walpole's eight volumes of English history in the nineteenth century—neither covers the whole period, nor can claim to be unbiassed. Dr. Franck Bright's text-books probably come nearest to the work of Messrs. Low and Sanders; but they stop short at 1880, and, being written chiefly for students preparing for examinations, lack something of the scholarly character that attaches to the history under review.

The work of condensation was the more arduous on account of the enormous volume of material available. For no other period does there exist the store of newspaper files, Parliamentary papers, Hansards, collected speeches, memoirs, biographies, diaries and letters, which Messrs. Low and Sanders have so faithfully consulted. Unfortunately the authors had completed their work before the appearance of Queen Victoria's *Letters*—a work of such importance to the writers of English history that it may almost be said that it necessitates the rewriting of all history written before its appearance. The *Memoirs* of Baron Stockmar and Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort* though having something of the same point of view give but an adumbration of the flood of light that the queen's correspondence sheds upon English politics, and upon the bungling conduct of affairs in the years when Russell, Aberdeen and Palmerston were contending for the premiership. While Messrs. Low and Sanders have been singularly successful in their attempt to write without party bias, it must not be supposed that they have succeeded entirely in the impossible task of concealing their conservative point of view. This is shown not only in the estimates of men and policies; but also in the amount of space given to some of the great Liberal movements of the reign. Trade-unions and labor representation in Parliament are little more than mentioned, although the first labor member took his seat in the House of Commons in 1868 and the number of labor representatives in Parliament rose within Queen Victoria's reign to seventeen. The work of the Nonconformists in liberalizing England, in regard to religious and church matters, is not given its full due; and the Salvation Army is treated in the tone commonly adopted towards it by English churchmen in the early eighties. The co-operative movement, which has revolutionized both wholesale and retail trade in the north of England and the Midlands, is not even mentioned; and only three lines are given to the movement for municipal ownership, which during the queen's reign transformed every town and city in England and gave to each a business-like and enterprising municipal government. Limitations of space may be pleaded in respect to these shortcomings; but it can hardly be said that these movements and developments are of less account to the student of political history than the conduct of wars or the making and unmaking of cabinets. The most valuable part of Messrs. Low and Sanders's history is that treating of political parties and Parliamentary developments in the first twenty years of the queen's reign. So excellent, so lucid and so skilful is the treatment of the intricate political situations and the confusions of parties during the years when Melbourne, Peel, Russell, Derby, Palmerston and Aberdeen were the political leaders, that the student must regret that the plan of the history did not permit the writers to devote the whole of their 500 pages to the first half of Queen Victoria's long reign, allowing another volume of equal size for the years from the opening of the new era of democracy in 1868 to 1901.

Two maps at the end of the volume give at a glance the redistribution in county and borough representation effected by Gladstone's Redistribution Act of 1885, which was the complement of the Reform Act of 1884 under which the rural laborer was for the first time enabled to cast a vote. Another excellent map shows the expansion of the British Empire between 1837 and 1901. A useful feature of the volume as a book of reference is the table of the cabinets of Queen Victoria. This table is so arranged as to show the fluctuations as to cabinet rank of the holders of certain offices. The Postmaster-General, for example, was a cabinet minister during just about half of the queen's reign, and it frequently happened that in the same administration the Postmaster-General was not continuously a member of the cabinet. The section on authorities which is compiled in accordance with the plan adopted at the outset of the *Political History* is of great value to students. Though its critical treatment of the sources is of the briefest, it is pertinent and illuminating; and in spite of the omission of many works that might have been mentioned, it must be acknowledged to be both comprehensive and fairly exhaustive.

A. G. PORRITT.

The Letters of Queen Victoria. A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence between the Years 1837 and 1861. In three volumes. Edited by ARTHUR CHRISTOPHER BENSON, M.A., and Viscount ESHER, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xix, 641; xiv, 575; xi, 657.)

FROM the point of view of students of English political history and also of the politics of Continental Europe of the middle years of the nineteenth century, it is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of this first installment of Queen Victoria's letters. The editors in their preface intimate that in making their selections from the letters, which belong to the period between the queen's accession in 1837 and the death of the prince consort in 1861, their purpose was to publish such letters as would bring out the queen's character and disposition. Their aim, they add, was to produce a book for the British people rather than to make a special appeal to the students of political history. By their selection the editors have raised a monument to the queen's capability, her sincerity, her sense of the duties and responsibilities of the sovereign, and her great moral worth. They have also given the world a book which must long overtop in historical importance any British political memoirs that have issued from the press. The queen's letters stand alone. They are in a class by themselves; and they must continue to hold their unique position in the political literature of England at least until the *Letters of George III.*, equally well edited and on a correspondingly large scale, are at last made available for students of British and American history.

It is indicative of the newer attitude towards political biography and

memoirs that so little delay has attended the publication of these volumes; and that the memoirs of Grey, Beaconsfield and Salisbury are now the only ones lacking to complete the authentic memoirs of the British prime ministers of the nineteenth century. For the period covered by these *Letters*, the memoir of Lord Derby is the only one that has not been published. The memoirs of Wellington, Peel, Melbourne, Palmerston, Russell, Aberdeen, Herbert, Granville, Argyll and Gladstone are all concerned with the period between 1837 and 1861, although up to 1861 six only of these statesmen had served as prime ministers. These memoirs, and many more of men who did not reach the highest rank among British statesmen, are supplemented by the *Letters of Queen Victoria*. Concerning Melbourne, Peel, Palmerston, Russell, Aberdeen and Derby, there is such a flood of new light on their characters, that much of the political history of England in the nineteenth century will now need revision.

Of the six prime ministers of the first third of the queen's reign Peel alone has his fame enhanced by the publication of these letters. Melbourne wilfully set the queen in hostility to Peel and the Tories who were in opposition when the new reign began. As is shown by his correspondence with Queen Victoria he deliberately created the difficulty in connection with the Ladies of the Bedchamber that resulted in Peel's failure to form an administration in 1839, and he thereby secured a further lease of life for his ministry. As unfolded in these letters, there can be few more discreditable intrigues in English politics of the nineteenth century than Melbourne's method of bringing about Peel's failure in 1839. But in May, 1841, Melbourne was again defeated in the House of Commons, and Peel was able to form an administration. Peel was in power until June, 1846. He was prime minister for five years. He was responsible for the greatest fiscal revolution of the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding the dread which the queen had felt at the incoming of Peel and the Tories—a dread for which Melbourne was chiefly responsible—and in spite of the fact that Melbourne contrary to the spirit of the constitution continued a confidential correspondence on state matters with the queen long after he had ceased to be prime minister, Peel quickly won the queen's confidence and esteem. The queen herself in 1899 admitted that she had been in the wrong in the Bedchamber question in 1839, and the correspondence which passed between the queen and Peel between 1841 and 1846, in conjunction with her high estimate of him, cannot fail to strengthen his position as the greatest British statesmen of the queen's long reign.

In all that goes to make a statesman, Peel in these pages, as in the Hansards, easily towers above Melbourne, Palmerston, Russell, Aberdeen and Derby. Palmerston's fame must suffer as much from the publication of the queen's letters as Melbourne's. They show him to have been without political principles—a politician who might just as easily have served at the head of a Tory as of a Whig administration.

He was overbearing and discourteous to the queen; and he was long one of the severest trials of the queen's political life. He was disloyal to his colleagues of the cabinet, as witness his rejoicing in private that the House of Lords had thrown out the bill for the abolition of the paper duties, although that bill was a government measure—an important part of the financial legislation of 1860, which Gladstone, his Chancellor of the Exchequer had carried by narrow majorities through the House of Commons. Ability is never denied to Palmerston, and he assiduously devoted himself to public business. But the impression left by his correspondence with the queen—a correspondence in which at times he was unwarrantably pert and flippant—is that he was a misfit in a country governed by Parliament, cabinet and the crown; and it is not difficult to understand why the third Earl Grey and other men in the front rank in politics hesitated or even refused to be associated with him in an administration. Russell, in these pages, is unstable and sometimes a schemer with vulgar aims of self-advancement; while of the amiable and easy-going Aberdeen, who was at the head of the coalition government that drifted into the Crimean War, and only just managed to blunder through it, his worth as a statesman, in a country famous for its commerce and industry, may be judged from the fact that he was too indolent to make up his mind whether protection was a right or a wrong policy, and he told his intimate friends that he had no convictions either way, because he could not understand the subject. Queen Victoria's reign is the most memorable in English history; but if Peel is excepted, it cannot be said that much of the glory was due to the premiers who served the queen between 1837 and 1861.

Next to the light which the *Letters* throw on the statesmen of the first twenty years of the reign, the *Letters* are valuable for the information with which they are heavily freighted concerning the relations of the cabinet to the crown. The letters and the memoranda prepared by the queen or the prince consort at each cabinet crisis bring out these relations in their constitutional aspects. Memoirs of cabinet ministers, published during the last thirty or forty years, had already furnished some insight into the relations of ministers to the sovereign; so had the constitutional histories. But in these *Letters of Queen Victoria* the relations of the sovereign to the cabinet, Parliament, the diplomatic service, the army and the navy, the church and the civil service, are for the first time set forth from the point of view of the sovereign. The same is true as regards the prerogative; for the queen was jealous of the prerogative; alert to repel any threatened invasion of it; and in her correspondence with her ministers, there is much that will serve to illuminate English constitutional history.

One of the remarkable revelations of these letters is the small degree to which the aristocratic classes were dislodged from political power by the Reform Act of 1832. It has been commonly accepted that middle-class influence was dominant in the elections to the House of Commons

from 1832 to 1867. There are few traces in these letters of the revolution which the Reform Act of 1832 has been held to have effected. Membership of administrations went almost as exclusively to the aristocracy as it had done before 1832, although both political parties at various times during the first twenty years of the queen's reign had difficulty in recruiting men with sufficient ability for public business to constitute their administrations. At one cabinet crisis, when it appeared that a Tory administration must come in, Derby told the queen that he had not men to form an administration. Yet it seldom seemed to occur to the leaders of either party that the middle-class men who supported them in the House of Commons—men who were accustomed to business—had any claim to cabinet rank. Milner Gibson and Matthew Baines were of Whig administrations in the latter part of the period to which these letters belong; but only minor offices were assigned them. The great governing classes of English political tradition were still in full undisputed possession of their kingdom in the twenty years over which these letters extend; but the tradition of their ability, disinterestedness and integrity is sadly damaged by the disclosures of these volumes.

These volumes in no sense constitute a biography of Queen Victoria. They are made up entirely of letters and memoranda; but there is an adequate introduction to them, written by the editors with none of the formality that in the past characterized royal memoirs. The chapters are arranged by years. Each is preceded by a summary of the events of the year, written with much care and sufficiently full to meet the needs of most readers of the *Letters*; and in addition there are foot-notes wherever it seemed expedient to elucidate allusions and references in the text. The editing, in a word, is in keeping with the value and dignity of the work; and the framework ranks with that of Morley's *Life of Gladstone*.

The Roman Journals of Ferdinand Gregorovius (1852-1874).

Edited by FRIEDRICH ALTHAUS and translated from the second German edition by Mrs. GUSTAVUS W. HAMILTON. (London: George Bell and Sons. 1907. Pp. xxiv, 473.)

It is unfortunate that so interesting a diary as that kept by Gregorovius during the period which produced his masterpiece, the *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, should have been so carelessly edited, both in the original German editions of 1892 and 1893, in the Italian translation of 1895 and in this belated English translation of 1907. The gross carelessness in the spelling of proper names, which characterized the German editions, has marred in even greater degree the volume of Mrs. Hamilton, whose ignorance of historical events in modern Italy has also allowed her to fall into unpardonable errors of translation. Thus she designates Atto Vannucci as *Vannuccio*, makes Persano block the French fleet instead of the Neapolitan harbor of

Gaeta in 1861 (p. 122) and places the Italian annexation of Venice, resulting from the Italo-Prussian alliance, in the conditional instead of in the past tense in a journal entry of 1867 (p. 278).

The student of Gregorovius's works will probably be disappointed in the contents of the *Roman Journals*. They give little detail upon the subjects of Gregorovius's medieval studies. Observations upon the state of the different archives in which he worked are scattered here and there, and many dates of the completion of chapters and the despatch of proof to Stuttgart are given, but the diary of this distinctly human historian relates rather to the history that was being made from day to day in Italy and Germany, than to the history which he was himself reconstructing in the archives. For Gregorovius the present served as a commentary upon the past, but it was more; in it was unfolding the sacred struggle for independence and unity in the two countries which he most loved, and his *Journals* are primarily a record of his interest and acute observations in the progress of these two great movements. He loved the Italy of his day, and he understood her as few Germans have done. "I regard the independence of Italy as a sacred national right", he wrote in 1859, "and if every Austrian were my brother, would myself urge the Italians to drive him out." His statements of historical fact recorded from day to day are untrustworthy, except for events of which he was himself an eye-witness, as those of Rome during the Garibaldian expedition of 1867—and these are important; but it is frequently of interest to know the reports of Italian affairs, though false, that were current, particularly in Rome, where most of his life was spent from 1852 to 1874. The annexation of Rome in 1870 was a bitter disappointment to him; the city seemed to lose its cosmopolitan, republican atmosphere as she "sank into becoming the capital of the Italians". Also in these later years Germanism showed a distinct revival in him; after the Prussian victories of 1866, and especially after those of 1870, an unfortunate sense of German superiority frequently manifests itself in his pages, reflecting diminished sympathy for Italy and understanding of her struggles, and foreshadowing the historian's return to the fatherland. But the sincerity of the *Journals* is illustrated by these changes of feeling and of perception. Statements were not altered when they were disproved by subsequent events, and recorded impressions were not altered when in the writer's mind they were supplanted; Gregorovius's views as they were written down from day to day have been faithfully preserved.

H. NELSON GAY.

Contemporary France (1870-1900). By GABRIEL HANOTAUX.

Translated from the French. Volume III., 1874-1877. (New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. ix, 634.)

THIS entire work, so far as published, and this volume in particular might be cited as a strong argument for the thesis, sometimes put for-

ward, that the best field for the historian is the epoch immediately preceding his own. M. Hanotaux has certainly shown that it is possible to obtain a sufficiently detached point of view so that the narrative will not be distorted or colored by personal feeling.

From the manner of the first two volumes, where Thiers figures as the hero of the first and the Comte de Chambord, though in less degree, as that of the second, it might be expected that Gambetta would be made the hero of the present volume. It is manifest that M. Hanotaux's personal admiration for Gambetta might have led him to treat that statesman as his hero. But the temptation has been resisted. Instead of a hero, we have the constitution of 1875 as the central theme. Its formation and the inauguration of government under it are traced with minute and painstaking accuracy. Such a topic, as the author remarks, is of the highest importance but extremely difficult to handle. On the whole there can be no doubt that the author has here achieved a decided success. It seems equally clear, to the present reviewer at least, that a still greater success would have been achieved if a different arrangement had been followed. Each of the nine chapters, except one which is a commentary on the constitution, is devoted to the narration of all the events which occurred within fixed subdivisions of the period covered by the volume. In accordance with this plan it is frequently necessary to interrupt the account of the evolution of the constitution to relate the history of other matters, especially foreign affairs. In consequence the reader is often forced to lose sight of the central theme and after an interval to return to it. When so short a period is covered and one with so much unity, it would seem altogether better that all matter which would not be treated so as to show a very direct relationship to the central theme, if it must be included, should be reserved for separate chapters after the main subject has been disposed of.

In general this volume has been constructed from published and comparatively well-known materials. Considerable use, however, has been made of the private papers of Decazes and occasionally those of MacMahon. The former enabled the author to furnish an exceedingly interesting and at some points novel account of the war scare of 1875. Supported by two or three positive statements to that effect in contemporary letters of Decazes, he asserts that Hohenlohe also had a share in inspiring the famous *Times* article of May 6, which, by calling the attention of all Europe to the danger, did much to avert it. The contention, however, needs support from some other source before it can be regarded as proven. M. Hanotaux's account of the whole affair leaves the impression that there was a very real danger, despite the German denial, and that war was averted principally through the diplomatic skill of Decazes and the assistance of Alexander II. The account does not present convincing proof that the danger was real, and assuming the existence of the danger, disregards the very plausible explanation offered by Blowitz in his *Memoirs*, an account which the author seems to have overlooked.

The translation shows on the whole an improvement over that of the first two volumes, apparently a new hand being at work. The method, however, is a bad one, and it may well excite wonder that so good a result has been produced. The original has been reduced about five per cent. in bulk by omitting a sentence or two out of about half the paragraphs and by pruning many of the sentences of a clause or two. At the same time a good many of the citations and elucidations contained in the foot-notes of the original have been omitted. At a few points additional paragraphs have been inserted, but without materially enhancing the utility of the work for English readers. The rendering into English is marked by comparatively few downright errors, yet is frequently perplexing. The weakest point is in the matter of political terms. The translator apparently has very little familiarity with English political terminology and is constantly getting homonyms instead of precise equivalents. The proof-reading has been rather carelessly done, especially in the matter of dates.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Professor of History, Harvard University. In twenty-seven volumes. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1904-1908.)

As the various volumes of "The American Nation" have appeared they have been reviewed in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, but the completion of the work is of sufficient importance to warrant the consideration of the series as a whole. That twenty-six volumes by twenty-four different authors have been brought out within six years from the inception of the work and within three years after the publication of the first volume, is of itself a notable achievement. The credit for it is to be ascribed primarily to the untiring energy of the editor, the effects of which have been felt by those in no way connected with the enterprise. The results of this forcing process are evident throughout all the series—more so, somewhat surprisingly, in the later volumes—but the ill effects are more than counterbalanced by the advantage of obtaining a comprehensive treatment of American history that represents contemporary scholarship. It is impossible to say of this as one does of most co-operative histories, that the first volume has become out of date before the last has appeared.

"The principle of the whole series", wrote the editor in his introduction to the first volume, "is that every book shall be written by an expert for laymen; and every volume must therefore stand the double test of accuracy and readableness." In the course of the publication of "The American Nation", the writer of the present review has followed

the criticisms that have been printed, and he has also obtained expressions of personal opinion from different people in different parts of the country upon the merits of the various volumes that make up the series. The specialist generally has been disappointed in the treatment of his particular field, either because it was inadequate and sometimes inaccurate, or because he found in it nothing that was new; but this same critic would grow enthusiastic over some of the volumes outside of his own field; and the layman has been equally enthusiastic over them all. So many volumes by so many different authors must necessarily vary, and vary greatly, by any standards of judgment that may be set up, yet the series as a whole has achieved a somewhat surprising degree of excellence both in readableness and in accuracy, according to the ordinary acceptance of the latter term. It is evident, then, that one great purpose of the work has been accomplished, and the present reviewer would add his testimony as to the usefulness of the series in his own studies, and particularly as to its helpfulness as collateral reading for the classes to which he lectures.

Thus far it has been easy to speak in general terms and of the series as a whole, but the moment one goes farther and considers the history more in detail a difficulty is encountered. It is not that the various books differ in treatment or are of different merit, but it is that the first fifteen volumes present a fairly consecutive and reasonably well-proportioned narrative and the later volumes do not. As a sixteenth volume the editor interpolates an essay on *Slavery and Abolition*, excellent in itself, but destructive of the balance and continuity of the series; then, four volumes upon the Civil War, its causes and its consequences, in spite of the importance and interest attaching to that crisis, seem out of proportion to the treatment of other topics; and the last volumes, except for the editor's concluding summary, are distinctly inadequate, which is doubtless due in part to the nature of their subject and to the limitations of space.

Another question arises, however, and of deeper import, in that it involves the ultimate value of the work that is presented. A somewhat different aspect is put upon the editor's "double test of accuracy and of readableness" by the sentence immediately following: "American history loses nothing in dramatic climax because it is true or because it is truly told." Accuracy and truth are here used as if they were synonymous terms, but are they not in reality very different things? Is not Woodrow Wilson more nearly right when, in his essay "On the Writing of History", he says that "the facts do not of themselves constitute the truth"? Surely there is a world of meaning in his closing sentence, with which he sums up his whole contention: "There is an art of lying; there is equally an art—an infinitely more difficult art—of telling the truth." The question that arises is whether this series really tells the truth regarding American history. It purports to be a history of the American nation: "For this is not intended to be simply a polit-

ical or constitutional history: it must include the social life of the people, their religion, their literature, and their schools. It must include their economic life, occupations, labor systems, and organizations of capital. It must include their wars and their diplomacy, the relations of community with community, and of the nation with other nations." To tell the truth upon such a comprehensive scale is assuredly a difficult task!

The most obvious fact in American history is the expansion of a few thousand colonists fringing the Atlantic coast into a people of nearly a hundred millions occupying the entire central part of the North American continent and holding many outlying possessions. The physical facts of this expansion, that is, the mere acquisition of territory and attendant problems, are well brought out in the entire series, but there is little genuine appreciation of its profound importance in developing American characteristics as well as American character. This expansion is the result of colonization on a scale and with a success that is unrivalled. We are accustomed to say that our colonial system is unique, in that the territories are eventually incorporated as states into the Union. But this is not merely a political fact, for the colonists become an integral part of the parent nation, and become in turn the progenitors of new colonies. If such a process long continues, it is inevitable that in the course of time the colonists should not merely outnumber the parent stock; they will themselves be the nation. Such has been the history of America and the Americans.

If there be an American nation, its basis is the American people, and the American people are a composite of several races and many nationalities. "What is an American?" is the subject which Crèvecoeur took for one of his "Letters", and he answered his own question by saying: "They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race, now called Americans, has arisen." He was speaking of his neighbors in the middle colonies, and specifically excepted the "Eastern provinces . . . as being the unmixed descendants of Englishmen". But Crèvecoeur was writing at the time of the Revolution and the process he was observing became more general with the spread of population beyond the Alleghanies and the intermingling of settlers from various sections, until at the present day his remark is true of practically all America. In other words, the mingling of the various ingredients in our composite nationality is the result of a process that has long been at work, and that has been accelerated, indeed made possible, by our expansion. The appreciation of this is fundamental to the understanding of American history, in particular if that history is to be the history of the American nation. Yet one looks in vain for that appreciation in this series. In the last volume, the editor briefly sketches or rather suggests the process of this development, but it is noticeable that his references to the preceding volumes are very few and that they have but little direct bearing.

In the same way, American characteristics are only to be explained

through American expansion. To use again the oft-quoted sentence of Mr. Bryce, "The West may be called the most distinctly American part of America, because the points in which it differs from the East are the points in which America as a whole differs from Europe." This is not a sudden achievement, it is the result of forces constantly in operation since the first colonies were established on the Atlantic seaboard. The scene of action has been the frontier. Again the reviewer notices the recognition of this feature in the editor's closing volume; he wonders if the editor is not responsible also for the insertion, indeed for the emphasizing of the frontier line in various maps of population and settlement scattered through the whole series; but he wonders still more that nearly all of the "associated scholars" fail to mention this subject at all.

It is a pleasure to find in this series, especially in the earlier volumes, little ground for the common charge against American scholarship that it fails to take European conditions sufficiently into account. The reader may take exception to the treatment of certain periods and subjects, but he cannot fail to be impressed by the advances that are being made in the study of European history in the effort rightly to interpret American development. On the other hand it is evident that much of our historical study is still laboring under the disadvantage of being restricted by the Eastern point of view. Even if one be inclined to minimize the importance of the frontier and the West in the earlier part of American history, certain facts in the later period are undeniable. Population beyond the Alleghanies increased at a rapid rate, and from the time when the steamboat was in successful operation on the Western waters, the course of American development was changed. That is, when the "up-stream era of navigation" began, and it became possible to supply the Western settlements through the port of New Orleans, the East turned squarely about and faced the West, for its best efforts were required in the endeavor to preserve the home markets. This happened to coincide with the close of the War of 1812, when domestic manufactures had received a fresh impetus from other causes. But from that moment, he who would write the history of America can no longer do so from the standpoint of Europe or of the Atlantic coast, his viewpoint must be that of one who moved, not with the vanguard, but with the mass of population farther and farther into the West. Possibly his eyes should be more frequently turned towards Eastern centres of commerce and politics, but he should also look and with prophetic vision into the newer regions of the West. American expansion has been the most potent single factor in determining our economic and commercial development, and it has been responsible for many of our greatest political issues.

One or two of the volumes leave little to be desired in their treatment of this phase of American development, but others mention it only incidentally, and evidently with no appreciation of its significance. The

later volumes in particular are disappointing in this respect. It is instructive, though hardly illuminating, to read: "Though the war was so absorbing, the year 1862 was marked by several legislative measures of lasting consequence in civil matters. The most important were the act to secure homesteads to actual settlers; the . . .", etc. But it is a consolation to find that the Homestead Act is also mentioned in the index. Of course, the time has not yet come when the history of America since the Civil War can be finally or even acceptably written, but one could wish for a little more of the point of view that was shown in one of the first announcements of William Garrott Brown's *History of the United States since the Civil War*: "The reconstruction of the southern states . . . cannot be regarded as the foremost event, or series of events, in the period covered by the first volume. Of greater permanent importance was the occupation of the vast region beyond the Mississippi, so that the Pacific Coast became at last our true frontier, and the economic and social changes which this movement of population caused. It was the development of the West, the extension of our railroad system, and particularly the shifting of agriculture westward which made possible our more recent rapid advance to the commanding place which we now hold in production, in commerce, and in diplomacy."

The present reviewer is not holding a brief for the West, he is voicing a plea for a history of the American people, or, if you will, of the American nation. The points upon which he has touched are simply some of the things which he finds more or less lacking in the series under consideration, which was promised to be a "comprehensive work". A paragraph, a page, or even a chapter here and there is not sufficient. It is not recognition that is wanted, it is appreciation, and an appreciation such that these things will be made a vital part of the narrative. Then, and then only, will the truth be told.

The justification for his criticism the reviewer finds in the editor's closing volume of the series. The book is somewhat disconnected and shows evidences of haste in composition; it is not a "summary", nor even a "restatement" of the contents of the previous volumes, for as already shown, much that is here set forth finds little or no support in the rest of the series; but it represents more nearly, than does the series as a whole, the point of view in the study of American history that has recently been pressing into the foreground. In that respect the series is hardly indicative of the best contemporary scholarship, it is rather that of a decade or more ago. With much that is good, and much that is helpful, "The American Nation" is not an epoch-making work, it is rather epoch-marking. Save for an occasional exception, the volumes represent the end of the old and not the beginning of the new history that is being studied and written.

MAX FARRAND.

A History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511 to 1868. By HUBERT H. S. AIMES, Ph.D., of Yale University. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. xi, 298.)

THIS is the second contribution to the general history of Cuba made by an American scholar since 1899. The first was Professor J. M. Callahan's *Cuba and International Relations* with which the present work has certain features in common: both represent extensive, rather than intensive, investigation, and both have largely failed to subordinate the multiplicity of detail to clear and constructive historical exposition. In consequence Professor Aimes's book is many times more scholarly than it is readable.

The work is, on the whole, a valuable addition to Cuban historical writing: it is conscientious and remarkably fair in its judgments of men and events and brings together for the first time some part of the mass of information on the slave-trade in Cuba buried in the British Parliamentary Papers. The following observations aim at pointing out shortcomings in the work rather than at complete characterization of it.

The title is, to a certain extent, a misnomer: the work deals almost exclusively with the slave-trade and only incidentally with the institution of slavery. The author himself explains in his preface: "I have not been able to treat of the domestic slave régime, with which I hope to supplement the contents of this book." But eight short chapters hardly suffice to treat even the slave-trade adequately.

The subject had already been treated in a notable manner up to the year 1818 (and less fully up to about 1838) by José Antonio Saco in his *Historia de la Raza Africana en el Nuevo Mundo*, Tomo I., Barcelona, 1879, and in a posthumous volume, Havana, 1893. The debt of Professor Aimes to this Cuban author is very great, but is nowhere specifically acknowledged, unless by the citation of Saco sixty-one times in the footnotes. Saco's well-reasoned pamphlets in opposition to the slave-trade are scarcely noticed and no reference is made to the writings and efforts of other eminent Cubans, *e. g.*, Felix Varela, José de la Luz y Caballero, Domingo del Monte and José Miguel Angulo y Heredia, to create opinion adverse to slavery and the trade. Other startling shortcomings may be noted: the neglect to give any account of the alleged negro conspiracy of 1844, one of the obscurest and most extraordinary incidents in the history of Cuba, as well as of previous servile uprisings, and the inadequate treatment of the remarkable activities of the British consul-general and superintendent of liberated Africans at Havana, David Turnbull. The author in passing asserts that there actually developed in 1843 and 1844 "a servile conspiracy of extraordinary extent" (page 145), a thing which has by no means been proved. The establishment of the Sociedad Abolicionista Española at Madrid in 1865 is not mentioned and the abolitionist ideas which found expression in Cuba long before 1868 are quite ignored by the author. The great mortality among the slaves caused by the epidemics of cholera in 1833 and 1850 and by epidemics of small-pox is not noted.

Appendix II. contains statistics of slaves imported into Cuba from 1512 to 1865, but the total compiled by Professor Aimes is altogether too small and might be refuted even from his own text. The capture of Havana by the English did not occur in 1763 (page 32), and Tacón was a native of Cartagena, Spain, not of Venezuela (page 121). The Real Sociedad Económica of Havana, which sometimes used alternately the title Real Sociedad Patriótica, figures incorrectly in the text, in the foot-notes and in the bibliography as the "Real Sociedad Patriótica y Económica". The bibliography at the end of the volume abounds in errors and repetitions and several works containing important information on the slave-trade, especially many pamphlets of considerable interest were not consulted, or, at least, are nowhere referred to. Some curious opinions are expressed, *e. g.*, Zaragoza is said to be an "impartial" historian (page 284) and Ferrer de Couto "impartial and reliable" (page 288). Pezuela is also pronounced "impartial" (page 281). The epithet "renegade", which is applied to Narciso López (page 174), should have been avoided.

The author was able to use the "Archivos [*sic*] de Indias" (preface) and he gives a list in his bibliography of thirty-five documents from that archive for which students will be very grateful. But Professor Aimes, though he spent some time in Havana, neglected—and this is unpardonable—to consult the records in the Archivo Nacional at Havana, from which he would have gathered new and precious information at first hand.

Space does not permit any discussion of the author's generalizations or conclusions. They are in the main eminently fair and judicious.

LUIS M. PÉREZ.

History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal. By THOMAS HUGHES. Volume I. *From the First Colonization till 1645.* (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company; Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Company. 1907. Pp. xiv, 655.)

The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal. By THOMAS HUGHES. Volume I., Part I. *Documents*, Nos. I-140 (1605-1838). (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company; Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 600.)

We have here the first portion of a notable work. The Society of Jesus is preparing a "comprehensive historical series, comprising in different languages an authentic account of the Society over the world". During the first century and a half of Jesuit work in the British colonies of North America, that work was a part of the English province and not until the nineteenth century was a separate American province established. Father Hughes is the historian of the American province,

but has also had transferred to his care the history of the Jesuits in the English colonies. It will be noted at once that the title as given above must, therefore, be limited in its connotation, as the scope of the work reviewed does not cover the labors of the Jesuits in Canada, so well treated by Parkman, nor what was done in the Spanish possessions to the south. The number of volumes in which Father Hughes's work will appear is not publicly announced, but we are privately informed that there will probably be six volumes in all. The volume of text which is before us deals entirely with the first few years of the history of the province of Maryland and is provided with remarkably complete critical apparatus. The author is without question a most learned man and a most careful student. His introduction on the sources, archives and literature of his subject is exceedingly valuable, not only to students of American history, but also to those interested in the Jesuits in any land. His bibliography is extensive and shows that he has investigated most of the authorities and that he appreciates the importance of writing history from the sources. Several facsimiles of manuscripts are given, among them one from Father White. It is a curious thing that the handwriting of this facsimile of a letter written in 1606, that of a facsimile of a letter written some years later and given to the Maryland Historical Society by Father Quirk and that of a letter attributed to White, written in 1638 and printed in that society's *Fund Publications*, no. 28, are so dissimilar, that, neither to the reviewer nor to Mr. Henry F. Thompson, who has had much experience in reading seventeenth-century manuscripts, does it seem likely that they are the penmanship of the same man, and that no one of the three is apparently written by the scribe of the Narrative of the Voyage to Maryland in 1634. Maps are also found, one of which, that of St. Mary's City and vicinity, is especially useful, and there is an extensive index. Appendixes discuss: the localities about St. Mary's City; the Indian land-titles, quoting an important opinion of one of the professors at Douay and referring to the similarity of the position of Roger Williams with that of the Maryland Jesuits; and the history of mortmain in England before Henry VIII. From the records of the Society of Jesus, the author has brought out new and important facts, such as the early career of Father White, and one who writes the history of the province of Maryland will always have to reckon with this book, while all previous publications on that history must be corrected by it.

The faithful work of the early missionaries deserves praise and record, and their success in Christianizing the Indians was quite noteworthy. The story of these labors is given here more fully and accurately than ever before. Yet we must complain that, when the book was so well done, it should not have been done much better. The arrangement of matter is often neither clear nor good. The book is made too long by excursions which might have been omitted without injury in any respect to the continuity of the story. The author is

animated by what seems to be a bitter and unreasonable prejudice against Lord Baltimore and his secretary, Lewger, who is spoken of as if a very Mephistopheles. Both of these men were Roman Catholics, yet they are repeatedly referred to in the most scathing terms, because of their opposition to the demands of the Jesuits. In this last respect, the book compares unfavorably with another book which appeared a few months later, also having a Roman Catholic priest for its author, *The Land of the Sanctuary*, by Rev. W. W. Russell. Another defect in the book is a lack of accuracy in the use of technical terms of English law. The author speaks of Baltimore's attempt to "feudalise" Maryland, when, by the charter it was feudal already, and of a demand by the lord proprietary of an oath of allegiance to himself, when an oath of fidelity is clearly meant. He also speaks of Baltimore's failing in an attempt "to impose his tenure in capite on the colony at large", when the charter distinctly says that Maryland is to be held "by free and common socage". This first volume ends with 1645, when the Jesuit mission in Maryland was broken up by Ingle. During the first years of the province's history, an important dispute had occurred between Baltimore and the Jesuits, which has been previously studied by B. T. Johnson and A. P. Dennis. The difficulty seems to have arisen in this way. The lord proprietary, a sagacious, cool, clear-headed man, who was a devout Roman Catholic, received the grant of the province in 1632, immediately after the death of his father, the first Lord Baltimore, for whom the charter was being prepared at the time of his death. The young lord was thus made ruler of an extensive tract of land and, naturally, wished to attract settlers to it. He also wished to allow his coreligionists to reside there unmolested. It was obviously impossible for him to establish a colony, with the Roman Catholic as the state church. Such a course would not only have probably led to a speedy forfeiture of his charter, but also would have seriously limited the number of immigrants he could secure. Most certainly the establishment of any other religion would have imposed severe limitations upon the Roman Catholic settlers, if it had not led to their exclusion from Maryland. His keen-sighted wisdom led him to insist that no religion receive official favor over another, and the policy, which he initiated at the foundation of his province, he continued throughout his life. Probably the majority of the inhabitants of Maryland have always been Protestants from the earliest beginnings. With the first expedition he sent out, went two faithful Jesuits, and the proprietary seems to have intended to entrust the care of the religious interests of the settlers to that society. The Jesuits were very active, laboring to convert the Indians and to bring over the Protestants in Maryland to their faith. The Indians granted the Jesuits land and the latter wished to hold it by virtue of this grant and not under the provincial charter. The Jesuits also thought it a grievance that they were obliged to pay the provincial authorities quit-rents on their land. They objected to making contribu-

tions to the defence of the settlement, by aiding in building a fort and by permitting their servants to perform militia duty. They also wished to be free for themselves and their servants from subjection to the common law in temporal matters. They virtually claimed that, as Maryland was a country ruled by a Roman Catholic prince, *i. e.*, the lord proprietary, they were entitled to privileges such as they received in Roman Catholic countries and to be governed according to the rules of canon law. Baltimore was so offended by these claims that he applied to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith for permission to remove the Jesuits and substitute secular priests for them. This petition led to the sending of two secular priests to the province and to the issuance by Baltimore of the Conditions of Plantation of 1641, by which it was declared that "no corporation, society, fraternity, municipality, political body (whether it be ecclesiastical or temporal)" is allowed to hold lands, in their own right or that of others without "special license first had" from the proprietary. On receipt of these Conditions, Lewger called on the "religious men" and as a result the Jesuits wrote to the provincial of England asking a number of questions as to their course of action. Father More, the provincial, was of a conciliatory disposition and gave Baltimore a certificate that the Conditions of Plantation would not cause him or any of his officers to be subject to excommunication. The claim of right to receive land directly from the Indians was given up by the Jesuits. It was admitted that ecclesiastics were bound by the laws of the province and that the clergy had no more rights in Maryland than were granted to such persons in England. The Jesuits having yielded, the secular priests were recalled and the Jesuits were permitted to remain in charge of work among the settlers and Indians. In the judgment of Father Hughes, Baltimore was wrong, both in his determination and in the means he used to accomplish it. To us, however, such a conclusion of the dispute seems a wise one and the value to the Jesuits of Baltimore's support is seen from the fact that, as soon as Ingle drove out the proprietary's officials, he burned the Jesuit's houses and carried off two of the clergymen to England, so that the mission was broken up for the time. When the Puritans gained power in 1655, the Jesuits again lost their liberties, and the long repression of the Roman Catholics in Maryland during the eighteenth century shows also how much they owed to the fact that the proprietary had been a conscientious member of their church in the seventeenth century.

It is to be regretted that Father Hughes has made himself so violent a partizan of his society against a man who had no motive to play the rôle of a hypocrite and whose whole career shows him to have been remarkably free from unworthy motives.

The papers in the volume of documents are dated from 1605 to about 1830. The careful and exhaustive scholarship of the author is shown here in as complete a manner as in the volume of history. The arrange-

ment of material is rather complicated and at times is hard to follow, especially as the portion of the historical narrative which many of these documents is meant to elucidate has not yet appeared. The texts are given in the language in which they were originally written, without translation, but with both head, side and foot-notes which explain the meaning to a certain extent. Where the document seemed unimportant it is not printed in full, but the less essential portions are given in an English abstract printed in Italics. When one sees the Italian, French and Latin letters which are furnished us, he realizes the need of linguistic equipment for a student of American history. One appreciates the fact that Latin is scarcely a dead language in any true sense when he finds Archbishop Marechal writing of "clarissimum R. B. Taney, qui inter juris peritos nostros longe eminet". The first section, comprising 200 pages, "forms the documentary apparatus corresponding to the first volume of text", but covers a much longer period than is included in that volume. After a few preliminary documents, we are given "letters written by the General of the Order and bearing on American affairs from 1629 to 1774". In these letters we find interesting glimpses, such as that of the attitude of the order towards Baltimore and his secretary, of whom it is said: "bibisse aquam turbidam de via Aegypti et imbutum esse dogmatibus parum sanis"; that of Thomas Percy, who made an unauthorized return from Maryland and was thought to be deranged; and that of Thomas Bradford, who, after making an equally unauthorized start for Maryland, was captured by the Moors and carried to Tunis. Following these letters, we are given the Annual Letters, beginning with the famous *Relatio Itineris*. Next come some important texts on the dispute with Lord Baltimore, concluding with a report to Rome of interviews with the proprietary in 1669. The remainder of the book is divided into two parts. The former of these traces the history of the landed property of the Jesuits, in Maryland and Pennsylvania, from the earliest times. Owing to the prohibition of gifts to religious corporations, the Jesuits in Maryland suffered from one serious disadvantage. Property had to be given or left to members of the order, individually, and the testamentary dispositions by which they devised the lands to other members form a curious story. After the Jesuits were suppressed in 1773, the ex-Jesuits in Maryland held their properties, faithfully, for the religious uses for which they were intended. In 1793, they obtained an act of incorporation from the Maryland legislature and, under this charter, the lands were thenceforth held. Among the interesting sidelights cast by the papers here printed, is that which reveals the method of working the plantations with slaves and the humane treatment of these negroes by the Jesuits.

The last portion of the book is concerned with a bitter controversy between Archbishop Marechal and the Jesuits, lasting from 1820 to 1826. The first two occupants of the see of Baltimore, Carroll and Neale, had

been Maryland Jesuits before their elevation to the episcopate, and seem to have had little difficulty with the order. But Marechal was a French Sulpician and, shortly after his consecration in 1817, troubles arose which lasted practically down to his death in 1828. The properties of the order had furnished a pension for his predecessors. He demanded that the White Marsh Plantation of the Jesuits be given him for his support and when the Jesuits refused this demand and also refused to render him the obedience on which he insisted, he carried the matter to Rome and secured a decree from the pope in his favor. The Jesuits evaded compliance with this decree for a time and, finally, the society in Rome offered to pay Marechal 200 dollars per quarter during his life. He accepted this, but insisted that he had done so for himself and his successors. There were additional causes of friction between the Jesuits and the other Roman Catholics. A misunderstanding had arisen, just before Marechal came to the see, about the transfer of ground from the Jesuits as a site for the new cathedral in Baltimore, and a church which was erected at Upper Marlborough was left unopened for a time, because it had been given to the Jesuits and they would not hold it in trust as Marechal desired. In this struggle between the archbishop and the order, the correspondence, which Father Hughes rightly calls "interminable in its repetitions and dimensions", abounds in sharp language, showing how earnest were the antagonists and how bitter was their feeling towards each other. Archbishop Marechal writes, for example, of his opponents as "religiosis virtutibus omnino destituti", as "coeca ambitione abrepti", as "facinoris authores". We shall await with interest Father Hughes's treatment of this controversy, concerning which he has so fully printed the material. BERNARD C. STEINER.

The History of New France. Volume I. By MARC LESCARBOT.

With an English Translation, Notes and Appendices by W. L. GRANT, M.A., and an Introduction by H. P. BIGGAR, B.Litt. (Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1907. Pp. xxi, 331.)

LESCARBOT'S *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, published in 1609 with later editions in 1612 and 1618, though comprised in six books consists essentially of two parts—first, a narrative of the French explorations in America down to the author's time, compiled from various accessible sources and substantially without any original matter, and second, a description of the events, scenes, Indian manners and customs, animal and plant productions observed by Lescarbot during a year's residence in Acadia, this part having a high, even though somewhat local, historical value and interest. In the present volume we have a translation, the first into English, of books I. and II., which embrace the voyages down to, but not including, Cartier; and the remainder is to appear later in two additional volumes. An introduction, by Mr. Biggar, gives briefly and clearly the little that is known of Lescarbot's life, of his personal connection with New France and of the *motif* of his book. Then the

translator, Mr. Grant, describes the method and the aim of the translation, the various accessory materials and some further details of consequence, including a promise of two new documents in the third volume. There follows the translation of the first two books, made from the edition of 1618, immediately after which is an exact reprint, in smaller type, of the corresponding French original. And the volume closes with a reproduction of two of Lescarbot's maps, to which are added modern maps of the same places. This part of Lescarbot's work, being purely a compilation from printed sources, would have slight historical value were it not for certain adventitious reasons. These are, first, its marked literary merit, in which feature it is both pleasing and distinctive, and second, its clear reflection of contemporary French opinion of early French exploring and pioneering ventures, the discussion of which is enlivened by attractive frankness and illuminated by shrewd common-sense. It is obvious that such a work makes great demands of its translator, and Mr. Grant's own estimate of his task is expressed in his opening words where he says that "Lescarbot, like Herodotus, whom he so much resembles, should be read in the original." Yet we believe there will be only one opinion as to the success of the translation. Its accuracy to the sense of the original seems unexceptionable, and it has an easy flow, a certain sprightliness, much of the Elizabethan flavor the translator sought, and withal at times an actual beauty quite worthy of the original. And the whole is annotated discriminatingly, albeit somewhat sparingly.

It seems ungracious to note flaws in a work so good, and indeed they are few. We miss a bibliographical account of Lescarbot's book, though we naturally expect it, and the notes, especially upon Lescarbot's sources, are at times unsatisfyingly brief. There is an occasional slight error, as when (page 113) *palourdes* is translated oysters, whereas it is the round clam, or when (page 60) Nauset is said to be in the Gulf of Maine. And the system of connecting the pagination of translation and French is not the most convenient.

Typographically the volume is very attractive. It is marked by a large and tasteful simplicity of printing-paper and binding which combine to give it an appearance of individuality and distinction. We miss an announcement of the personnel and plans of the Champlain Society, number one of whose publications it is, and we must perforce rest content with the unsatisfying statement that the volume is supplied only to members of the society and to subscribing libraries.

American Philosophy. The Early Schools. By J. WOODBRIDGE RILEY, Ph.D. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1907. Pp. x, 495.)

THE first of our historians to treat exhaustively the whole period of early American speculative thought from 1620 to 1820, Dr. Riley is practically a pioneer in his field. While conceding the truth of De

Tocqueville's charge that America during this period produced no original school of thought, and while admitting fully the indebtedness of our early thinkers to foreign sources, mainly English, French and Scottish, he yet maintains that they were not mere imitators but gave their work the distinctive stamp of an American product. The larger part of Dr. Riley's work is biographical but its chief value consists, as I think, in its genetic treatment of the movements themselves. Considering them in their sequence the five movements which the author points out were Puritanism, deism, idealism, materialism and realism. Viewing these movements in connection with the larger currents of religious and political belief, apart from which they could not be well understood, Dr. Riley points out how deism, imported first from England and later from France, fell in with a reaction which had set in against the rigorism of the Puritan-Calvinistic theology, becoming, in its turn, tributary to a more naturalistic and humanitarian creed; how deism in turn ran into the shallows of a superficial and often trivial teleology, causing a reaction toward materialism which, introduced by Priestley, and fostered by French influences, developed contra-deism in the direction of mechanism and physiological determinism.

While deism had a wide vogue and affected both believers and unbelievers in revealed religion the same cannot be said of materialism whose influence was limited though it numbered great names among its defenders. Territorially, the South, where Puritanism had never prevailed and where the Gallic influence was strong, would have been the natural field of materialism had its spread not been arrested by the introduction of Scottish realism which, allying itself with common-sense on the one hand and with religious orthodoxy on the other, was able to check effectively the advances of both idealism and materialism. Notwithstanding the ingrained idealism of the American mind, and the fact that the two greatest thinkers of this early period, Samuel Johnson and Jonathan Edwards, were of this persuasion, the idealistic movement proved the shortest-lived and left the fewest traces behind in the life of the people.

In the biographical part Dr. Riley has done ample justice to the individual representatives of the various movements. He stands as the virtual discoverer of Cadwallader Colden. The "astonishing system" of that backwoodsman Ethan Allen is also redeemed from unmerited obscurity, while Samuel Johnson receives a treatment worthy of his merits, and a very able guess is made at the riddle of that baffling sphinx of the colonial period, Jonathan Edwards. Speaking geographically, deism was strongest in the North while materialism found its most congenial soil south of Mason and Dixon's line. Realism first entrenched itself in the Middle States from whence it practically overspread the country, with the exception of some of the New England states. An interesting feature of the history of this period, which Dr. Riley emphasizes, is the commanding influence exerted by the colleges of the country.

Dr. Riley's method, the patience and thoroughness of his research, the fairness and general sanity of his judgments, are all good models for imitation. There is doubtless much that yet remains to be done but the value of his work is much more than that of a source-book. As a finished product it is likely to hold its place as an authority in the field it has so thoroughly explored for a long time to come.

ALEXANDER T. ORMOND.

The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century. By HERBERT L. OSGOOD, Ph.D., Professor of History in Columbia University. Volume III. *Imperial Control. Beginnings of the System of Royal Provinces.* (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xxii, 551.)

WITH this volume Professor Osgood completes a study of the colonies in the seventeenth century which may justly be deemed the most important interpretation of our colonial history that has thus far been made. In the earlier volumes he dealt in the main with the internal history of the proprietary and corporate colonies; in the volume before us he takes up the relation of all the colonies with the home government, and the beginnings of the system of royal provinces. Having noted in a former number of this REVIEW the character and excellence of Professor Osgood's work, I do not need to repeat the tribute there paid to the admirable qualities that it possesses. The third volume not only fully maintains the high standard of scholarship already set by the volumes previously issued, but also surpasses them in importance in that it deals with a subject hitherto largely ignored by writers on colonial history. Ignorance and indifference together with inaccessibility of material whereon to base an adequate study of the British system and policy may account for the fact that so important a phase of our history has thus been allowed to go by default. Professor Osgood is fortunate in having control of one essential source of knowledge—the British State and Departmental Papers, the majority of which are calendared for the period in question. For the eighteenth century he will probably have few such aids, since for the period to 1760 the calendared documents are limited to the single series of Treasury Board Papers to 1745. Calendars of the Domestic and Colonial Papers covering the period are not likely to appear for many years to come, and in the main the evidence for the British system during the first half of the eighteenth century will have to be extracted by hard labor from the original manuscripts.

The underlying purpose of Professor Osgood's volume is to present the British system of colonial control in all its aspects—organization and policy at home, relations of every sort with the American colonies over seas and the rise of the royal system. In the execution of his plan Professor Osgood begins with the origin and character of the organs of imperial control, a chapter all too short in view of its importance,

and then passes on to discuss the overthrow of the Virginia Company of London, the attempted annulment of the Massachusetts Charter and the history of Virginia as a royal colony until the coming of Berkeley as governor in 1641. Taking up again the thread of central control, he reviews the attitude of the home government toward the colonies during the Civil War, the Interregnum and the Restoration, and traces briefly and with some omissions the history of the bodies in charge of colonial affairs. The chapters devoted to these aspects of his subject seem to me the most significant and suggestive portions of his book, and the single chapter on the acts of trade is a contribution of unusual importance, for though American and English writers have dealt with the navigation acts for a century or more, little progress has hitherto been made in determining their origin and character and the circumstances under which they were passed. The remainder of the volume treats of the history of New York, New Hampshire and Virginia as royal colonies, of Bacon's rebellion and the royal commission of 1677, of the attempt to consolidate the northern colonies under Sir Edmund Andros and of the revolutions that followed in Massachusetts, New York and Maryland. A final section summarizes the conclusions thus far reached.

Professor Osgood reiterates his belief that through the Stuart period ran a more or less definite colonial policy which aimed to subordinate the colonies to the royal will. He states this belief more cautiously than in his former volumes, yet I am not convinced that the evidence which he presents warrants any such conclusion. It does not seem enough to say that the Stuart policy aimed to maintain "the sovereignty of England over the colonies in order that the maximum of advantage for both, but especially for the realm, might be secured" (p. 145). This statement might apply quite as well to the policy of William III. or of George I. as to that of Charles I. or Charles II. Professor Osgood agrees that the Restoration policy differed from that of the early Stuarts in that it laid greater emphasis on questions of trade and defense and less on ecclesiastical relations. He also dates the beginnings of a definite policy with 1675, but believes that the later Stuarts, whether consciously or not, revised certain principles of action that were characteristic of the attitude of Charles I. As he further indicates that the later Stuarts wished to establish a centralized colonial system analogous to that of France, he certainly implies that some crude form of such a policy existed in the earlier period. I feel sure, on the other hand, that the earlier policy was not colonial at all in the later sense of the word, but only a phase of the political or ecclesiastical policy of the government. I should date the rudiments of a system of colonies from 1655, and not from 1665, as Professor Osgood does, and should date the beginnings of a definite colonial programme much farther than 1675, perhaps even to 1650. At any rate the instructions issued to the Lords of Trade in 1675 merely repeat the terms embodied in the earlier Povey and Shaftesbury drafts. But the whole question is at present incapable

of exact determination and will remain undetermined until the instructions to plantation boards and colonial governors, the acts and proceedings of these boards, and the orders and decrees of the Privy Council during the seventeenth century are examined, analyzed and compared.

Professor Osgood has certainly made good his case so far as the principles underlying the Navigation Act of 1660 are concerned. He shows that in essence these principles were enunciated as early as 1621 in connection with the exportation of tobacco from Virginia, and he traces their further expression as late as 1627. This date can be extended to 1637 as the following letter from the Privy Council to the governor of Virginia shows:

"By a letter of the 16th of August last we did authorize and require you not to permit any strangers to trade within that colony of Virginia by shipping in regard of the prejudice which doth generally grow and is likely to increase as well to his Majesty's customs and the shipping of his kingdom as to the plantation itself. And did likewise expressly require you to take bond of all his Majesty's subjects there that they shall land their goods here in England and not elsewhere; forasmuch as we have been informed that our directions in that behalf have not been put in due execution, but that some strangers have lately traded there and some English ships laden with tobacco have gone directly for Holland and there sold the same. We cannot but greatly marvel at your neglect, especially in a matter of such great consequence and do therefore again strictly charge and in his Majesty's name command you to see our aforesaid directions carefully and fully executed." July 14, 1637.

In this letter are virtually embodied the doctrines of British-owned ships and of "enumerated" commodities. As the latter doctrine does not appear to have been adopted, even in principle, during the Interregnum, it may be considered peculiarly a Stuart possession. Professor Osgood's hope that when the manuscripts of Parliament shall be arranged and examined, material will be found throwing light on the passage of the navigation acts (p. 209, note) is unfortunately not likely of fulfillment. Investigation has not disclosed the existence of any such material.

We owe too much to Professor Osgood for his illuminating and forcible presentation of British policy to find fault with the limitations which he has imposed upon himself. He frankly disclaims any intention of dealing with the larger problem of British colonial administration, but he would assuredly have given us a more symmetrical exposition of British aims and purposes had he taken more space, even at the expense of some of the pages devoted to the details of colonial history, wherein to exhibit the principles and methods of imperial control as applied to all the colonies taken together. He would not, I am sure, have committed himself to the following statement had he kept in mind the larger colonial world: "So slight were the dealings of the crown with the other

colonies, that its relations with New England really give character to the imperial administration until after 1680" (p. 512). Such a statement as this is based on an inadequate survey of the British system in actual operation.

Next to his treatment of British policy, Professor Osgood has made his most valuable contribution to colonial history in his admirable treatment of the many royal commissions in America. From the first sent to Virginia in 1623 to the last despatched in 1676 for the suppression of Bacon's rebellion, he has traced the varying fortunes of these commissions in great detail. Not only has he given them a prominence they have never received at the hands of the older writers, but he has taken great pains to deal with them justly and impartially. The most elaborate of his accounts concerns the commission of 1664 sent to New England, and we may infer that it was from a study of the words and acts of this commission that he has drawn the evidence for his definition of Stuart policy. If so, then that which he deems a Stuart policy is really the policy of but one member of that line, James, duke of York.

It is impossible, here, to treat even in brief, of the many incidents, movements and personages, which Professor Osgood has discussed with so much insight and good judgment. This volume like the others must be read thoroughly and thoughtfully. In the end the reader will rise from its perusal with larger views of colonial history and with a higher appreciation of the determination and earnestness of the home authorities in their effort to develop a colonial system which should promote the welfare of Great Britain and the colonies alike. Their ideals should be interpreted not in the light of later events in America but in the light of contemporary notions regarding the relation of the colonies to the mother-country.

Upon a few scattered points further comment may be made. Professor Osgood is uncertain whether or not Governor Yeardley secured a hearing before the Privy Council in 1625 and whether or not an inquiry into the origin and provisions of the Massachusetts Charter was held before the same body in 1634. It is of interest to know that the Register is silent on both points. The commission issued to the Council for Plantations of 1670, which Professor Osgood believes not to be extant (p. 280, note), is to be found among the Shaftesbury Papers. The form "Declared Account, Privy Seal" (p. 196, note) is a reference not known to the Public Record Office and I have tried in vain to discover the collection or series to which Professor Osgood refers. Students of the history of the British departments are inclined to think that the complicated system of passing a charter through the seals was maintained not "to protect the rights and interests of the king", as Professor Osgood says (p. 19), but for no higher purpose than to furnish fees for officials. One cannot help wishing that in referring to the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, Professor Osgood had not adopted the form "Colonial Papers", which should be restricted exclusively to the manu-

script volumes in the Record Office; and as he used "Cal. S. P. Dom." for the Domestic Papers it seems reasonable to insist that he should have used "Cal. S. P. Col." for the Colonial Papers. In a foot-note to his discussion of the British commissioners in Virginia (p. 284, note 2), he refers to the fact that Sir John Berry claimed to possess unusual powers for the suppression of Bacon's rebellion. It is worthy of note that the claim was well founded, for among the Admiralty Papers may be found the official warrant authorizing Berry to impress ships, boats and men in Virginia, if necessary. On pages 252 and 291, Professor Osgood says that the compensation of 600 pounds a year allowed Culpeper in lieu of his claims in Virginia was met by a tax levied on the colony. According to the Treasury Papers this item was charged not against the colony but against the account of the military establishment in America and so was paid by the British government.

There are a few errors in the volume of a comparatively trifling character. "Possibly a month before" in a note on page 149 should read "three and a half months before"; for the sake of clearness "committee for plantations" on page 171 should read "committee of the Privy Council for Plantation Affairs"; in speaking of the "council for foreign plantations" in 1675, Professor Osgood probably has in mind the Lords of Trade (p. 218); he is wrong in saying that the Council of Trade of 1660 was limited in its interest to domestic trade only (p. 281), and he is also wrong in thinking that the Council of 1672 was a consolidation of the two councils of 1660, for the "consolidation" was merely the taking over by the Council for Foreign Plantations of 1670 of the functions of the Council of Trade appointed in 1668. Professor Osgood perpetuates two time-honored but apparently doubtful traditions: one of the "common hangman" who in 1677 drove the Virginia commissioners from Berkeley's house and whom Virginia historians tell us never existed; the other of the hasty and summary passing of the Stamp Act of 1765 (p. 210, note), a belief that investigators assert is based on no adequate foundation.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE. (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson. 1907. Pp. 268.)

THE *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* by Mr. Bruce is now followed by this companion study, concerned with the social life, in the narrower sense, of the upper classes. It is to be followed, as the author tells us, by successive monographs on religion and morals, education, legal administration, military system and political conditions, completing a study under the head of "Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century".

The present volume shows the same attention to detail as do the earlier volumes, although the author complains of the paucity of materials that directly touch his subject. Nevertheless, he prints an exten-

sive bibliography and again relies upon the unpublished county records to furnish interesting, if scattered, information.

The social life is taken up under a number of attractive topics, including the influences which promoted English colonization, the origin of the higher planting class, social distinctions, the ties with the mother-country, manner of life, hospitality, drinking, fishing, the funeral, the wedding, church, court day, muster and dueling. It is to be regretted that the index is limited to surnames.

In considering the causes of the settlement of the founders of prominent families in Virginia, the author very properly lays stress upon the persistence of the English spirit of adventure and upon the difficulties of providing for the younger sons in the society of the mother-country, which favored the descent of property to the eldest son at a time when the public service offered fewer opportunities for place than it did later. He is doubtless right in emphasizing the elements in Virginia which appealed to those who supported the king. The loyalty of the colony, its devotion to the Church of England and the large influence of the landholders there must have facilitated the migration of upper classes to the Southern colony. On the other hand, that the similarity of country life in the Virginia of the seventeenth century to that of England was an important factor in inducing settlement in that colony, is less clear. In general the author misses an opportunity to point out the differences between the higher planting class in Virginia and the classes from which they sprung. The transforming influences of American conditions upon this body of colonists is at least as important in a study of Virginia society as the survivals of English conditions and habits. It is fortunate that we have his earlier volumes to supplement this presentation.

Three chapters are devoted by the author especially to the part played by the upper classes of England in the origin of the higher planting class. Here the writer makes much use of recent genealogical investigations, and many examples are furnished to show that Virginia received families having high social connections in England, some of them descended from cavaliers, with titles indicating their social rank, more of them from military officers without such titles. The "squirearchy" also furnished its quota. On the whole, however, when the reader takes stock of the considerable number of instances, the actual evidence of large numbers of these representatives of the higher classes is less conclusive than might have been expected. "Among the prominent families who are thought to have possessed a legal right to the coats of arms which they habitually used", he mentions forty-three. It is fair to presume that the author would have given the total number, rather than occasional examples, had the figures been obtainable and had they indicated that the number was much larger. We are prepared therefore for his conclusion that the most important section of the higher planting class during this century "were the families sprung directly from English merchants".

Although he does not comment upon the significance of the fact as illustrating the democratizing tendencies of the new land, Mr. Bruce tells us that the English law of primogeniture was not in general operation in Virginia during the seventeenth century. He gives the explanation that there were few estates of extraordinary value, that mechanical trades of higher grade, the professions and mercantile opportunities were limited in Virginia, and that there was no recognized legal nobility. For the concentration of fortune by primogeniture, however, the greater planters found a substitute in collecting as many public offices in the family as their influence could secure, and passing them down.

Discussing social distinctions the author observes that at no period in the seventeenth century did Virginia's social life resemble the social life of a community situated on our extreme Western frontier, but that a sharp line of social separation existed between the gentleman and the common laborer. If taken literally the statement could be applied to most of the other colonies in the same period. It is probable also that the sentence is somewhat misleading, for it would be hard to deny that in Virginia, as in other colonies, the outer edge of settlement produced something like the frontier democracy of later times. The evidence in connection with Bacon's rebellion and various letters of Spotswood in the earlier years of the eighteenth century seem to indicate the existence of such a population, and they also raise doubts whether there was the amount of aristocratic organization of Virginia society which Mr. Bruce's presentation seems to support. Part of the emphasis is due, however, to the fact that the higher planting class is the particular subject of the volume. His discussion of the terms, gentleman, mister, esquire, yeoman, etc., is important, and is work in a field that should be cultivated in other colonies. He recognizes that the yeomen, or small landholders, made a large proportion of the planters and that they held a position of independence and political importance. Unless he has reserved a fuller treatment of them for later volumes, however, this class will hardly receive its due share of attention. The part the yeomen played in the politics of the lower house, to the disgust of governors like Spotswood, and their place in the later history of Virginia require that they be dealt with more at length. The servant and slave class are mentioned but are left largely to the previous volumes.

Upon the other topics of the book the author writes interestingly and informingly. The reader will gain from the work a more vivid and adequate understanding of the beginnings of the upper classes of Virginia society in the period of lowland ascendancy.

F. J. T.

A History of the United States and its People from their Earliest Records to the Present Time. Volume III. By ELROY McKENDREE AVERY. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1907. Pp. xliii, 446.)

THE period covered in this the third installment of the Avery history extends from the middle of the seventeenth century to 1745. In the arrangement by chapters the English colonies are sometimes treated separately and sometimes collectively, according as geographical or political considerations, the abundance or the dearth of interesting materials, the similarity of historical experience, or the motive of mere convenience, may warrant. Separate chapters, however, are devoted to King Philip's War, the European conflicts of the time, the British colonial policy in its economic as well as in its political aspects, the Spanish province of Florida and the career of the French in Canada and the Louisiana country.

In its binding and typography, and in its maps and illustrations, the volume on the whole attains the standard set by its predecessors in the art of the book-maker. Its merits in these respects, when added to the care exercised by both author and publisher in providing for the substantial accuracy of what is written, make any allusion to its faults needful only as a means of suggesting improvements that may enable the work to maintain its position of superiority as a popular history of the United States.

To one who has read with care each of the three volumes the general impression left is, that so long as Dr. Avery sticks to the path of purely political history his narrative is fairly safe, but that when he swerves into the fields of philosophic interpretation, social psychology, or rhetorical embellishment, he is apt to afford the critic a fair mark for a shaft. In the installment under consideration the author appears to have discovered a "growing desire on the part of many Americans of culture for information concerning the social and economic history of their ancestors". "This knowledge", he adds, "has not been without effect upon the chapters herewith submitted" (p. viii). If the application of the knowledge in question was intended to be a sovereign specific for the annalistic ailments that afflict the usual mode of treating what is popularly, though wrongly, called "the neglected period of American history", the reviewer only wishes that the effect had been more marked upon the reading qualities of many of the paragraphs, and sometimes of whole chapters, about the governors and assemblies, by making them less reminiscent of the thrilling genealogy of David. The idea that Dr. Avery seems to have of the way in which the information about the social and economic record of our ancestors should be conveyed is certainly a bit odd when he cites the fact that Mrs. Bradstreet "was the mother of eight children and the author of quaint verses", or that Pastor Thacher "published the first medical treatise printed in America

and died" (p. 135). To this category also may belong the surprising statement that "Colonel Philip Ludwell had been secretary to Governor Berkeley of Virginia and was now the third husband of his widow" (p. 217).

The jingles, mixed metaphors, irrelevant episodes, loose assertions, unexplained allusions and foot-notes disguised as the oracular utterances of some learned person, which occasionally marred the text of the earlier volumes, are not encountered so frequently in the reading matter of this one. One four line stanza (p. 20) and the tripping diction of "By the wonder-working magic of a Dutch 'presto change!'" (p. 63) are the only symptoms of poetry. How "the soldiers . . . eliminated New France from the map of North America, and thus gave birth to a great republic" (p. 191) is a feat that certainly merits some attention. The exploits of Henry Morgan (p. 19) have no bearing upon the practice of piracy along the Carolina coast, and most of what is said about John Law (pp. 320-323) has little connection with Louisiana. Not much meaning can be derived from the phrase "the final struggle for the conquest of New France" (p. vii), or from a sentence like this: "English history was making fast, when, in March, 1689, Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts died" (p. 125). Even if the word "possession" be substituted for "conquest" in the phrase first mentioned, it might clarify the sense but it would not remove the actual error lurking in the intimation that the acquisition of New France by the English was the result of a conscious effort on their part prolonged through many years. Furthermore, in the absence of any contiguous explanation, the casual reader would hardly be able to catch the precise reference in such observations as "a verdict against Lord Baltimore on the ground of *hactenus inculta*" (p. 53); "and there was Samuel Shattock" (p. 128); "the new board of trade and plantations" (p. 211); "The 'country' party soon regained control" (p. 223); and "sweet revenge for the perfidy of Ulloa" (p. 327). Dr. Avery's use of quotation marks, also, is somewhat eccentric. When he injects the opinion of some one, professor or non-professor, into the text he may omit the marks (as on pp. 64, 213), or insert them (as on p. viii); he may place them around single words like "practical" and "sentimental" (p. 135), or he may gird them about sundry ancient quips and authorless epigrams, depriving the reader of the just satisfaction of knowing on whom to fix the responsibility for them.

The presence of so many errors, mistaken generalizations, unsound judgments and misleading phrases in the single chapter on the Wars of the Royal William, Anne, and George might lead one to imagine that the bizarre title must have cast a sorry spell upon it. To begin with, one would infer from the title that the subject-matter was the wars between the English and the French in the colonies of North America, whereas in fact the chapter describes the War of the Spanish Succession in particular and the earlier and later European conflicts

in general. Under what circumstances, it may be asked, was Spain driven from the stage of "the struggle for the heart of North America" between 1492 and 1600 (p. 183)? If she was indeed driven from the stage she managed to retain possession for a while of its west and south-east wings at least. To say of Louis XIV. that "rather than trust the succession to the will of the Spanish king", he "entered into secret treaty with England and Holland for the partition of the Spanish king's dominions" (p. 184), and that after Charles II. had died, leaving his kingdom by will to the Duke of Anjou, Louis XIV. had not dared to hope for so much (p. 185), ignores that wily monarch's employment of Harcourt and Portocarrero as much as it reveals a lack of accurate knowledge about the partition treaties and their intricate story. No one at all familiar with the history of Spain could subscribe to such statements as "with the support of England and Portugal, the Austrian archduke contested with Philip V. for the Spanish crown. This aroused the Spanish people from their sleep. Three million Jews and Moors had been expelled and a blight was resting upon the seven millions who remained. There was no Spanish navy; Spanish commerce had died. . . . Spain could not submit to have an Austrian king imposed upon it by heretics" (p. 186). Dr. Avery could hardly have crowded a larger number of obvious mistakes into a few sentences if he had tried. Prussia became a kingdom in 1701, and not in 1713 (p. 187).

Outside of this chapter there are certain other points of difference between the author and the reviewer. To apply the term "pernicious activity" to the enforcement of the policy of the English government from 1660 onward in securing a more efficient control of the colonies is to prejudice the case. Just in what respect the colonial governor was "the manager of a commercial enterprise" (p. 208) is no more evident than that "The English revolution of 1688 proclaimed the right of subjects to dethrone a dynasty" (p. 217) is true. The value of the discussion of the British colonial policy, finally, would have been much enhanced if the statements had been more logically arranged, and if a goodly portion of the matter prematurely given in the second chapter of the second volume of the work could have been placed here in its proper connection.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

The Writings of Benjamin Franklin. Collected and edited with a Life and Introduction by ALBERT HENRY SMYTH. In ten volumes. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xxiii, 439; xi, 470; xii, 483; xii, 471; xii, 555; x, 477; xiii, 440; xiv, 651; xvi, 703; xxii, 633.)

UNTIL the appearance of Mr. Smyth's edition, two collections of Franklin's writings have been generally available. The ten-volume edition of Jared Sparks, published between 1836 and 1850, was in its day an historical undertaking of the first magnitude, and one for which

students of American history long needed to be grateful. Its faults, however, were those which later investigation has shown to characterize all of Sparks's editorial work, namely, the deliberate alteration of the text in the supposed interest of dignity and good form, and the suppression of passages which, it was thought, would be harsh or offensive to modern ears. Moreover, the topical classification of the material made the volumes difficult to consult, and there was an undue elaboration of introductions and notes. Until 1887-1889, however, when Mr. John Bigelow brought out his edition of Franklin's "complete" works, the Sparks collection remained the standard. Mr. Bigelow's edition, based upon a careful and thorough-going study of Franklin's papers, restored the text in most cases to its original form, substituted a chronological for a topical arrangement and added some six hundred pieces drawn principally from the Stevens Collection, then in the Department of State and now, with a few exceptions, in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. The high qualities of Mr. Bigelow's work, together with the comprehensive nature of his researches, gave to these ten volumes a seemingly definitive character, although their publication in a limited and costly edition was an unfortunate obstacle in the way of their general use.

The claim to definitiveness, however, which Mr. Bigelow's edition has long enjoyed, must now unquestionably be shared with this edition of Mr. Smyth. Editions of collected writings are always to be subjected to three tests: the completeness of the exhibit, the editorial method and workmanship, and the substantive value of the material—in this case the new material—presented. Mr. Smyth has certainly spared no effort to make his edition complete. His collection, he tells us, is "the result of a personal examination of all the extant documents thereunto appertaining in Europe and America" that were accessible; and the sources from which he has drawn show what a surprising volume of matter has become available since Mr. Bigelow's edition appeared. Among the more notable collections made use of are the more than eight hundred Franklin papers possessed by the University of Pennsylvania, first brought to light in 1903, and the imposing collection of thirteen thousand documents owned by the American Philosophical Society, and here for the first time painstakingly used. These, with the Stevens Collection, comprise most of the Franklin manuscripts known to have survived the ravages of neglect, ignorance and time; but numerous important papers are still dispersed in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the British Museum, the Public Record Office, Lansdowne House, the Royal Society, the Foreign Office and other repositories at Paris, and the archives at Simancas and the Hague, besides university libraries and private collections in this country and abroad. Of the Franklin Papers in European archives, all are believed to be listed in B. F. Stevens's "Index to the American Documents in the Archives of Europe". Many letters, however, are lost, most notably

the correspondence of Franklin with Jonathan Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph's, Sir Edward Newenham, member of the Irish Parliament and Dr. Jan Ingenhousz, the Austrian physician and scientist. Of Franklin's voluminous correspondence with Lord Kames, Sir William Herschel, Maskelyne and other scientists, surprisingly little can now be found.

To industrious search for manuscript material Mr. Smyth has added a careful examination of printed sources, particularly newspapers. The result is a substantial increase of the Frankliniana hitherto available. According to Mr. Smyth, the edition before us comprises three hundred and eighty-five letters and forty articles not contained in either the Sparks or the Bigelow editions, and all of indubitable authenticity. Chief among these new items are the "Dogood Papers", Franklin's youthful contributions to *The New England Courant*; some characteristic essays from *The Pennsylvania Gazette*; most of the prefaces to *Poor Richard's Almanac*; a number of letters and articles relating to the Stamp Act, written to London newspapers in 1765 and 1766, together with a report of Pitt's speech of January 14, 1766, against the act; and a portion of the entertaining correspondence between Franklin and Madame Brillon, not heretofore printed.

The omission of documents touches in part the simple question of fact, and in part the question of historical method. Mr. Smyth omits the Principles of Trade published in 1774, because written not by Franklin, but by George Whatley; On Government, written by John Webbe; and A True State of the Proceedings in the Parliament of Great Britain, the work of Arthur Lee. The Historical Review of Pennsylvania, commonly ascribed to Franklin and doubtless inspired by him, but the authorship of which was expressly disclaimed by Franklin in a letter to Hume, is also left out. The so-called Canada Pamphlet, on the other hand, the joint work of Franklin and Richard Jackson, is properly retained because of the editor's inability to discriminate the shares of the two authors. The numerous illustrations which the short paragraphs of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Almanac* afford of Franklin's coarse humor and vulgarity have not been reproduced, and the letter to the Academy of Brussels is omitted for the same reason; though it must be admitted that this process of expurgation, while conducing to the safety of Mr. Smyth's pages for the unwary, shows but imperfectly the real Franklin that was. In the case of certain other writings of Franklin, the editor takes more debatable ground. For example, the prefaces to *Poor Richard's Almanac* which relate to the making of wine, the appearance of the planets and Middleton's account of life in the region of Hudson's Bay, are omitted from the series without explanation, although the editor takes special pride in the inclusion of the other prefaces as a valuable feature of his edition. A group of early essays on Public Men, Self Denial, the Usefulness of Mathematics, True Happiness, On Discoveries, the Waste of Life,

the Causes of Earthquakes, the Drinker's Dictionary and a Case of Casuistry, is discarded because the essays "have been ascribed to Franklin on insufficient evidence, and are at any rate dull and trivial". A letter to Cadwallader Colden, containing a conjectural explanation of the longer time required by vessels in the westward than in the eastward Atlantic passage, is omitted because Franklin, having declared in 1786 that the theory was untenable, "desired that the letter should not be reprinted". The omission of the *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity*, printed in 1726, is defined on the ground that "the work has no value, and it would be an injury and an offence to the memory of Franklin to republish it". The determination of authorship from such evidences as literary style or subject-matter is at best a delicate business, while an author's own opinion of the value of his work, or an editor's estimate of the permanent worth or present interest of authentic documents, assuredly ought not to control in the preparation of a "complete" edition. Doubtless the substantive loss in these instances is not great, but the decision of the editor cannot be approved.

For the rest, Mr. Smyth's editorial method shows intelligence and painstaking care. With the exception of the *Autobiography*, which has been reprinted from Mr. Bigelow's text, all the documents are transcribed from the originals, with faithful adherence to punctuation, capitalization and spelling; and the source from which each piece is drawn is indicated. More than two thousand errors in previous editions have, it is said, been corrected, and many letters hitherto designated as mutilated or incomplete are given in full. Where manuscripts were not available, the original printed texts appear to have been followed. It would have been a great convenience had an indication been given of the documents already printed by Sparks and Bigelow, since without such aid only a page-for-page comparison can show just what changes have been made or just what material is new. The documents are arranged in chronological order so far as possible. There is a wise paucity of notes, the annotations being restricted, for the most part, to a statement of the *locus* of the document and a brief indication of the circumstances or of the person addressed. The last volume contains a list of correspondents, over four hundred and fifty in number, and indexes of persons, places and subjects.

A biography of Franklin by the editor fills more than half of the tenth volume. As a careful and detailed record of Franklin's multifarious activities, it is a sort of digest of the content of the preceding volumes, and will have distinct value for reference purposes; but it will not supersede, save as it here and there corrects or amplifies, previous accounts of Franklin's career. A somewhat similar characterization must be made of the edition as a whole. The new material contained in these ten volumes does not add greatly to our knowledge of Franklin as a politician, a statesman or a diplomatist. The broad lines of his public career have long since been drawn, and Mr. Smyth's

additions cannot do more than fill in personal details, though they do this at many points. Scholars may well be grateful, however, that the imposing mass of Franklin's writings, ranging over a wider field of intellectual and social interests than that of any other American public man, is here presented with convincing accuracy and approximate completeness.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

England and America, 1763 to 1783. The History of a Reaction.

In two volumes. By MARY A. M. MARKS. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1907. Pp. xxiii, 664; viii, 665-1306.)

SINCE the volumes of Bancroft dealing with the subject, this is the bulkiest discussion of the Revolutionary period which has appeared; for the sixth volume of Winsor is largely bibliographic. Undoubtedly there is needed a scientific investigation of these two critical decades—an investigation based on the whole mass of rapidly accumulating source-materials—more detailed and comprehensive than the plan of recent publications has permitted. The book before us is not without merit; but it will scarcely be accepted by scholars as satisfying their needs. Because so generally the principles of scientific research and composition have been ignored, these two volumes comprising some 650,000 words—more than four times the space filled by the two corresponding numbers of the *American Nation*—have failed greatly to deepen or to clarify our knowledge.

In the first place, there is inadequate use of the available materials. The four pages of Bibliography of the *More Important Works Consulted* contain many of the best known British collections of memoirs, correspondence and Parliamentary papers; and often these have been studied with good results. In particular, the *Annual Register*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Parliamentary History*, *Donne's Correspondence of George III. with Lord North*, the *Clinton-Cornwallis Correspondence*, and some of the contemporary newspapers have been diligently exploited. Other important sources, such as the *Grenville Papers* and the *Bedford Correspondence* are omitted; while sometimes, as in the case of Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of the Court of George III.*, the latest and best edition is not mentioned. The monographs of modern British scholars are almost wholly ignored; and but a limited acquaintance with the vast mass of pamphlet literature preserved in British libraries is disclosed.

More astonishing is the author's neglect of the American materials. She has indeed cited the *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, the *Collections* of the Massachusetts and the New York Historical Societies, *Force's Tracts and Archives*, Spark's *Diplomatic Correspondence*, the works of Jay, Paine, Hutchinson, Franklin and John Adams; but this virtually closes the list of American sources. No reference is made to the collected writings of Hamilton, Jefferson, Washington, Samuel Adams, or to those of less conspicuous men. She is oblivious of the ever-increasing

mass of published correspondence, proceedings of colonial or state assemblies, transactions of provincial or continental congresses and the records of the various kinds of Revolutionary committees. Moreover, the vast number of histories and monographs, produced mainly since the Civil War, appears to be almost entirely unknown to Mrs. Marks. The only general histories cited are Bancroft's *United States* and Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*. The *Narrative and Critical History*, and therefore Mellen Chamberlain's able discussion of the preliminaries of the Revolution, is overlooked. The only writings of a special nature referred to in the bibliography are Sabine's *Loyalists*, Moore's *Treason of Charles Lee*, Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County* and Ingersoll's *Second War*.

Again, the "mechanics" of the book reveals the untrained historical writer. There are a few foot-notes; but only in exceptional cases is either volume or page cited. In the case of correspondence or public documents, the assignment of the date is helpful; but usually the reader is denied the privilege of ready verification of the numerous quotations. An author can no longer safely ask the public to take her statements on faith alone. One has a feeling that this work is better than it looks; but in the main a rare opportunity has been lost. It is a pity that the expenditure of so much money and labor was not more wisely directed; for a better method and a more thorough use of the easily accessible sources would have enabled Mrs. Marks to render a much more important service.

The work consists of 126 chapters, the first forty-four being devoted to the twelve years between the Peace of Paris and the battle of Bunker Hill. There is no attempt at a larger synthesis. In chronological sequence, selected events are treated each in a short chapter. The British side of the great drama receives the best and fullest discussion. An enormous number of details are presented; yet some of the most important episodes are neglected. For instance, the Sugar Act, even more important than the Stamp Act for understanding the grievance of the colonists, receives but a passing notice. The narrative is in the main trustworthy as regards statement of facts, but it is by no means free from error. Thus the academy founded by Franklin (p. 29) did not afterwards become the "University of Philadelphia"; nor did Franklin first hear of the "Hutchinson Letters" a little *before* "George Grenville's death". Grenville died in 1770, and it was not until December, 1772, that Franklin had his conversation with a "gentleman of character and distinction". The name of the author of the *Farmer's Letters* is not written *Dickenson*; nor did Dickinson "afterwards desert the colonial cause", although he did oppose the Declaration of Independence. "The 55 Clauses of the Bill for Taxing the Colonies" did not, as alleged, pass "the Commons on the 6th of March, 1765". The fifty-five "resolutions" comprising the details of the proposed law were submitted to the Commons on the sixth of February; while the "bill" was not introduced until March 13.

In its opening sentence the thesis of the work is expressed: "The history of the loss of America is the history of a Tory reaction." This thesis is maintained too much in the spirit of an advocate, but often with force and with a dramatic marshalling of facts from the records. Indeed, this book has the quality of interest in a high degree. The style is not free from faults; but in the main it is simple, vigorous and entertaining. The industrious grouping of extracts from sources will prove an advantage to the student; but the advantage would have been far greater had the author adopted a modern system of citation.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon. By FREDERICK V. HOLMAN, Director of the Oregon Pioneer Association and of the Oregon Historical Society. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1907. Pp. 301.)

THIS volume partakes strongly of the character of a memorial. It grew out of an address delivered on McLoughlin Day observed at the Lewis and Clark Exposition on October 6, 1905. The subject extolled was of Canadian birth and of Scotch-Irish antecedents. He was in charge of Fort William, the factory of the Northwest Company on the north shore of Lake Superior, when that company was merged in the Hudson Bay Company, and was transferred to the management of the consolidated concern's affairs west of the Rocky Mountains. He continued to be its chief factor in the "old Oregon country" during the remaining twenty-two years of "joint occupation". Nevertheless, he is—and not inaptly—termed the "Father of Oregon", referring to the American settlement that developed into an American commonwealth. It necessarily took a man of fine administrative ability to conduct so successfully the operations of "The Great Company" throughout the vast Pacific slope during the period of disputed sovereignty. His predilections for democratic institutions and society must have been exceedingly strong that he should turn to Oregon City, an isolated frontier hamlet, after having lived a quarter of a century nearly as the master of a baronial establishment at Fort Vancouver. But the transcendently unique element in Dr. McLoughlin's character shines in the measure and quality of humanity exhibited, during the early forties mainly, towards the travel-worn and destitute pioneers coming across the plains from the American states. These at the approach of winter were just completing their trans-continental migration and thronged at the gates of his fort in direst need. They had come to wrest Oregon from his nation and his corporation—and he fed, clothed and sheltered all who applied for aid. He even sent out free conveyance to bear them safely in over the most dangerous part of their journey. Suffering was alleviated and many—women and children especially—were saved from perishing. It would have been easy by indifference to the needs of these

Oregon pioneers to have given the Indians the cue to rid him of them. There was no Indian war and but few minor depredations while Dr. McLoughlin was in charge at Fort Vancouver. And, moreover, the situation in the closing years of the period of joint occupation was such that, without the wise and forbearing McLoughlin in charge, collisions between the English and Americans could hardly have been averted and war between the United States and Great Britain prevented.

The author is a descendant of a pioneer family who had experienced the gracious kindness of the chief factor. He had also from earliest youth heard from all sides among the pioneers tributes to the humanity of Dr. McLoughlin. He naturally writes with feeling. However, the volume is not mere panegyric. One hundred and seventy-two pages are taken up with his account and argument, and one hundred and twelve are used for "illustrative documents referred to in the text". The search for documentary sources, without being extended to the archives of the Hudson Bay Company, was thorough and the materials are handled with care and accuracy.

Dr. McLoughlin, representing the interests of a giant English fur-trading corporation and at the same time exhibiting the tenderest humanity towards invading American agriculturists contesting its territory, was inviting martyrdom. He was forced to resign and to assume the burden of the credit he had given the pioneers. And again, Dr. McLoughlin, while still the chief factor, laying claim to a town and power site on the American side of the Columbia, the possession of which would give monopoly advantage and the key to the economic progress of primitive Oregon, was also challenging fate. The wrongs he suffered through the machinations of those who sought to deprive him of his land-claim have the chief emphasis in this book. They are discussed from the strictly legal and abstractly ethical point of view. There is no possible defense for the course actually pursued against him while he was attempting to hold a section of land, including the present site of Oregon City and the then most available power for flouring and lumber-mill purposes. But privilege was almost certain to be challenged on the American frontier and in a ruthless way. The land law first adopted by the organizers of the provisional government declared against the basis of Dr. McLoughlin's title. It must be said, however, if privilege and royalty were under any condition in order in the American community in Oregon, Dr. John McLoughlin was far and away the rightful heir to all that could be conferred. It is only in the fact that the author did not examine the problem involved in the virtual martyrdom of Dr. McLoughlin from the broadly historical point of view that any exception can be taken to this admirable book.

F. G. YOUNG.

Life and Public Services of William Pitt Fessenden. In two volumes. By FRANCIS FESSENDEN, Brigadier-General, U. S. A. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1907. Pp. ix, 374; vii, 367.)

THE subject of this biography will be chiefly remembered by posterity as *primus inter pares* of the immortal seven who, in a trying crisis of their country's history, rose above the frenetic demands of their party and refused to take part in the removal of a president of the United States by a prostitution, as iniquitous as it was transparent, of the process prescribed by the fundamental law. A storm of obloquy broke upon his head, raised by the radicals who were largely in the ascendant in his state and section; and he died before the cloud that blighted the subsequent careers of his co-offenders had vanished away. However, justice has been done to his memory by the verdict of history. The second administration of President Grant was hardly ended before the country settled down to the opinion that, had the movement been successful which these seven judges of the High Court of Impeachment were able to defeat by only a single vote, our republic would have taken its place among those unstable forms of popular government where revolution is an ordinary incident in every hotly contested campaign; and, at the present day, the vote, then so generally denounced as the basest treachery to the party that claimed to have saved the Union, has come to be regarded as an act of patriotic self-devotion.

To such a hero, this book is a fitting tribute rendered by two of the sons whose advancement in the army was thrown into the face of their father as the cause of his conservatism. In reply to Senator Chandler of Michigan who assailed the senator from Maine as the apologist of the Apostate in the White House, Fessenden drew tears from half of the Senate by the following words:

"I have been twitted in the newspapers that my sons were generals in the Army. God gave me four sons. Three of them volunteered and the other volunteered also, but his health broke down and he was obliged to stay at home, much to his regret and sorrow. My youngest fell upon his first field. Another had his arm shattered and his leg shot off. The third was not wounded, but served and fought in twenty battles. I never asked for the appointment of one of them to any office."

William Pitt Fessenden was altogether too much of a statesman to suit the headlong radicalism of those times. Though his indefatigable industry in shaping measures of legislation and his conspicuous ability in advocating them upon the floor had won for him a place in the front rank of the Senate, yet he became the target of the poisoned arrows of the extremists because he would not go the full length of imposing negro suffrage as a condition of the readmission of the Southern states. Sumner was exceptionally bitter against him. In fact these two men were intensely antipathetic to each other both by temperament and mental habit. In a newspaper interview in August, 1867, Sumner said of him:

"For several years he has been very unkind to me, unaccountably so. I cannot comprehend it. Sometimes it seemed to me akin to insanity. He has always been against my ideas, but why should he contend personally? . . . All of the slave-masters together never wounded me as did this colleague from New England. . . . He runs to personalities as a duck to water—if not in language then in manner and tone. Until he gets heated he is dull."

From an elaborate speech which the senator from Massachusetts read against the first form of the Fourteenth Amendment, Fessenden culled "a few flowers of rhetoric" of that malodorous class for which Sumner seemed to cherish an unnatural fondness. This cardinal measure, which two-thirds of the Republicans in the House had already approved, was gibbeted before the country as "a muscicular abortion"; "disgusting ordure"; "loathsome stench"; "a political obscenity"; "a mighty House of Ill-fame which it is proposed to license constitutionally for a political consideration". Such rank specimens of what the scholarly Massachusetts senator condemned as "personalities" in another drew from Fessenden the criticism: "There are two kinds of personality in debate; one . . . aimed directly at the individual in the heat of debate when men are somewhat excited, when they cannot stop to choose their own words. . . . Another . . . which . . . aims at masses, confines itself to nobody, deals in epithets; . . . does not pick out an individual who can reply on the spot; and is elaborated in the closet, full of all manner of bitterness, but so expressed that no particular individual has a right to take it to himself. . . . I think the latter, inasmuch as it is cool, deliberated upon, the words chosen, exhibits vastly the more malice of the two."

Sumner said of Fessenden: "As a lawyer he is of the *nisi prius* order. There is nothing of a jurist in his attainments or nature." How competent a judge on this question the former was, can be ascertained by comparing the opinions of these two members of the High Court of Impeachment on the trial of President Johnson:

"To the suggestion that popular opinion demands the conviction of the President", Fessenden replied: "He is not on trial before the people, but before the Senate. . . . The people have not heard the evidence as we have heard it. . . . They have not taken an oath 'to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws'. I have taken that oath."

Sumner took a different view: "This is a political proceeding, which the people . . . are as competent to decide as the Senate. . . . It is a mistake to suppose that the Senate only has heard the evidence. The people have heard it also, day by day, as it was delivered and have carefully considered the case on the merits, properly dismissing all apologetic subtleties. . . . They are above the Senate and will 'rejudge its justice'."

The people have already done so; and this book reminds us that it is about time that the people "rejudge" Sumner.

DAVID M. DEWITT.

Frederick Douglass. By BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia and London: George W. Jacobs Company. 1907. Pp. 365.)

THE chief interest of this new life of Douglass in the "American Crisis Biographies" series is in giving us the conception formed of the personal importance and the times of the most conspicuous American negro and leader of his race in the past by the one upon whom his mantle is now generally regarded to have fallen. Sympathetic as the biographer shows himself to be at almost every point with the political, and particularly with the social and educational, views and policy of his predecessor, he yet subordinates Douglass in treatment to the theme close to Douglass's and his own heart, the material advancement of his race and what he terms the "difficult social problems" created by the presence of the negro in America. Douglass's contribution toward the solution of this continuous negro problem is viewed as necessarily chiefly destructive, belonging to the "period of revolution and liberation", while the present is one "of construction and readjustment".

So manifestly eclectic is the choice and treatment of events in Douglass's career and so considerable the amount of space sacrificed to summarizing well-known current history, that an irresistible impression results of the author's desire to furnish a text for colored youth inspiring them with "courage to look upward and forward". Douglass is made an object lesson in the progress of his people, an ideal to be followed. In the entire sixteen chapters no adverse comment of this man comes from the author. Douglass "was the soul of honor . . . loved the right, and hated wrong" and "no man of his prominence was freer from vices". Though the book is unusually well-written and readable, no pretense of an attempt at a critical examination of data and estimate of the services of the man is made. There are no foot-note citations and only a brief bibliography of twenty well-known titles. A comparison of the narrative with those of the several editions of Douglass's autobiography of 1845, 1855, 1882, and the account by Holland (1891) will show the faithful gleanings to which these have been subjected. A mass of personal detail and comment given by Douglass, some of it essential to an analysis of his character and career, has been disregarded to save space for a chapter (v.) on Slavery and Anti-Slavery and one (vii.) on the Colored People and Colonization and considerable portions of two other chapters (ix. and x.), which contain but a few unimportant mentions of Douglass. The latter half of the book, through well-selected and cleverly introduced extracts, exhibits Douglass and his services in the periods immediately preceding and during the Civil War, and in the reconstruction. The biographer writes as a Southerner who feels that the North and the federal government have not received their just share of censure for prejudice and discrimination against the colored man. Some manifest overstatements

are to be noted (pp. 302, 304, 307, 326, 331, 336) and several errors of diction or fact (pp. 94, 123, 198, 303, 331); but the volume, though uncritical, is the most interesting and most readable sketch of Douglass in print.

J. C. BALLAGH.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume XXV. *America as a World Power* (1897-1907). By JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ, Ph.D., Professor of History, Washington and Lee University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1907. Pp. xii, 350.)

FOURTEEN of the nineteen chapters of this interesting volume deal with matters of war, diplomacy and government of dependencies. Of the remaining five chapters, two (VII. and XIII.) describe the elections of 1900 and 1904, and two (XVII. and XVIII.) are devoted to a study of Immigration and Economic Tendencies. Chapter XIX. consists of a Critical Essay on the Authorities.

The unity of the work and the appropriateness of its title suffer somewhat by the addition of four of the chapters mentioned above. The topics which they treat are so vital and the internal administrations of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt are so significant (the former on the negative and the latter on the positive side) that they might well have been made the subject of a separate volume. If the Spanish-American War of 1898 inaugurated a new epoch in the history of our international relations, the Bryan platform of 1896 marks the beginnings of a gigantic struggle for economic reform.

The story of the naval and military operations is clearly and simply told, but such gleams of humor as are contained in the following passage are unfortunately rare: "The eyes of the nation were at once turned to the Orient, and people who had to search closely on their maps in order to find the Philippine Islands were soon discussing glibly the commercial and strategic importance of the group" (p. 37). Professor Latané does not mince matters in saying that the "administrative inefficiency of the war department was everywhere revealed in striking contrast with the fine record of the navy department. Secretary Alger had been too much occupied with questions of patronage to look after the real needs of the service" (p. 47).

The author rightly holds President McKinley, who seems to have been influenced by mixed commercial and religious motives, responsible for the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. He is of the opinion that it was unnecessary to reinforce Admiral Dewey and remarks (p. 79): "The parting of the ways was when President McKinley sent the first expedition from San Francisco to Manila." He does not, however, comment upon the obvious disadvantages of this conquest (the greatest of which is that it gave us an exposed frontier), although he remarks elsewhere (p. 319) that "strained relations with Japan" have resulted from the occupation of these islands.

Chapter v. contains a plain unvarnished account of the Philippine Insurrection based on official records. Although the provocation was doubtless often great and reports of "atrocities" were greatly exaggerated, nevertheless "murder, rape, torture, and other crimes were too frequently committed by the American soldiers."

Chapter VIII. on the Status of Dependencies contains a useful analysis of the leading decisions and conflicting opinions on that perplexing subject. Chapters IX. and X. deal with government in the Philippines and Cuba, respectively. They are dry and impartial studies based upon official documents and describe the anatomy or structure rather than the actual working of institutions. But in so far as Professor Latané ventures to pronounce upon the success of our Philippine experiment, his verdict is unfavorable: "American control of the Philippines has not, up to 1907, demonstrated its success . . . The United States has been too eager to Americanize the Filipinos through political and legal reforms . . ." (pp. 170-171).

Other chapters deal with the unique settlement of the Alaskan Boundary Dispute in 1903, the negotiations and events leading up to the construction of the Panama Canal, the important part played by the United States in the peace and arbitration movement since 1899, the Monroe Doctrine and the Drago Doctrine against the forcible collection of public debts. It is to be regretted that another chapter on our commercial and diplomatic relations with Latin America—a subject upon which the author is particularly well qualified to speak—was not added.

The work seems remarkably free from errors. The only positive misstatement of fact which the reviewer has detected is the assertion (p. 283) that the Hague Conference of 1907 did not formally adopt the Porter Resolution. The statement (p. 270) that the policy of the United States respecting the forcible collection of public debts is in accord with that of Great Britain as outlined in Lord Palmerston's celebrated circular dispatch of 1848, might give rise to a misconception. The chapter on International Arbitration contains irrelevant matter, and the important role played by the United States at the Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907 is not sufficiently emphasized.

The book contains seven maps and a good index. Its frontispiece is a portrait of Ex-President McKinley.

AMOS S. HERSHEY.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume XXVI. *National Ideals Historically Traced (1607-1907).* By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D., Professor of History in Harvard University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1907. Pp. xvi, 401.)

IN this, the concluding volume of his notable series on the American nation, Professor Hart sums up the development of our national ideals

during the last three centuries. Abandoning the treatment of chronological sections followed throughout the previous volumes, he epitomizes the growth of American social, economic, political, religious and educational ideas and ideals. Under such broad heads as Dependent Races, Self-Government, Theories of Government, Local Government, Federal Government, the Man who Leads, Sinews of Government, the Outer World, War and Order, and the Assurance of American Democracy, our political ideas in particular are analyzed and developed in admirable manner. Religious and ethical ideas, social and industrial philosophies are also considered, but, as in the other volumes of the series, are subordinated to the governmental aspects of our history. The leading tendencies in American life and thought are clearly and carefully traced through the fields already traversed by the previous volumes of the series and this interpretation of American history, in its larger aspects, fittingly crowns the work.

In the concluding chapter, on the Assurance of American Democracy, Professor Hart confesses his faith in the future of popular government in America and assigns various reasons for his confidence. Perhaps the most significant and certainly the most typically American of these is the statement that there is in America "a common patience with evils against which a virile people ought to strive, a common fatalistic expectation that things will come about whether preparations are made before hand or not" (pp. 342-343). This may be characterized as optimistic or as fatalistic, but it is certainly American.

The most serious menace to democracy Professor Hart finds in the territorial extent of the United States and particularly in the recent extension of the national domain to the Philippine Islands. He admits, however, elsewhere that "America has established once for all the possibility of a democracy on an area immense and various." Another danger pointed out is the possibility of conflict between different classes or interests, especially between labor and capital. But this danger is not considered as grave. "Conventional democracy", says the author, "with manhood suffrage would seem to assure the victory in every such contest to the most numerous class."

This volume must be classed with the studies of American democracy made by De Tocqueville and Bryce. It has all the advantages and disadvantages of being written in this case by one of the Americans—all the insights and the oversights of introspection. On the historical side Professor Hart's work is more complete and stronger than either of the other studies. On the philosophic side, it compares less favorably with the work of the French and the English student. There are, however, enough passages in the work showing rare depth of insight and breadth of generalization to indicate that the author, if he had cared to, might have written in a consistently brilliant philosophical vein.

C. E. MERRIAM.

Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History. Volume I. Compiled and edited by a committee of the Association of American Law Schools. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1907. Pp. x, 847.)

ROGER NORTH relates that Sergeant Maynard "had such a relish of the old year-books that he carried one in his coach to divert him in travel, and said he chose it before any comedy". Present-day readers of the year-books and other sources of our law, and indeed all who adventure, for one reason or another, into the inviting but still partially unexplored realms of England's and America's legal past, will welcome these *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History*. They will welcome these volumes not alone because of their diverting qualities, but also because of their informing, guiding and inspiring qualities. The charm and spirit of the year-books are in them, and so too are some of the most important results of researches by the new historical school of English and American lawyers.

It was certainly a brilliant idea to collect from the files of legal periodicals and general treatises on the modern law various scattered essays and chapters on Anglo-American legal development and to republish them in orderly form and convenient compass. Chapters from standard works on legal history—such as those of Pollock and Maitland, Holdsworth, and Holmes—have been included only where their exclusion would have left certain topics or periods, owing to lack of available periodical material, imperfectly discussed or not discussed at all. The aim has been to supplement, rather than to supplant, existing treatises on legal history. The present collection contains, however, no essays on public law, such topics as the history of municipal corporations and constitutional law being reserved for a possible later series.

Volume I. contains essays giving general surveys, while volumes II. and III. will present essays on the history of particular topics of law, the history, for example, of contracts, torts, property, marriage, equity and procedure. The twenty-one essays of volume I. are arranged in five parts. Part I. relates to the period before the Norman Conquest. In the lamented Professor Maitland's Prologue to a History of English Law we "look round for a moment at the world in which our English legal history has its beginnings"—the world of Roman, Canon and Teutonic law; and Mr. Edward Jenks's Development of Teutonic Law carries on the same story. Both essays discuss Anglo-Saxon law, but in Sir Frederick Pollock's English Law before the Norman Conquest the reader finds a fuller statement. Part II. is devoted to the period from the Norman Conquest to the eighteenth century, and its seven essays are the following: The Centralization of Norman Justice under Henry II., by Mrs. John Richard Green; Edward I., the English Justinian, by Mr. Edward Jenks; English Law and the Renaissance, by Professor Maitland; Roman Law Influence in Chancery, Church

Courts, Admiralty and Law Merchant, by Mr. T. E. Scrutton; the History of the Canon Law in England, by the late Bishop Stubbs; the Development of the Law Merchant, by Mr. W. S. Holdsworth; a Comparison of the History of Legal Development at Rome and in England, by Mr. Bryce. Part III., on the American colonial period, contains: English Common Law in the Early American Colonies, by Professor Reinsch; the Extension of English Statutes to the Plantations, by Professor Sioussat; the Influence of Colonial Conditions, as Illustrated in the Connecticut Intestacy Law, by Professor Andrews. In part IV. are essays by Mr. R. Robinson, Mr. Dillon, Lord Bowen, Professor Beale and Mr. Bryce on the expansion and reform of the law in the nineteenth century. The bench and bar from Norman times to the nineteenth century forms the subject of part V., which contains essays by Mr. John M. Zane and Mr. Van Vechten Veeder. Included too is a letter by Chancellor Kent describing an American law student of a hundred years ago. Mr. Zane's interesting Five Ages of the Bench and Bar of England has—with the exception of a small portion—never before been published, and is a valuable contribution.

This collection of essays will be of great assistance in spreading a knowledge of Anglo-American legal development among the students of law and of history. Its publication should also create a deeper and wider interest in the scientific study of the great treasures of original sources that still await examination by loving, painstaking and trained hands.

HAROLD D. HAZELTINE.

Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal. Por W. E. RETANA. (Madrid: Librería General de V. Suarez. 1907. Pp. xvi, 511.)

DURING 1905 and 1906 Señor Retana published in numbers of the monthly review of Madrid, *Nuestro Tiempo*, notes on the life of José Rizal, the Filipinos' martyr and political saint, and the greatest man the Malay race has yet given to the world at large. The notes and documents accumulated by Retana's own diligent industry are now supplemented by corrections and additional data and documents elicited by the articles in the periodical, especially from various Filipino associates of Rizal, and the whole is brought together in a substantial quarto volume. Wonderful to relate, here is one Spanish work in history and politics which has an alphabetical index—a very satisfactory one, too, for names, though not for topics. It is dedicated to Ferdinand Blumentritt, has a prologue by a Spaniard who was for a time a college-mate of Rizal and who wastes considerable rhetoric to say little, and an epilogue by Miguel de Unamuno, whose analysis of Rizal is both shrewder and juster than that offered in fragments by Retana in the body of the work. A rather oddly-made bibliography of Rizaliana is also appended, and there are sixteen half-tone plates, reproducing various photographs of Rizal, some of his modellings in clay, his skull (exhumed in 1898), mortuary urn, etc. The rights have been reserved by registration in the United States.

This is altogether the best piece of work Señor Retana has done as an editor and compiler on Philippine subjects, and is also, by virtue of its subject and of the array of documents he has brought together, the most important work he has done. The fact that he has turned right-about-face and repudiated all his political writings on the Philippines up to and including 1898, does not prevent his old defect of diffuseness as a commentator and his Spanish fondness for superfluous rhetoric from showing in this work, swelling its bulk with much data, purely petty, or superfluities of foot-note preachings. But the new, emancipated Retana no longer distorts or hides essential facts in Philippine politics and society under Spain, because of being under the necessity of aiding the friars' cause. He now shows us things as they were, and his own change of attitude since Spain has lost the Philippines is in itself a most striking commentary on the blighting influence of the old régime. Here a word of caution is in place: Before 1898, Retana's pen was guided in accordance with the necessities of the editorship of an organ maintained to support the friars' policy in the Philippines; now, he looks for patronage of his Philippine writings mainly to the Filipinos themselves; and, though he is apparently sincere in his new attitude as a Spanish Liberal, one needs to be on his guard against undue exaggerations in the other direction, for this author is essentially a partizan.

This work is absolutely indispensable for one who would study the Philippine reform propaganda from about 1880 to 1896. It is so valuable, in spite of the faults above indicated, simply because of its richness of documentation. Various writings of Rizal scarcely available elsewhere are reproduced in part or in whole. Extracts from his diary and clinical notes as a student in Madrid (most interesting documents, now in the collection of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago) are among the new data and documents which are unique in their biographical value, revealing the character of this remarkable Malay. Other documents and data bring forth for the first time facts as to Rizal's life in exile in Mindanao and as to his trial in December, 1896, that have hitherto been known to only a few. The statutes of the Liga Filipina (1892) is a document of prime importance for Spanish-Philippine political history.

Rizal is, to almost all Americans, a semi-mythical character. Those who have been in contact with his people at home are inclined to think him a patriot who owes his fame to Spain's making him a martyr, and whose real talents and character have in consequence been overrated and magnified. The very few Americans who have read his political novels *Noli me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* in their full Spanish texts, not merely the garbled English versions of the first novel that have circulated in the United States, are aware that here was a very great Filipino, and a great man indeed. But the more one comes to know of the intimate details of his life, the greater he grows before one, not so much in ability, in promise of achievement, as in character. It is a

great pity that, after nearly ten years of American occupation of the Philippines, there are not available to American readers good English texts of both the above novels and a good biography of Rizal. We have not yet in our language even a sketch of his life that approaches adequacy.

JAMES A. LEROY.

MINOR NOTICES

The *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, Offices of the Society, pp. vii, 320) for 1906-1907, form the first volume of the third series, fitly begun in the year that found the society newly installed in its commodious quarters in the quiet precincts of South Square, Gray's Inn. In addition to the presidential address by the Rev. Dr. William Hunt, the volume contains eight papers. Sir Henry H. Howorth's long monograph on "The Rise of Caius Julius Caesar, with an Account of His Early Friends, Enemies and Rivals" comes down to the opening of Caesar's political career and is for the most part a very full and vivid relation of the various influences that must have shaped his early political opinions and ambitions. The author's learning is lightly handled nor has he hesitated to illuminate his narrative with many historical parallels. Following this paper are the remarks of Mr. J. Foster Palmer on the subject of political assassination, in which he argues that "nearly all political murders defeat their own ends". In Mr. G. J. Turner's article on "The Minority of Henry III.", of which the first part was read three years ago, the author discusses the authorities for the period and the state of political parties, and presents a mass of detailed information, drawn from the rolls of letters patent and close, relative to the surrender of castles by the barons. The paper is of much value not only on account of the results obtained, but as an illustration of the way in which records may be used to correct and supplement the less trustworthy statements of chroniclers. Under the title "Some Early Spanish Historians", Mr. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly treats very briefly of Bishop Lucas's *Chronicon* and the *Historia Gothica* of Archbishop Jiménez de Rada, and, at greater length, of Alfonso the Learned's *Crónica General* and of Menendez Pidal's recent edition of the last-named work. An able survey of "The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal, 1487-1807", by Miss A. B. Wallis Chapman, based on extensive researches in the Board of Trade Comm. MSS., the State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, and British Museum MSS., forms a sequel to Miss V. Shillington's paper on "The Beginnings of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance" printed in the preceding volume of *Transactions*. Among the subjects treated are the organization, privileges and activities of the English traders resident in Portugal, the development of the power of the English consuls there and the Brazilian trade, which after the

sixteenth century was the pivot upon which the commercial relations of the two countries turned. Mr. J. F. Chance continues his paper of the previous session on the northern policy of George I. to the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, in an account of "The Northern Treaties of 1719-20", and of the intricate preliminary negotiations. The discussion that followed the reading of the paper is briefly reported. The Rev. H. Isham Longden reviews the contents of "The Diaries (Home and Foreign) of Sir Justinian Isham, 1704-1735". Sir Justinian was on the Continent in the years 1704-1707 and 1718-1719, and met many persons of the highest rank. The Home Journals cover the period 1708-1735 and give a picture of life in the country and in London. Dr. James Gairdner has an article "On a Contemporary Drawing of the Burning of Brighton in the Time of Henry VIII.", and Mr. Hubert Hall edits "Some Elizabethan Penances in the Diocese of Ely", documents that appear to be citations announcing the sentences of the consistory court upon offenses against either religion or morality.

F. G. D.

The Law and Custom of the Constitution. By Sir William R. Anson, Bart., D.C.L., Warden of All Souls College, Oxford. In three volumes. Vol. II., Part 1. *The Crown*. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907, pp. xxxii, 283.) The first edition of part two of Sir William Anson's *Law and Custom of the Constitution* appeared in 1892, the second in 1896. In the third edition the volume is to be divided. The present installment embraces four of the ten chapters of the original volume, presented in a transposed order, which the author now prefers: The Prerogative of the Crown, the Councils of the Crown, the Departments of Government and the Ministers of the Crown, the Title to the Crown and the Relation of Sovereign and Subject. The new edition is the result of so complete a working-over of the former material that there are few paragraphs in which some change has not been made. The amount of additional material may be shown by the statement that what occupied 210 pages in the first edition occupies 270 pages in the present edition. The mode of treatment in the original edition, differing from that of many other treatises upon the English constitution, was largely historical. In the third edition the amount of historical material has been much increased, especially in respect to the pages on the earlier history of cabinet government. In respect to later times much use has been made of the letters of Queen Victoria and of other recent books, and apposite illustrations from the practices of the last few years have been substituted for many that figure in the earlier editions. The book as it stands is, for the subjects which this volume treats, the most useful to historical students of all such treatises.

Colección de Documentos para el Estudio de la Historia de Aragón. Tomo III. *Documentos correspondientes al Reinado de Sancho Ramírez.* Volumen I., desde MLXIII hasta MLXXXVIII años. *Documentos*

Reales procedentes de la Real Casa y Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña. Transcripción, Prólogo y Notas de José Salarrullana de Dios, Catedrático de Historia en la Universidad de Zaragoza. [Zaragoza, M. Escar, tipógrafo, 1907, pp. xix, 268.] This third volume of the co-operative series of sources for the history of Aragon which was initiated in 1904 by Professor Ibarra, of the University of Saragossa, with a volume of the documents of the reign of Ramiro I. (1034-1063), and was continued, in 1905, by another Aragonese scholar, with an edition of the *Forum Turolii* (code of Teruel, granted by Alfonso II. in 1176), now resumes, at the hands of Professor Salarrullana de Dios, the chronological sequence, containing such of the documents of Ramiro's succession as found preservation in the famous royal monastery of San Juan de la Peña, though now treasured in the Archivo Historico Nacional at Madrid. Fifty-six in number, they are mainly privileges and donations for that monastery and derive their chief historical interest from their mentions of persons and of places.

Essai sur les Rapports de Pascal II. avec Philippe I^{er} (1099-1108). Par Bernard Monod. (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. xxvii, 163.) The pontificate of Paschal II. has not generally passed for a glorious epoch in the history of the papacy, and in comparison with his immediate predecessors, Gregory VII. and Urban II., he has seemed feeble and vacillating. Monod presents a different view, maintaining that Paschal was a skilful opportunist who succeeded in relieving the tense situation which the intransigent policy of the reforming popes had created between the papacy and France, and thus secured the support of the French king in his difficulties with the empire. Moreover, by reducing the investiture question to its proper place, he was able to devote his energies to the more important problems of ecclesiastical reform out of which that issue had arisen. The author believes that the influence of Ives of Chartres brought about in France a compromise on the matter of investiture and episcopal elections similar to the understanding reached with Henry I. in 1106—an interesting suggestion, but one which can hardly be established from existing evidence. Philip I., who is generally considered one of the weakest and least worthy of the Capetians, is here presented as a ruler of considerable force and some degree of political wisdom. The monograph rests upon careful study and a good understanding of the age with which it deals, and shows independence of judgment in the face of the conclusions of such writers as Luchaire and Imbart de la Tour. The death of Bernard Monod, which occurred shortly after the completion of his academic studies, frustrated the hope of those who looked to him to maintain in the coming generation the family tradition of sound historical scholarship established by the editor of the *Revue Historique*; and the present volume has been prepared for publication by his father and certain of his fellow-students. C. H. H.

The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela. Critical text, translation and commentary by Marcus Nathan Adler, M.A. (London, Oxford University Press, 1907, pp. xvi, 94, vi, 89.) The *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* will always hold a high place among the records of medieval travellers, and is of much interest not only to the student of the history of the Jews in the Middle Ages, but also to the student of the Crusades. For, if we are to accept Mr. Adler's dates (compare his discussion of this topic, p. 1, note 2), Benjamin was absent from Europe "between the years 1166 and 1171". As it was precisely during these years that events culminated in the extension of Nur-ed-din's sway over Egypt (Saladin having succeeded his uncle as vizier of the Fatimid caliph in March, 1169, and the Fatimid caliphate coming to an end in September, 1171), it is at once clear at what a critical period in the history of the Crusades Benjamin visited the Orient, and how valuable the record is which a keen and intelligent traveller like him would give of what he had seen and heard, especially in Syria, Bagdad and Egypt.

The present volume is, for the most part, a reprint of articles which appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, volumes XVI., XVII., XVIII. In his discussion of the Bibliography (Introduction, pp. xiii-xvi) Mr. Adler points out that while Asher's edition (2 volumes, 1840, 1841) is the best, it, as well as the others, was based on the printed editions of 1543 and 1556, Asher not having a single manuscript to consult in case of doubtful readings. Mr. Adler, however, was "fortunate enough to be able to trace and examine three complete MSS. of Benjamin's Travels, as well as large fragments belonging to two other MSS." The result of his study of these documents is the present critical text, the basis for which he has used the manuscript belonging to the British Museum, the variants being noted in all cases. Mr. Adler has added indexes to both the Hebrew text and to the translation, the references being in all cases to the pages of Asher's edition, which are indicated on the margins of both the Hebrew and the English text. The six fac-similes of portions of the various manuscripts add to the usefulness of the book, as does the excellent map of Western Asia at the time of Saladin and of Syria, showing Saladin's conquests, 1187-1190. The English text is accompanied by numerous notes, both the English and the Hebrew are clearly printed, and the whole makes an attractive little volume which ought to prove valuable both to those who use Asher's edition and to those unable to have access to it.

An Introduction to the History of Modern Europe. By Archibald Weir, M.A. (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907, pp. xv, 340.) Mr. Weir's object in this brief and, in general, very excellent little book is "to review in their logical connection the chief groups of events which formed the groundwork of European history in the nineteenth century". He distinctly believes that our historical problem is something more than summarizing past politics and calling it

history. He believes that the industrial change is the main line of evolution in the nineteenth century. "The principle of comfort and opportunity for all has yet to be exhibited in its full meaning; but it is as clearly of quite peculiar character as its realization is evidently the function of our age."

The first six chapters deal with medieval survivals in the eighteenth century, the efforts and failures of the reforming despots of the century, the causes of the Revolution, Napoleon's rule as a reforming influence, the quickening of Germany, Italy and Spain, and the movements (largely political) in Russia, Scandinavia and Turkey. The purpose of these chapters is praiseworthy. They are stimulating but not informative. In order to be brief they are filled with generalities (*e. g.*, about Joseph II.), vague statements, philosophic phrases (p. 58) and allusions to what history teaches. The first chapter, on the survivals of medievalism, in the eighteenth century, has the greatest possibilities in it and is the most disappointing. In view of the paucity of material in English on the subject, the brief chapter on the enlightened despots is more worth while. There are very sane views on the American influence in France (p. 68) and on pre-Revolutionary conditions (p. 70), though the French nobles are given a rather too clean bill (p. 74). Napoleon has to do without background or extra-European interests but it is refreshing to find in such a brief account an appreciation of Scharnhorst in Prussia and Speranski in Russia.

Beginning with chapter seven, on the industrial revolution, Mr. Weir finds himself in more congenial surroundings and the succeeding chapters on the new mechanics and new economics, positive science and critical philosophy, contain accounts of those subjects which are excellent brief works in the best sense of "higher popularization". Chapters ten and eleven are on the literary movements and tendencies in Germany and England to about 1830. The concluding chapter is a review of Mr. Weir's conclusions with emphasis on the industrial character of modern history and the new demands its breadth of interests makes on modern historical investigation.

The accompanying bibliography is a mere check-list but the entries are interesting. It is novel and indicative to find reference to histories of chemistry, palaeontology, music, cotton manufacture, horse-shoeing and agriculture.

Selected chapters of this little book will make good supplementary reading and be helpful and stimulating to any person of culture and wide-reading, or to the student stall-fed on the husks of political details.

G. S. FORD.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von Ludwig Pastor. Vierter Band: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance und der Glaubensspaltung von der Wahl Leos X. bis zum Tode Klemens' VII. (1513-1534).* Zweite Abteilung: *Adrian VI. und*

Klemens VII. (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1907, pp. xlvii, 799.) The second-half of this fourth volume followed the first with surprising closeness. Its bulk, as befits the longer period covered, is slightly greater; its method is the same conscientious and thorough one; its tone, alas, shows an unwelcome change. Pope Adrian VI., scholar and reformer, was, to a much greater degree than his predecessors, a pope after Dr. Pastor's own heart. He was, too, as his historian cannot refrain from reminding us, even in the half-title of the section devoted to him, "the last German Pope". With his sympathies thus doubly enlisted, it is perhaps not strange that the historian, in dealing with those who in Italy misunderstood and baffled his hero's efforts for the reform of the papal court and with those who in the fatherland so harshly repelled his overtures for the healing of schism, should betray his own antipathy to Italian and to Lutheran. Perhaps, too, his approach to a field made familiar by the studies which a quarter-century and more ago fruited in his monograph on "the efforts for ecclesiastical reunion during the reign of Charles V." revives the stronger feeling of an earlier day. Be the causes what they may, that singular superiority to prejudice which has hitherto enabled Professor Pastor to treat with such fairness and insight even those whom he counted the foes of his faith now largely deserts him.

Nor does it return while he deals with the pontificate of Clement VII. For that pontiff himself, though to his shifting and haggling policy he ascribes the disruption of the church, he can show both consideration and appreciation; but the heretics, though treated with courtesy and learning, remain unintelligible. Yet it is but fair to add that the plan of his work permits no very minute handling. A single chapter of forty pages tells the whole story of the Lutheran schism, from the death of Pope Adrian to the so-called religious peace of Nuremberg, in 1532. Another, slightly shorter, narrates the English revolt from Rome; and one of less than a score of pages suffices for the spread of heresy in Scandinavia, among the Swiss and in the Romanic lands. Of the Anabaptist separatists one hears as yet nothing at all. It is with evident satisfaction that in his closing chapter, a longer one, the historian turns to "the beginnings of the Catholic Reformation". The usual appendix of documents completes the volume.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Svenska Porträtt i Offentliga Samlingar, utgifna under Medverkan af Personhistoriska Samfundet. Af N. Sjöberg. I. *Drottningsholm*. II. *Gripsholm: Vasatiden*. (Stockholm, Hasse W. Tullberg, 1905, 1907, pp. 52, xiv, 69 and 100 plates.) These are the first two volumes in a proposed series of six volumes quarto, in which, if sufficient subscriptions enable the publisher to continue, he will present a selection of three hundred of the most important Swedish historical portraits preserved in public collections. The first volume contains portraits from

the château of Drottningholm, the second those out of the great collection at Gripsholm (a collection numbering 1800 in all) which relate to the times of the Vasas. The reproductions and explanatory text are excellent, the latter cataloguing all the paintings of the period, not solely those reproduced. As works of art, these portraits of kings, members of the royal family, councillors and generals, are seldom of high excellence, though important for the history of Swedish art (mostly portrait art at the beginning) and of the foreign painters, chiefly German and Dutch, whom the Vasa kings imported. But for biographical and historical purposes the portraits are of great value and interest. Earliest of all is a wooden portrait-statue of Charles VIII. There are excellent portraits of Gustavus Vasa, Queen Margareta Leijonhufvud and their children. Of Gustavus Adolphus the collections unfortunately contain nothing that is good, and the best portraits of Christina are elsewhere. On the other hand there is a good Oxenstjerna by Mierevelt, and interesting portraits, though mostly by unknown artists, of many of the other great men who served Christina and her father. The collection at Drottningholm begins with the late seventeenth century, with Queen Hedvig Eleonora, the builder of the château, and her court painters, David Ehrenstrahl and David von Krafft, the Lely and Kneller of Swedish portrait painting; it abounds in portraits of Queen Louisa Ulrika and her family, and ends with the house of Bernadotte.

A Sea-Dog of Devon: A Life of Sir John Hawkins. By R. A. Walling. With Introduction by Lord Brassey and John Leyland. (New York, The John Lane Company, 1907, pp. xii, 288.) This book is essentially a contribution to the lighter literature of Elizabethan naval history—readable and attractive but by no means accurate or scholarly. A very cursory perusal of it suffices to show that the author lacks the training and equipment necessary to a thorough treatment of his subject. His authorities are little more than Hakluyt, Froude and Corbett; they are rarely cited at all, and never fully. The work abounds in misleading generalizations and errors of fact—as for instance on pages 18–19 where England is described as having been in 1527–1528 “hand in glove” in alliance with Spain against France. Perhaps absolute impartiality in judging Spain and Spaniards ought not to be expected in a work on Hawkins, but an approach to it would be a *desideratum*. One cannot help smiling when the author, after having recited the well-known tales how the English Lord High Admiral compelled King Philip by a cannon-shot, when he came to marry Queen Mary, to strike his flag in homage to that of England, and how Hawkins in 1567 did likewise by a Spanish admiral off Plymouth Harbor, remarks that these incidents are “significant of the British determination thus early that no power, however great and aggressive, should be allowed to assume an overlordship of the seas” (p. 8). The justifications for slave-trading are unnecessary

and much too often repeated. The spelling of foreign words and proper names is throughout most remarkable (*e. g.*, *vertu* for *virtù*, p. 161; *Moçada* for *Monçada*, p. 230), and the style, though vigorous and picturesque, abounds in colloquialisms (*e. g.*, "Margarita was drawn blank", p. 67; "taradiddle", p. 159; "foxy", p. 166). The index is so incomplete that it would have been better to omit it entirely.

These comments will perhaps serve to show that Mr. Walling's book is scarcely entitled to consideration as a serious historical work. In justice to him it should be said that an early paragraph in chapter 1. (pp. 4-5) disclaims any pretense to a complete biography, though the good effect of this modesty is somewhat marred by the surprising statement in the same passage that John Hawkins has "never yet had a biographer", which is to ignore the work of John Campbell, Robert Southey and others. An account of Mr. Walling's book in a review intended primarily for historical scholars cannot well be favorable, but that does not mean that the general public does not owe him a debt of gratitude for popularizing the knowledge of a man whose career exerted an important influence on the history of two continents.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Le Protestantisme en Saintonge sous le Régime de la Révocation (1685-1789). Par L.-J. Nazelle, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Fischbacher, 1907, pp. 329.) This is an intensive study of Protestantism in Saintonge in the period lying between the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the Revolution. The province chosen was one in which the Huguenots had been especially strong; and its physical features, while totally unlike the topography of the Cévennes, played a considerable part in protecting the persecuted faith from the suppressive endeavors of the government. The first part deals with the state of Protestantism in Saintonge in the last years of the reign of Louis XIV. The vigilance of the intendants was relaxed under his successor and there was a partial but precarious rehabilitation of Huguenot worship. Some of the government's officers undoubtedly believed in toleration and were therefore lenient in enforcing the revocation; but more of them seem to have recognized the impossibility of utterly stamping out heresy and, as a police policy, to have preferred quasi-public meetings of the Huguenots, when they could be watched, to secret open-air meetings. Accordingly while the authorities did not permit the erection of Protestant temples, they winked at the establishment of more temporary structures known as *maisons de prière*, where in accordance with a recommendation as old as 1558 "les chapitres, les prières et les sermons, aussi bien que les psaumes . . . devaient être lus ou chantés en l'absence des pasteurs." Farther than this the authorities would not suffer the Huguenots to go. The convocation of colloquies and synods was rigorously forbidden, and when these were held, it was done secretly, the very summons being in cipher-

writing. Nevertheless, in spite of the comparative leniency of the officials, the Saintonge continually lost by emigration. Many of the Huguenots went to America—the author mentions Charleston, New Rochelle, Virginia and Alabama as places, and adds: “on montre encore une maison portant le nom de Faneuil House, donné sans doute à cet édifice par quelques membres des mêmes familles Faneuil, mentionnées dans le procès J.-F. Mesnard, de Marennes, en 1755.” A note on page 201 calls attention to the fact that the archives of Charente-Inférieure contain much material of interest to the descendants of French Protestant refugees in America. The archivist is M. L. de Richmond.

The reviewer has nothing but praise for the body of this work. But some of the author's ideas stated in the introduction seem rather far-fetched, as for example, his explanation of the prevalence of Protestantism in Saintonge by the fact that most of the population were fisher-folk.

He is, moreover, not sufficiently well acquainted with the history of Protestantism before 1685 and fails to understand the law. The edict of Nantes was a particular grant and never a constitutional guarantee, intended to be irrevocable. In the nature of French absolutism it could not have been so. It is false interpretation of the law and unhistorical for M. Nazelle to say that the revocation of the edict of Nantes “renversait l'édifice de la société française: la liberté de conscience”; nor was the revocation in any sense “un coup de foudre”. The long series of edicts beginning in 1665 which pared down, one by one, the privileges granted by Henry IV., gradually sapped the edict of all force, so that the Act of 1685 was the conclusion of a long-continued policy and the consummation of an all but accomplished fact.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Dampier's Voyages. By Captain William Dampier. Edited by John Masfield. In two volumes. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1906, pp. ix, 612; vii, 624.) That the charm of Dampier's narratives of his voyages has not faded is evidenced by this new edition of his writings; while in themselves, their reissue is justified by their importance. These two well-made volumes, with their beautiful type-page, and the ease with which they can be handled, will be welcomed by those who have had occasion to use the previous editions. The first volume contains the narrative of the voyage round the world, and the first three chapters of the supplement to the voyage. The second volume contains the conclusion of the supplement, the Campeachy voyage, the discourse of winds, storms, etc. and the voyage to New Holland. In addition the editor gives in volume I. a short life of Dampier, and in an appendix notes regarding Dampier's associates, both of which are valuable. Volume II. contains in appendixes various documents from the Record Office relating to the voyage to New

Holland, and the voyage of Dampier in the *St. George* in the years 1703-1705. Among these documents are his famous and ill-advised "Vindication" and the courts-martial documents. The voyages, with the exception of that to New Holland which is taken from the new edition of 1729, are reprinted from the sixth edition of 1717. It is regrettable that the editor did not present the annotated MS. of the "New Voyage round the World" in Sloane MS. 3236, in the British Museum, which differs from the printed edition, and which he has used only for annotation. The maps and other drawings of Dampier are well reproduced. The editorial annotations are not all that one might expect, and are often superficial. For but few of them are authorities cited, and some of them are misleading or incorrect. For example, note 2, page 58, should state that the term "mestizo" is understood in Spanish or Latin America as meaning the descendant of a white and an Indian, as there are other uses of the term in other parts of the world, notably in the Orient. It is somewhat inaccurate to speak of the S. W. monsoon, in note 2, page 330. It has been clearly shown by the work of the Jesuits in the meteorological laboratory at Manila that the Philippines have no true monsoons. Note 1, page 332, is badly twisted. Later ethnological research reduces the number of tribes in Mindanao, as indeed throughout the Philippines. The Jesuits did good preliminary work in Mindanao, but since they were not trained ethnologists, they did not perceive that often the names given to a group of people were simply local. There are *not* twenty-four distinct tribes in Mindanao. The guess that "the 'Sologues' may be the 'Moros' a warrior tribe from Borneo, which settled in northern Mindanao at the end of the sixteenth century" is puerile. They were the Joloans or Sulus who inhabit the island of Joló. "Moros" is a term used by the Spaniards to designate the followers of Mahomet, and is applied in common to such in the Philippine and in some of the adjacent islands. Again the migration was of a much earlier date. Many of the geographical notes are excellent. The index appended to volume II. is, as in the majority of historical works, open to criticism.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Ralph Heathcote. Letters of a Young Diplomatist and Soldier during the Time of Napoleon. Edited by Countess Günther Gröben. (New York, The John Lane Company, 1907, pp. xxiv, 296.) Ralph Heathcote (1782-1854) was the son of the minister plenipotentiary of George III. at the courts of Bonn and Cassel. His mother, to whom these letters are addressed, was an Alsatian baroness, Antoinette de Wolter. After the death of his father in 1801 he held the appointment of secretary of the British legation at Cassel for two years before the dismissal of the British minister from that court at the behest of Napoleon in February, 1806. Heathcote then entered the army. Having served for a time under Lord Cathcart in Scotland and at Copenhagen, he was sent to the

Peninsula in 1809; and during the later years of this correspondence, which ceases in 1814, he was attached to Wellington's headquarters. Notwithstanding Heathcote's favorable position for recording events of importance, the letters are historically colorless. His purpose in them was, in fact, to reassure his mother, then in Germany, concerning his personal safety. With this amiable object he minimized systematically, and even falsified, his military activity; moreover, the French police exercising at the time a blockade against English correspondence on the northern coast, he courted lenity on their part in passing his letters by shunning in them affairs of moment. Nevertheless the letters, which are well written and entertaining, afford an interesting picture, within narrow limits, of Heathcote's surroundings and time; and they evince in the writer a practical, well-balanced nature, with humor and penetration, which one can only regret that the situation forbade him to apply here to weightier matters. Heathcote, at the close of the war, retired to Cassel; and this edition of his letters is printed from recently discovered originals in the possession of his granddaughter, the editor.

H. M. BOWMAN.

Napoleon at the Boulogne Camp. By Fernand Nicolay. Translated by Georgina L. Davis. (New York, The John Lane Company, 1907, pp. x, 400.) This volume has gained in interest by modesty of purpose. The author has not attempted an elaborate chronological history of the Boulogne Camp, a theme rather circumscribed and dull for such a narrative. Instead he has gathered, under a variety of topics, the wealth of details and typical incidents connected with this enterprise of Napoleon and its executants. M. Nicolay is the possessor of a number of unpublished documents concerning the camp, and otherwise he has peculiar advantages for the production of this volume. His father, a citizen of Boulogne, was the owner of the site historically famous for its association with Bonaparte and Bruix; and the author, during many years spent on his father's property, had abundant opportunity of collecting information on the spot from old men who had seen and talked with Napoleon and served under him. Details gathered from such a source may not command strict confidence, but they represent enough of the truth to justify the author's view that the work is of psychological interest to the public, and in other respects it is a useful contribution to military history.

M. Nicolay has distributed his material throughout twenty chapters upon the most varied subjects, some in lighter vein, others serious. They cover, among other points, the housing, habits, preparations and amusements of the army and its chief. One of the most interesting chapters is devoted to an appreciation of Admiral Bruix. In another there is a comparison of Napoleon's scheme of an English invasion with the Roman conquest by Caesar. The interest of the volume centres generally, as the title indicates, in Napoleon, the pleasanter features of

whose character are skilfully presented. With a warm enthusiasm for Napoleon the author combines a deep religious feeling; and one of the charms of his work is its broad and kindly sympathy and the absence of all bitterness towards England and towards French political parties of other tendencies than his own. Characteristic, in this particular, is his statement that the statue of Napoleon on the site of the Boulogne Camp fell one night during a violent storm in 1894, in spite of the iron braces placed for its support; with an explanation, relegated to a quaintly courteous note, that the storm had been assisted, in the overthrow of the statue, by anti-Bonapartists. The value and interest of the volume is heightened by an excellent, thoroughly idiomatic translation.

H. M. BOWMAN.

Bonaparte in Egypt and the Egyptians of To-day. By Haji A. Browne. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. 410.) The author of this book, who declares himself "almost an Oriental in thought and sympathy" (p. 12), wishes to promote certain phases of Pan-Islamism and the "development of friendly relations between the Moslems of the East and the British Empire" (p. 6). "But histories", he soon adds, "as they are written, are rarely more than chafing-dish hashes of the 'funeral baked meats' of court chronicles served up with a posset of platitudes and pedantry for sauce" (p. 15). To escape such perils, whether culinary or scholastic, the author aims "to gain for the Egyptian more generous consideration than he is commonly accorded" (p. 21). In this attempt Bonaparte and "Mahomed Ali" become the "most eminent of that miserable majority" [of fools]; and Bonaparte goes through life "his mental stockings and clothing generally shiftlessly loose and out of order" (p. 286).

It is unfortunate that 274 pages are devoted to the French occupation, nineteen pages to the period 1801-1898, and 105 pages to the subsequent years. The author's judgment on contemporary politics, the information he gives, the alteration in style and vocabulary which distinguish the last quarter of the book emphasize this regret. This is not necessarily endorsement of all that is there said, but the point of view and conclusions deserve notice. The alliance between Nationalist and Radical is judged dangerous to the best interests of Nationalism and of Islam; the English occupation has not qualified the Egyptians "to undertake the government of the country. It has not educated the people, or done anything whatever to insure the permanency of the good that has been done" (p. 387). But on the other hand the occupation "has secured them [the Egyptians] the personal freedom they so highly prize, it has given them the liberty of getting, keeping or spending wealth, a free Press, a knowledge and keen appreciation of the advantages of a properly organized Government, a clearer perception of the natural 'rights of man' and of the personal dignity of the humblest, and, as a result of these, enlarged ambitions and aspirations, greater indepen-

dence of spirit, and a better conception of the interdependence of each one upon his fellow-men" (p. 387).

The author has for twelve years openly advocated autonomous government for Egypt; but events in connection with the resignation of Lord Cromer have apparently compelled him to modify his views. In the six concluding pages written after Lord Cromer's resignation had been announced, and after the preceding pages were already in type, the author writes regretfully of the action of the Egyptians in refusing "to join in any expression of thanks to Lord Cromer for his long and brilliant services". This, he adds, "apart from all else or anything else, demonstrates in the most absolute manner the fact that they are not yet fit for self-government" (p. 396). "'Egypt for the Egyptians' in any literal interpretation of the phrase is an idle dream" (p. 398). Could not these conclusions have been reached on an earlier yet terminal page? Nowhere in the book, it should be added, are any references to the sources for statements made.

A. L. P. D.

Marginal Notes by Lord Macaulay. Selected and arranged by Sir George Otto Trevelyan. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1907, pp. 65.) As readers of Sir George Trevelyan's life of his uncle must be aware, it was Macaulay's habit to write notes upon the margins of books that he read and especially of the astonishing number of books that he read again and again. In this little book Sir George has made an entertaining discourse out of these notes, quoting many that are not highly important, to be sure, but also reproducing many sound and judicious observations. The historical reader will be particularly interested in the series of comments relating to Cicero, whose combination of the literary, oratorical and political life made him an object of especial interest to Macaulay.

The Early Federation Movement of Australia. By C. D. Allin. (Kingston, Ontario, The British Whig Publishing Company, 1907, pp. xii, 431.) This work covers the federal movement in Australia to the year 1863. Attention is given in it almost exclusively to political and Parliamentary aspects, the only possible mode of treatment in a period when the movement depended solely on the policy of the colonial secretary, Earl Grey, and on the activity of a few leading members of Australian legislatures, notably Deas Thompson and Wentworth of New South Wales. The author, having traced in his introduction the disintegration of the original territory of New South Wales into the present states of the island commonwealth, locates, in his first chapter, the germ of federation in the suggestion by Deas Thompson and Governor Fitz-Roy of some common regulation of intercolonial trade; and he discusses, in the second, the development of this suggestion by Earl Grey into the federal clauses of the Australian Colonies Bill, which were withdrawn

successively in 1849 and 1850. Up to this point the propelling force of the movement was in the Colonial Office; but henceforth the home authorities assumed the position that the initiative must come from the Australian legislatures. In Australia public opinion favored generally a uniform regulation of intercolonial customs, but toward the suggestion of a general assembly the feeling was, in the main, apathetic or hostile. During the twenty years under discussion in this volume, the high-water mark of the movement was reached in 1857. In that year the Parker government in New South Wales, under the influence of Deas Thompson, committed itself to a policy of federation; and its chief sister-colony, Victoria, and South Australia approved the principle of federal union. The project, however, wanting real strength among the people of New South Wales, was abandoned presently by its advocates in that colony, and in consequence, by Victoria. In 1861 the home government discontinued the empty title of governor-general, borne for some years by its representative in Sydney, and the other colonies were raised to full gubernatorial rank. Mr. Allin's work is a clear exposition of his theme and has the merit of being well written. It is not free of occasional slips, but the only objection of consequence, to which the volume as a whole appears to be open, is a too exhaustive treatment.

Memoirs of Monsieur Claude, Chief of Police under the Second Empire. Translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley. (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907, pp. v, 321.) This book consists of a translation of a few passages from the *Memoirs of Claude* which appeared in 1881 and which fill ten volumes in the original. The translation is admirable but the book has no value for the student of French history, though it may be of mild interest to the lover of detective stories. The selections have evidently been made with an eye to the picturesque. The style is melodramatic and ejaculatory.

Though there is frequent mention of Louis Philippe, Napoleon, Thiers and others, they serve no higher purpose than as pegs on which this policeman hangs a few anecdotes. The book entirely lacks documentation. There move through its pages certain alleged important persons but their identity is veiled under tantalizing anonymity, notably: M. de L—, who, under the Second Empire, rose "to a pinnacle of power" and "La Prussienne", a Prussian spy of whom it is asserted on page 208 that the harm she did to the empire was "incalculable", contributing largely in the end "to the declaration of the Prussian war". The deeds of this malefic woman are not developed, interesting as that would be for the historian.

On page 309 it is stated that Thiers "produced" the revolution of September, 1870. Again the historian would enjoy an adequate treatment of an interesting idea. On page 133 it is said that Bismarck, "in 1860, the Prussian Chancellor" [*sic*], was working for the acquisition of Alsace, whereas it has been hitherto supposed that he was at that time cooling off on the banks of the Neva.

The book abounds in childish interpretations of events, in *ex post facto* knowledge and in spontaneous and recurrent self-laudation.

Court Life of the Second French Empire, 1852-1870. By Le Petit Homme Rouge. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xii, 429.) The choice of the *nom-de-plume* under which this volume appears is explained in the preface as due to the tradition that a little red man haunted the Tuileries, giving warning of impending changes of régime, frequently following its habitués in their journeys from place to place and incidentally accumulating a large stock of information about them. The *nom-de-plume* is understood to conceal the identity of a well-known English journalist, who, for some reason not at all apparent in the character of the book, desires that his name should not be openly associated with it. The author writes from considerable personal knowledge and an extensive use of the memoirs of the period.

From the standpoint of the serious historian, the book is decidedly above the average of the class to which it belongs. Two qualities not ordinarily found in such books especially commend it. The author has a very fair degree of critical spirit and accordingly uses his materials with discrimination. He also is sufficiently familiar with the political history of the empire so that positive blunders are very few, and there are quite a number of really illuminating estimates of men and events.

The principal defects are in matters of style, although in general the book reaches the level of good journalistic writing. It is hard to suppose that even the most avaricious consumer of details of court life can possibly care for all of the items in a good many of the very minute descriptions, nor can they be supposed to care to have the entire payroll of the imperial establishment set forth along with the supposed pecuniary value of pretty nearly all of the furnishings. The *risqué* element which necessarily appears in such a book is told without mincing of words, condonation or condemnation.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Mr. Edward Cadogan in his *Life of Cavour* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xi, 385) at once arouses his readers' suspicions by deploring in his preface the "paucity" of material on Cavour, and the general incompleteness or inaccuracy of the lives that have been written about him. We soon discover that Mr. Cadogan cannot read Italian—hence his cry of "paucity". The fact is, of course, that the amount of authoritative material about Cavour is enormous. There are, for instance, at least thirty volumes (if we include his speeches and essays), which may be said to have autobiographical validity. Buzzi-coni's Cavour bibliography, published in 1897, already listed more than 500 titles, including pamphlets, essays and magazine articles, among many of which indispensable first-hand material is to be found. Indeed, it would be impossible to name any British statesman of the nineteenth

century about whom so much source-material is now accessible; and this small library of Cavouriana reveals Cavour on all sides—as politician, as orator, as economist, as man of the world, as friend and as autobiographer laying bare his inmost self. “Paucity” is hardly the word Mr. Cadogan should have chosen.

An examination of Mr. Cadogan's book discloses that he talks of “paucity” in order to hide his own ignorance of Italian. His method is to take right and left from the English or French books on Cavour and his times, without credit for the most part, and to assume the air of one who has at last produced a *magnum opus*. He has no foot-notes, no references and in the comparatively few cases where he mentions the names of the writers whom he plunders, he cites neither volume nor page. Sometimes, he takes whole passages—as for instance, on page 188, where he steals bodily nine lines from Countess Cesaresco's *Cavour* (p. 129) without quotation marks. He even borrows translations from French originals, where a man of ordinary intelligence would make his own. This means that in the case of Romilly's paraphrase of De La Rive's *Reminiscences* we do not get the exact equivalent of what De La Rive said. But exactness does not trouble Mr. Cadogan. In his 380 pages it would be easy to point out many hundred errors, great and small; from the date of Cavour's birth, and the misspelling of Ratazzi, Radetzki and many other proper names, to such egregious blunders as his supposing throughout that Massimo d'Azeglio and his nephew Emanuele were one and the same person. Nowhere is there evidence that he has taken even ordinary precaution to verify his statements. Let a single instance suffice. On page 146 he says: “While in Paris the Emperor is supposed to have enquired of the King: ‘What can be done for Italy?’ It is probable that this story is purely imaginary”, etc. Now if Mr. Cadogan could read Italian, he would find in Chiala's edition of Cavour's *Lettere*, vol. II. p. 376 (second edition), the famous letter of December 8, 1855, in which Cavour tells M. d'Azeglio that the evening before Napoleon III. addressed that very question to him (Cavour) and not to the king. There was nothing “imaginary” about it.

Mr. Cadogan, being cut off from the authorities, makes much of Edward Dicey's early journalistic books, and of Bent's *Garibaldi* and Jerrold's *Napoleon III.*, merely to refer to which discloses the state of his information. The only material which he seems not to have cribbed, consists of two or three quotations from the *London Times*; but possibly he did not look these up for himself.

Mr. Cadogan is, we learn, a product of Balliol. Reading his book, with its pretense to learning which its author does not possess; with its disregard on every page of honest historical methods; and with its bluff at being a pioneer in a field which has already been well explored, we are at a loss to decide whether Jowett's college has greater need of up-to-date instruction in history or in the elements of ethics.

Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington. By Claude Halstead Van Tyne and Waldo Gifford Leland. Second Edition, revised and enlarged by W. G. Leland. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1907, pp. xiii, 327.) The first edition of this book, the first publication of the Bureau (now Department) of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was published in 1904 as a volume of 215 pages. The archives of the government of the United States remain in the same scattered and imperfectly organized condition in 1908 as in 1904. The need for a new edition, however, lay not merely in the exhaustion of the old, but in the fact that many changes of administrative subdivisions had meantime occurred, that some corrections and some extensions to the present date were requisite, and most of all that, with greater leisure for the work and greater appreciation by officials of its nature, it was possible to amplify largely on certain sides. In the former edition certain deposits, not unimportant for historical purposes, were described summarily upon the basis of incomplete official communications. For the present volume additional investigations of an elaborate character have been made by Mr. Leland and his assistants in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives of the Department of State, in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, in the Mail and Files Division of the Treasury Department, in the office of the chief clerk of the Department of Justice, in the Post-Office Department and in the Naval War Records Office. The information given respecting the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress is also much fuller than in the former edition, partly by reason of greater fullness of statement, mainly by reason of the constant additions which are being made to the treasures of that division. The volume has been supplied with a much more extensive index than its predecessor.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1905. Volume II. *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* (The United States and the Dominion of Canada). By Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, pp. 1374.) Long expected, this new edition of Mr. Griffin's indispensable bibliography (first edition, 1895) appears in March, 1908, in a portly tome of the same appearance as the Association's volume. It is however *hors série* in mode of acquisition, since it is only to be obtained by purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, to whom the price, one dollar, should be sent. The material is arranged as in the edition of 1895, in order of societies, and under societies in the serial or chronological order of issue. It is the order followed by Lasteyrie. Given the nature of the material, it is the only proper order. The difficulties which it produces may be obviated by having a properly elaborated index. That of 1895 was hardly sufficient. At all events, that of the present edition is vastly more complete. It fills 332 pages,

and its references are to the items, which are numbered, and not to the pages. So far as we have tested it, it seems excellent. As for the body of the text, it makes an advance on its predecessor not only in coming down ten years more, to the end of 1905 usually, but also in including not a few additional societies and in completing the lists in many instances by the addition of items which eluded the previous search. The preface should have included some statement as to the principles of inclusion and exclusion—why the American-Irish Historical Society and the National Geographic Society are included, the Scotch-Irish Congress and the American Economic Association left out, etc.

Imperfectly as we may sometimes complain that our historical societies fulfill their functions in respect to research and publication, we have here the record of a great body of valuable material. A good guide to such stores is an instrument of research in American history for which we ought to be exceedingly grateful. Mr. Griffin has, with enormous labor, provided one that is not only good, but extraordinarily good, both in respect to completeness and in respect to finished execution. Only one large criticism seems to the present reviewer justified. The attempt to include "separates" is doomed, if not to failure, at least to a degree of incompleteness out of harmony with the rest of the performance; it is on the whole not useful; and it adds much to the bulk of the book. Out of 7537 items in the book, probably two thousand are of this sort, entries repeating titles already given in the lists of contents of volumes. The two thousand items (if there are two thousand) are brief, but their absence would lighten the book by nearly two hundred pages. The searcher does not expect to find these "separates" in a library; he looks for the volumes in which they were printed for the public. That the bibliographer's hunt for them will be in large part vain may be shown by an example. Mr. Griffin lists six "separates" from the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*; about three hundred have been executed. But that he has given us more than is necessary must not obscure gratitude for the great service he has with infinite patience rendered to us all.

Probate Records of the Province of New Hampshire. Volume I., 1635-1717. By Albert Stillman Batchellor, editor of State Papers. (Concord, 1907, pp. 874.) This is the first of a series of four volumes containing the wills and abstracts of estates in probate from the earliest records to 1771, when the province was divided into counties.

New Hampshire has pursued a wise and liberal policy in the publication of province, Revolutionary, state and town papers. The four volumes of probate records, uniform in letter-press and binding, will constitute volumes XXXI.-XXXIV. of the general series. To the probate records of the province of New Hampshire is added in chronological order the records of the estates of mariners and of other men of

the province which were found in the records of Essex, Middlesex and Suffolk counties, Massachusetts, and in York county, Maine. It is an exhaustive work and presents constant evidence of research and vigilant carefulness in compilation. The wills are printed in full, with an occasional exception of a prelude which states no material fact, and in the abstracts of estates every item of interest is included. The book will obviously be of great utility to the genealogist. If in the laws of any period under consideration are mirrored the manners, customs and thought of the people, with equal force in the records of this volume are reflected the frugality, poverty and slender estates of a young and feeble colony. This series of Probate Records, covering nearly one hundred and forty years, will mark the growth and development of the province, the rewards of industry, the increment of inheritance and the general increase in the wealth of individuals.

The indexes are exhaustive, and in all essential features the work is well arranged and carefully edited.

Check-list of Boston Newspapers, 1704-1780. By Mary Farwell Ayer, with Bibliographical Notes by Albert Matthews. [Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, volume IX.] (Boston, The Society, 1907, pp. xviii, 527.) In the volume under review, Miss Mary Farwell Ayer has compiled a check-list of Boston newspapers from 1704 to 1780, giving the date of every separate issue of each newspaper so far as known, and the location of copies thereof in the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Athenaeum, Boston Public Library, Bostonian Society, Essex Institute, New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Harvard College Library, Library of Congress, Lenox Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, Massachusetts State Library, New York Historical Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania and State Historical Society of Wisconsin. This check-list covers 400 large octavo pages. Its compilation has been a stupendous work, comprising as it does nearly 250,000 bibliographical data. It is supplemented by detailed bibliographical notes by Albert Matthews, embracing the mutations in the title of each paper, dates of publication, publishers, printers and places of publication and the devices. The thoroughness with which this work is done is indicated by the fact that of the Boston newspapers published prior to 1780, it is estimated that there were 13,680 separate issues; of these 12,299 are known and have been located, leaving 1381 issues still to be accounted for. The New York Historical Society has the proud pre-eminence of owning the only approximately complete file of the *Boston News Letter* from 1704 to April, 1708. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has been strengthening its early newspaper files to an extraordinary degree. It may be suggested that while not attempting to embrace in the lists more libraries, it might have been worth while occasionally to have called attention to the existence of files outside of such lists. The New Jersey Historical Society has files

of the *New England Weekly Chronicle*, and of the *Boston Chronicle*; the Ridgeway branch of the Philadelphia Library has an enormous quantity of early American newspapers, particularly of the period of the Stamp Act, collected by Peter Du Simitiere. It is to be hoped that other historical societies will undertake newspaper check-lists similar to this for their respective states. The writer has compiled such a list of files of New Jersey newspapers, including several in private hands which are not to be found in any public library. The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, which has published this *Check-List* and Bibliographical Notes in a volume of 537 pages, has laid all students of American history under very great obligations by the issue of this handsome volume.

W. N.

The Last Siege of Louisburg. By C. Ochiltree MacDonald. (London, the Author, 1907, pp. xvi, 175.) This book is really a summary of events at and near Louisburg after the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, with accounts of cognate history in Nova Scotia, principally related to a defense of the Acadians and condemnation of their deportation in 1755. Less than one-half of its pages treat of the second siege of 1758, inclusive of poetry and quoted matter. The author was led to the work by a visit to the peninsula of Louisburg, and he avers that it "is a result of an examination of the histories of Nova Scotia, etc., now before the public; but to the material drawn from those invaluable records of our past is added some interesting matter gleaned by personal research among the records of the eighteenth century in England and the United States". But as he gives no foot-notes and seldom indicates his sources, and inadequately when he does mention them, his claim is largely vitiated. It is impossible to know when he follows an original document or such authors as Brown, Bourinot, Hannay and Murdock, even in his appendixes. Notwithstanding, he exhibits some independent criticism: for example, he shows that the British plan of attack in the second siege had consequences fatal to Ticonderoga and delayed the conquest of Canada. His lists of ships and his treatment of the naval aspects of the two sieges are the best parts of his work. It is regrettable that a large amount of poetry is interspersed, in which he "has occasionally availed himself of the Poet's licence". The method of the book is too minute for popular readers and too uncritical for specialists. The quotations from the newspapers often amount to surplusage. The brevity of chapter VII. (2 pp.) is singular and its contents are irrelevant. There is no systematic table of contents, nor maps, illustrations or index. Two lists of errata are given, to which a few more could be added. The author has been at pains to gather materials, but has failed to produce a work of constructive value.

V. H. P.

Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital. By Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL.D., President of the College of William and Mary. (Richmond,

Va., Whittet and Shepperson, 1907, pp. 285.) President Tyler has given us the best and fullest account of "ancient" Williamsburg and its fine old college that we are likely to have in years to come. The place, its strategic importance when Jamestown was the capital of the colony, its settlement, the leading families who had a share in making both Virginia and its second capital, are described minutely and with great accuracy. Beside there are many maps, portraits and facsimilies which greatly add to the interest of the book. Some of the chapter-headings are Settlement and History, the College, the Governor's House, the Raleigh Tavern, and Noted Residences. Any one who wishes to get a glimpse of eighteenth-century life in Virginia, of miniature London when Walpole was the great minister, will do well to consult this little book. Aside from social things much is said about education in early Virginia, the origin of the Revolution and the source of the ideals which dominated Virginia in the first half of the nineteenth century. There is also a wealth of genealogical data which will be of interest to the descendants of the many families that migrated from the Williamsburg neighborhood to the South and West. The volume is substantially bound and unexceptionably printed except for the highly glazed paper which was probably unavoidable owing to the needs of the illustrator.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1761-1765. Edited by John Pendleton Kennedy. (Richmond, 1907, pp. lxxvi, 383.) *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1758-1761.* Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond, 1908, pp. xix, 313.) In this exceedingly handsome series of Journals, published in the reverse of the chronological order, three volumes have preceded those named above. The transition from the fourth to the fifth, the former edited by the former librarian of the Virginia State Library, the latter by his successor, is marked by some changes of plan. The text of the journals is presented in the same manner. Much might be said of it, if it were possible to review adequately so miscellaneous a composition as the journal of a legislative assembly. Suffice it to say that the reproducing of these journals, printed but mostly unique, makes it for the first time possible to write the history of our chief colony in the last years of the Seven Years War and the interval between it and the resolutions against the Stamp Act. The differences between the two volumes lie in the treatment of the material hitherto comprised in the introductions. Mr. Kennedy's introduction to the volume for 1761-1765 is long. Its pages mainly consist of documents of the period. Many are taken from George Bancroft's transcripts of British papers; twelve pages are composed of documents needlessly repeated from the body of the journals. The expository narrative of Mr. Kennedy, often carelessly written, consists of four parts, dealing respectively with the relations of Virginia with the Indians, the adjustments of the credit and paper cur-

rency, the Parson's Cause, and the Stamp Act, and into all of these parts the texts of long documents are copiously interwoven. Now the first and third of the episodes named may with substantial accuracy be said not to figure at all in the journals of the Burgesses. The question whether it is needful to accompany the journals with a history of Virginia embracing transactions in which the Burgesses had no share is also presented by Mr. McIlwaine's volume, but in a less degree and in a different form. He pursues the better plan of confining the introduction to an expository text, most of which bears more closely on the Burgesses's proceedings. He relegates his documents to an appendix, a procedure making for clearness. But his documents, illustrating general Virginia history from 1758 to 1761, are, with one exception, derived from but two sources, the Draper manuscripts and the Bancroft transcripts. Though neither of these collections is wholly casual, neither approaches completeness. Scores of documents from the Public Record Office and elsewhere have as good a title to be introduced here as these. In truth, it is but a conventional view among American editors, that the records of a public body should be accompanied by some interesting contemporary documents. They should be accompanied by all such as strictly and closely illustrate the transactions of that public body. Such as do not should be left out; order and system require that they be combined with all others of their respective classes in series of mutually related documents, homogeneous and of obvious plan.

The Legislature of the Province of Virginia: Its Internal Development, by Elmer I. Miller, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, XXVIII. 2.] (New York, Macmillan, 1907, pp. 182.) A methodical and useful study, though the author makes dull reading of the development of our chief colonial legislature, whose history might easily be made interesting. He seems not always to appreciate the immense difference in probative value between his official materials—Hening and the journals—and such books as Foote's *Sketches* and Howe's *Historical Collections*.

The True Patrick Henry. By George Morgan. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1907, pp. xi, 492.) Whoever looks under the head of *The True Patrick Henry* for a biography of detraction will be sadly disappointed. Mr. Morgan's book is written with all the warmth and glow that once gave Washington that other-world and isolated position in history which produced the reaction of a few years ago. But I hasten to say the author of the book in hand has not dealt merely in unsupported applause. His sources are the most reliable and they are used with discrimination. Not only so, Mr. Morgan has travelled Virginia as the "true" biographer ought to do; he has interviewed people who remember stories of the "First Virginia Governor"; he has been

in many houses in which Henry lived; he has read out-of-the-way newspaper files which contain pictures of the great orator. Sources both documentary and formal as well as unexpected and local have been diligently studied, though, possibly, with a too friendly eye for some of the colder historians of these critical times.

When it comes to the great epochs in Henry's life there is little room for complaint: the Stamp Act controversy is well and fairly treated; the conflict with Edmund Pendleton which resulted in the humiliation of Henry, the would-be commander of an army, is told with no bias toward the former; and the last and greatest conflict of this stormy career, the fight against the adoption of the National Constitution is presented with such allowance and apology as would have angered the great orator had it been made for him during his life-time. Perhaps Mr. Morgan overestimates Henry's influence in 1765, though he certainly does not underestimate his power over Virginia in 1788.

One omission it seems to the reviewer has been made: the sectional conflict in Virginia which paralleled and followed the Stamp Act controversy. Virginia was rent in twain by the struggle between Henry, Bland, and Richard Henry Lee on the one side, and the friends of Speaker Robinson on the other, over the investigation which showed the wide-spread corruption of the day. The lower counties as a rule sided with Robinson and the old régime, while the upper counties and more democratic populations supported Henry and his friends. Henry was the man who, with Richard Henry Lee, put the knife to the cankered sore, like Hughes in New York a year or two ago. In this he was laying the foundation for a radical reformer's career which must lead to other and greater things. The sources for this phase of Henry's life are not numerous; perhaps the recent publications of the Virginia State Library are the best we can expect. These Mr. Morgan has used to advantage but, as the reviewer believes, without recognizing their significance as to this particular episode.

However, these remarks must not be taken as disparagement of the book. *The True Patrick Henry* deserves high praise; it is likely to be widely read both for the facts it presents in strong relief and the fluent, somewhat Carlylian style of the author.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Volume IX. 1777, October 3-December 31. (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. 761-1132.) The most important subject dealt with by Congress in this period was that of the Articles of Confederation, completed and adopted November 15. Mr. Ford illustrates the process through which they took shape by presenting in parallel columns the latest drafts and by giving a frontispiece of six photographic plates showing a printed draft with manuscript amendments.

Another matter of much importance was the creation on October 17 and enlargement on November 24 of a Board of War not composed of members of Congress. Next most important, perhaps, were the dealings with the Saratoga Convention, on which there is a long report of December 27, suppressed in the journals as originally printed. Some pages are occupied with the arrangements made with the French officers whom Deane without authority sent over. Appointments, investigations of the conduct of individuals, commissary arrangements, emissions of bills of credit, accounts and payments, occupy as in previous volumes much space. The editor illustrates all with pertinent, learned and restrained notes, and concludes the volume with a list of members of standing committees, a bibliography of the publications of Congress during the year 1777, and an index of forty-two pages for that year, that is, an index to volumes VII., VIII. and IX.

John Paul Jones; Commemoration at Annapolis, April 24, 1906. Compiled under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing by Charles W. Stewart, Superintendent, Library and Naval War Records. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, pp. 210.) This interesting and well-printed book is a valuable contribution to John Paul Jones literature. It is a fitting tribute to the memory of the great admiral. It records in documentary form those events which began with the search for his body at Paris and ended with the commemorative exercises at Annapolis on April 24, 1906. Part I. of the book contains the speeches of introduction of Secretary Bonaparte, the prayer of Chaplain Clark and the addresses of President Roosevelt, Ambassador Jusserand, General Porter and Governor Warfield, delivered at Annapolis. These are followed by a series of papers relating to the discovery and identification of the body and to its removal to the United States. The report of General Porter, which is accompanied with plans of the cemetery of Saint Louis, is especially interesting. The eleven important letters contained in the third section of the book relate to more ancient history. They are mostly written by or to Jones. Several of them are now printed for the first time, and several others for the first time in complete form. Part IV. consists of an extensive chronology setting forth all the leading events of the life of Jones. In the appendix are some additional documents of recent date. The book contains many excellent illustrations—portraits of Jones, a picture of his sword, facsimiles of documents, etc.

French Colonists and Exiles in the United States. By J. G. Rosen-garten. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1907, pp. 234.) The writer states that he made "notes from the recognized historians and from such local publications as could best seem to supply information upon the subject". The book, then, is a collection of notes from which a narrative might have been constructed, but was not. No

effort has been made to harmonize the various accounts of the several attempts at French colonization and settlement within what are the present limits of the United States. Thus in this small volume appear seven different statements of the settlement at Gallipolis, drawn from Volney, Collot, Monette, Roosevelt, McMaster and others. By the same methods of note-taking, Rigau sometimes appears as Rigaud, and Champs d'Asile becomes Champs d'Azile, according to the source from which the note is drawn. Aaron Burr, even, is disguised as "Colonel Behr", following an absurd misprint in Hyde de Neuville's *Memoirs*.

The volume is, therefore, not much more than an ill-assorted note-book, from which it would be difficult to obtain an adequate idea of either the general outline of French colonization and emigration to the United States, or of the separate incidents of the main narrative. One merit the book has: the writer has been careful to mention the works which he has consulted. Thus it becomes a convenient, although by no means exhaustive or accurate, guide to the literature of the subject.

JESSE S. REEVES.

In Olde New York. By Charles Burr Todd. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Henry R. Stiles, A.M., M.D.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1907, pp. ix, 253.) This volume belongs to the "Grafton Historical Series", of which several numbers have already been published. The series deals with local history, and the author of this work has already written of old Connecticut and old Massachusetts. Mr. Todd is an antiquarian, an historical writer whose researches have covered various fields of local interest. His volume on New York appeared originally in periodical form some twenty years ago, and has the merits and shortcomings natural to a composition of that date. Starting with Manhattan, Mr. Todd conducts us into different nooks and corners, old book-stores and historic shops, cemeteries and the Jumel Mansion. Then, following up the Hudson through Tarrytown, he gives at some length the story of the German Palatine settlement and enlarges upon various interesting occurrences in the Mohawk Valley. Returning to Long Island, he provides some curious information relating to shipping, wrecks, local customs and the history of that region.

The volume lacks references excepting as Mr. Todd has made use of a number of inscriptions. Parts of the book have the value of material gathered at first hand. As a study of the state of New York the work has many omissions, and the lasting interest will probably be found to be in those portions dealing with Long Island and New York City.

A few doubtful statements have been noted, but no serious mistakes. The book is illustrated and provided with an index. It cannot supersede or compete with definite historical treatises on the state, but it offers interesting sketches and will prove of use for certain phases of old New York life.

EDMUND K. ALDEN.

Old Steamboat Days on the Hudson River. By David Lear Buckman. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Henry R. Stiles, A.M., M.D.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1907, pp. ix, 143.) This is a short book called forth by a double anniversary, the centennial of the Fulton steamboat and the three hundredth anniversary of Hudson's great discovery. The author has had the benefit of a long experience with the places which he describes, and his family has enjoyed unusual advantages through personal acquaintance with many of the river captains. There is no pretense at fine writing and the style is not above criticism. On account of the lack of references the work can hardly be classed among scholarly books. Some parts are written too much in the vein of a literal "catalogue of the ships". After describing Fulton and his great invention, the author passes on to the development of the river navigation. He recounts the gradual evolution from the primitive crafts of the early nineteenth century to the palatial steamers of the present. He gives miscellaneous data relating to the monopoly of traffic, to disasters of historic importance; he includes a few anecdotes, and concludes his text with a brief narrative of Hudson's voyage and the projected memorials. An appendix follows, containing such topics as early steamboat advertising and a list of prominent Hudson River steamboats, and the book is completed by an index. The illustrations are in keeping with the text.

A few mistakes occur. On page 8, the wife of Fulton is referred to as Harriett, and on page 13 as Harriët. Kosciusko could hardly have visited the United States in 1817 and again several years later (p. 23), as he died in the former year; his visit, in fact, was in 1797. On the same page, Jackson's military service was in 1813 and later, not in 1812. On page 38, it is written that Fitch had "died or left the state", a rather curious statement. Hudson entered New York Bay not August 3 (p. 114), but September 2.

This little volume furnishes pleasant reading and will prove a useful book of reference for particular phases of the local life of which it treats.

EDMUND K. ALDEN.

Lincoln in the Telegraph Office. By David Homer Bates. (New York, The Century Company, 1907, pp. viii, 432.) General interest in this book is likely to be aroused by the two introductory statements that "during the Civil War the President spent more of his waking hours in the War Department telegraph office than in any other place, except the White House", and that "outside the members of his cabinet and his private secretaries, none were brought into closer or more confidential relations with Lincoln than the cipher-operators." The writer has drawn not only upon his "war diary" and his own recollections, but also upon the recollections of his three fellow-operators, Tinker, Chandler and Eckert. It is disappointing to find, however, that much of this material has already found its way into print, in one form or another.

The amount of new information is inconsiderable. Many pages and some chapters have only a remote relation to Lincoln. Still, as one reads the simple, straight-forward narrative, one has an agreeable sense of learning much in a pleasant way about Lincoln, as men saw him day by day.

It is a pity that errors of fact should have crept into these entertaining pages. The author states that McClellan's failure to destroy the rebel army after Antietam was the immediate cause of Lincoln's sudden decision to lay the Emancipation Proclamation before his cabinet for the second time. As a matter of fact, Lincoln was persuaded to set aside the proclamation in July, until some military success had been achieved. On the testimony of Eckert, the author contends that the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation was written in the cipher-room of the telegraph office. It should be noted, however, that this was not the draft which was laid before the Cabinet on September 22. Again, we are told apropos of the Blair mission in 1865, that "the patient Lincoln trusted his old political friend and believed in his wisdom and skill", giving him a safe conduct through the Union lines. Of this episode, Lincoln himself said, while the circumstances were still fresh in his mind: "If he [Blair] desired to go to Richmond of his own accord, I would give him a passport; but he had no authority to speak for me in any way whatever."

Those who find their patience somewhat tried by explanations of cipher-codes and messages, will do well to turn to the delightful account of Lincoln in the telegraph office, where he appears "in every-day humor". The picture of Lincoln reading aloud despatches in which the names of Davis and Lee recur, and always translating the names into "Jeffy D" and "Bobby Lee", is one likely to abide long in the memory.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen. By John Eaton, Ph.D., LL.D., in collaboration with Ethel Osgood Mason. (New York and London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1907, pp. xxxviii, 331.) General Eaton's memoirs are not a comprehensive autobiography. Although he was best known as Commissioner of Education, they deal only incidentally with educational matters. Fulfilling the promise of the title-page and the preface, they tell little of the author's life-story save where it meets those of Grant and Lincoln and the affairs of the negro race. They relate primarily to incidents in connection with which Eaton came into personal contact with these two men, to the character and standards of each as he saw them, and to the work of the Union army on behalf of the negro, especially in the Mississippi valley where Eaton served as superintendent of freedmen under Grant and the War Department before the Freedmen's Bureau was established.

To the literature of this phase of negro history, General Eaton has made a valuable contribution. Out of his full knowledge and from his

viewpoint, we have an account of Western military work for freedmen, fuller than any other outside of official reports, thoroughly interesting and shedding some new light upon Grant's attitude and efforts and upon the genesis and organization of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Lincoln figures prominently in only three or four of the twenty chapters. These few are filled largely with incidents, impressions and anecdotes of personal interviews at the White House. Here and there throughout the volume are glimpses of other men. But with Grant the memoirs deal at length. For many years Eaton was close to the great general in sympathy and confidence; he was, for example, Lincoln's messenger to sound Grant on the question of the presidency in 1864, and was one of President Grant's unofficial advisers; naturally Eaton writes sympathetically, defending him against the traditional charges, emphasizing his great qualities and the "positive results" of his administrations and aiming "to focus his presidential record in the light of his character as manifested throughout his career".

The memoirs are well-planned, well-written and interesting throughout. By way of introduction and setting, Miss Mason, who has shared in their preparation, adds an admirable biographical sketch and appreciation of the author.

Without attempting detailed criticism of the volume, one point may be noted: Grant's famous Des Moines speech is reprinted (pp. 270-271) from the oft-copied, generally-accepted text, one paragraph of which Professor L. F. Parker long since showed to be so distorted as to misrepresent entirely Grant's attitude toward state and federal aid to *higher* education (see U. S. Bureau of Education, *Circular of Information*, no. 6, pp. 105-109).

PAUL S. PEIRCE.

Samuel Freeman Miller. By Charles Noble Gregory, A.M., LL.D. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, Iowa, State Historical Society, 1907, pp. xv, 217.) Dr. Gregory has added another volume to the bibliography of the Supreme Court of the United States by writing for the State Historical Society's series of lives of eminent men of Iowa, a biography of Samuel Freeman Miller, who, from 1862 to 1890, was an associate justice of that court and one who firmly impressed his personality upon it.

It is but a brief sketch of only sixty-five pages, but the author has given us a bird's-eye view of the events and epochs of the life of this man, who, starting as a medical practitioner in a small town in Kentucky, finally became senior justice of the highest court in the land.

Justice Miller's service covered the *post-bellum* and reconstruction period of our governmental history, and there were many important and far-reaching decisions in which he took part and delivered the opinion of the court. Several of the most important Dr. Gregory has outlined in a masterful manner, enabling the reader to appreciate the particular point involved and the individual views of the justice. This is supple-

mented by an appendix containing a complete calendar of every opinion, nearly 800 in all, including about 160 dissents, which Justice Miller delivered during his term of twenty-eight years. Of the total, nearly 150 relate to constitutional law, but of these only eleven were dissents, and this shows that, as a general rule, on this branch of the law he had the court with him. This valuable feature of the volume enables the student of our constitution to trace the development of the mind of one of the clearest expounders of that instrument.

Among these cases we note *Crandall v. State of Nevada*, 6 Wallace, 35, denying the right of a state to tax outgoing passengers and placing the decision on the sovereign power of the federal government, not to be interfered with, to call to its service at its capital any or all of its citizens at any time; the dissenting opinion in *Hepburn v. Griswold*, 8 Wallace, 603, the first legal tender case, and which foreshadowed the ultimate opinion of the court, 12 Wallace, 457, sustaining the validity of the legislation; the *Slaughterhouse Case*, 16 Wallace, 36, in which many think he went too far in upholding the power of the state; *United States v. Lee*, 106 U. S., 196; the "Arlington case", in which he declared that "no man in this country is so high that he is above the law and no officer of the law may set that law at defiance with impunity."

Three addresses delivered by the justice are also included as appendices. The first, at the centennial of the Constitution; the others at commencement exercises, one on the use and value of authorities in the argument and decision of cases, an able paper that can be read with profit alike by law student and active practitioner, and the other on the conflict in this country between socialism and organized society. Dr. Gregory has rendered the profession a service in preserving these addresses, which are admirable in style and matter.

In the closing chapter, aptly styled a characterization, the author depicts the human—we might also say the humane—side of his subject's character and shows that beneath the stern, rugged and somewhat harsh exterior there was a deep and affectionate nature that, as Chief Justice Fuller said, "so endeared him to his friends and associates that he left a memory dear and precious to his country, even more enduring than the books in which his judgments are recorded".

CHARLES HENRY BUTLER.

The *Annual Reports* of the Archaeological Institute of America for the year 1906-1907, contained in the supplement to the eleventh volume of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (Macmillan), second series, reveal a growth in the activities of the institute in spite of its small endowments for whose increase the directors of the Schools at Athens, Rome and Jerusalem make a strong plea. The enrollment of students at the School at Athens has been equalled only once before, and there were more students at the School at Jerusalem than in any previous year. Professor Edgar L. Hewett, who was appointed at the beginning

of last year to the new position of director of American Archaeology, presents in a report of unusual interest an account of several fruitful expeditions to the "Mound Region" in central Missouri, the "Pueblo Region" in southeastern Utah, the McElmo drainage on the Colorado-Utah line, the Mesa Verde National Park in Colorado and the ruins of Puye in the northern part of Pajarito Park, New Mexico. The field operations in these localities received support from the local archaeological societies, and students from several universities participated in them. Much preliminary work of archaeological and physiographic description was accomplished, type ruins were excavated and large numbers of articles representing the industries and arts of the former inhabitants were found. A result of the excavations at Puye was "the discovery of objects tending to establish definite relationship between the ancient pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley and the ancient inhabitants of northern Mexico". The more effective organization of this work in the form of a school of American archaeology, to be situated in the Southwest, is proposed.

Mattapoisett and Old Rochester, Massachusetts. Prepared under the direction of a Committee of the Town of Mattapoisett. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Henry R. Stiles, A.M., M.D.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1907, pp. xii, 424.) This is an interesting history of an old New England town, based in large part on the town, church and parish records, diaries and memoirs. Local histories written from such sources are welcome, especially if, as in the present case, genealogy is made subordinate to more important discussions of local institutions. Massachusetts is a leader in publications of this character, an example by which other states should profit. It is to such detailed studies of small local divisions that historians must turn for material which will give a true picture of the life of the people. A little less than half of the book, consisting of the first eight chapters, deals with the history of the town in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was written by Mary Hall Leonard. Chapter VI., on the life of the people in the eighteenth century, is particularly good. Road-making, fisheries, industries, education and church life are some of the topics discussed. Chapter VIII. presents a study, in great detail, of the church in the second precinct. Chapter XI., on maritime and other industries, gives an interesting account of shipbuilding—for the most part the building of whaling ships—in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There is one original document of interest, a list (pp. 363-366) of maximum prices, established by the selectmen and committee of the town of Rochester (1777), pursuant to the Massachusetts statute entitled, "An Act to Prevent Monopolies and Oppression". The list, which is taken from the town records, gives maximum prices for vegetables, grains, cloth, wood, meats, hardware, wages in various trades, agricultural implements and many other articles. The book is well printed

and illustrated. It would have been more satisfactory if the author had supplied references, in foot-notes, to original authorities, though in some cases the information is given in the body of the text.

M. W. JERNEGAN.

Encyclopedia of Mississippi History. In two volumes. Planned and edited by Dunbar Rowland, LL.D., Director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. (Madison, Wis., Selwyn A. Brant, 1907, pp. xvi, 1010; 1024.) This is a large two-volume work of more than two thousand pages containing historical sketches of the important events and episodes in the life of the commonwealth, of all the counties, cities and towns of the state including towns and villages now extinct, biographical sketches of men "who have left their impress on the history of the state" and sketches of various institutions, educational, religious and industrial, including many quasi-public or private organizations such as bar, press and teachers' associations, fraternal orders, etc.

The design of the work, to use the language of the author, is to present in compact form, arranged in alphabetical order, a complete history of Mississippi from 1540 to 1906, the plan being to combine the best features of history for continuous reading with the cyclopedic style for ready reference. Much of the biographical and statistical material contained in Mr. Rowland's encyclopedia may be found in Goodspeed's *Memoirs*, a bulky compilation prepared primarily for commercial reasons and published some years ago by a Chicago house, but it is only just to him to say that his own work is very differently arranged, contains much new material and is prepared with much greater regard to the canons of historical writing. The first chapter and possibly the only one that will prove of particular value to the historical investigator deals with the "selected sources" of Mississippi history. These sources are arranged under three main heads; those of France, those of Great Britain and those of Spain, each in turn being subdivided for purposes of treatment into printed and manuscript sources. It may be proper to state that much of this source-material was discovered by Mr. Rowland in the archives of England, France and Spain, and that it is now being transcribed under his direction for the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

The encyclopedia has the inherent faults of a work prepared according to the topical plan. There is the inevitable duplication, repetition and lack of continuity which gives history its distinguishing characteristic. Some of the titles relate only remotely if at all to the history of the state. We note among them the following: alligators, anthrax, advent of the flag, clay and brick, dueling, Jay treaty, ordinance of 1787, etc. Many others receive little more treatment than bare mention. Nevertheless the work shows evidence of great industry and of intimate knowledge of the state's history. There are many very good sketches and com-

pilations which have more than a local interest. Among them may be noted the articles on Banking, Biloxi, Black Code, Boundaries, British Land Claims, Cotton, Indians, Militia, Slavery, Spanish Domains and Wars. The administrations of the governors, provincial, territorial and state, are well summarized. Some of the biographical sketches and the history of a number of the older towns like Natchez and Vicksburg are quite satisfactory, and embody the results of Mr. Rowland's recent discoveries.

J. W. GARNER.

We cannot be too thankful for the copious index to the *Early Western Travels*, which Mr. Thwaites has so carefully and attentively edited. There is no scrimping on the index, which bears all the appearance of critical work. It occupies volumes XXXI. and XXXII. of the series and, one need hardly say, adds immensely to the usefulness of the set. Take for example such a heading as Negroes; here we find some 650 entries covering such topics as runaway, punishments, immorality, prices, sale, revolts. The references to Missions, Education, Lands and scores of similar topics open up the treasures of the preceding thirty volumes. For the first time we have in a form adapted to easy use a great mass of material that will enable the investigator in a small college, which has not many books, to study from the sources the main facts of Western social and economic history—at least to see for himself the main conditions as described by travellers in a period of a hundred years. In fact these thirty volumes and this ample index open up to all of us opportunities for knowing the West and the processes of American settlement as many of us could not have known them before.

Heralds of American Literature. By Annie Russell Marble, M.A. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1907, pp. vii, 383.) The subject of this book—the literature of America between the time of the Revolution and the early nineteenth century—is obviously unimportant. With few exceptions it has already been adequately—one may even say finally—treated in the works of Professor Moses Coit Tyler. Mrs. Marble has evidently devoted to the matter punctilious attention. The result of her labors, however, displays neither the extent of learning—except in matters of somewhat gossipy detail—the grasp of her subject, nor the command of style needful to justify three hundred pages and more about matter of which scholars as well as general readers may contentedly remain ignorant.

The Philippines under Spanish and American Rules, by C. H. Forbes-Lindsay (Philadelphia, John C. Winston Company, 1907, pp. 566), is the issue under separate title of the second part of a very handsomely printed two-volume work by the same author on *America's Insular Possessions*. Like the other portions of this volume, the chapters on Philippine history and administration and commerce under

Spain do not represent any independent research, but are compiled from various sources, especially the Philippine census of 1903. They are accordingly accurate or inaccurate with Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, the census contributor under these heads. American official publications have been so blindly followed in other parts of the work that it is curious to note that the account of the events of 1898 was drawn from the Englishmen Sawyer and Foreman, and therefore repeats such assertions as that the Filipinos were given a promise of independence.

Internal Taxation in the Philippines, by John S. Hord (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXV., no. 1, 1907, pp. 45), is not the careful monograph one would expect from the auspices under which it is published and the fact that its author is collector of internal revenue in the Philippines and the chief designer of the internal revenue law of 1904. His aim in preparing this paper was chiefly to present an argument for the removal of customs tariffs on Philippine products entering the United States, and his explanation and defense of the new internal revenue system in the islands suffers subordination in consequence. So much for its bearing on current history in the Philippines. As for the review and summary, in section I. of the pamphlet, of internal taxation under Spanish rule, it is not only very incomplete, but is also inaccurate in many cases, the author's bibliography revealing his scanty study of the subject.

Mexico and Her People of Today, by Nevin O. Winter (Boston, L. C. Page and Company, 1907, pp. vii, 405), though an attractive and on the whole very satisfactory treatise on Mexico, is poorest in its historical sections, chapters XVIII. to XX., and other passages scattered throughout the work. The author's reading has brought him no clear idea of what were the fundamental issues involved in the confused events of 1821 to 1867; so also, in his chapter on Religious Forces, no adequate conception is evinced of what the reform in Mexico really was, in its phases religious, ecclesiastical, economic, social and political. Among miscellaneous errors, one cannot help protesting against "Kit" Carson being killed at the Alamo (!).

The *Revista Historica Mexicana* is a magazine recently established in the City of Mexico, under the editorship of Mr. C. D. López, for some time librarian in the Museo Nacional. It is to be a monthly publication devoted primarily to the history of Mexico. The first two numbers, which appeared in October and November, contain articles by some of the leading Mexican students of history and antiquities, namely, Carlos Pereyra, professor of history in the Escuela Preparatoria, Dr. Edward Seler, a prominent authority on Mexican archaeology, Luis González Obregón, author of several books and papers on Mexican

history, and Dr. Antonio Peñafiel, a prolific writer on Mexican antiquities. Señor González Obregón writes of "Castes in New Spain in the Eighteenth Century"; Professor Pereyra of "The Text-book in History Classes"; Dr. Seler of "The Identity of Omacatl and Tezcatlipoca"; and Dr. Peñafiel of "The Precortesian Mixtec Codex Javier Córdova, and an Ancient Plan of San Andrés, Cholula". In addition to original articles, the *Revista* proposes to publish translations of notable articles in other languages relative to Mexico.

It is to be hoped that this magazine will succeed, for without it there is no publication in Mexico devoted exclusively to history and auxiliary subjects, although one is greatly needed to encourage the writing of critical monographic studies in Mexican history.

The Andes and the Amazon. Life and Travel in Peru. By C. Reginald Enock, F.R.G.S. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xvi, 379.) Attractive in appearance, well-printed, with good illustrations, one is led to expect great things of this impressive volume.

Mr. Enock, whose portrait adorns the frontispiece, seems to be a rare combination of mining engineer, poet, prospector, artist, philosopher and Britisher. In his enthusiastic imagination the Cordillera "crouches, rears, and groans upon the western sea-board of the Continent. Kissing the cerulean space with snowy peaks, five miles above the level of the ocean's ebb and flow, and groaning over its dun and desert wastes below, with earthquake grumbles, the ponderous mass, from rock-ribbed base to filmy summit-edge, where matter ends, keeps its eternal vigil!" (p. 10).

After sixty-eight pages of this, the poet is generally suppressed in the interests of the geographer, and here Mr. Enock speaks with authority, for he claims "to have travelled more extensively in Peru as a whole than any other foreigner" (p. 226). In describing the Peru of to-day, Mr. Enock is at his best. His philosophy is not deep, but his statements are often interesting.

His discussion of the Monroe Doctrine contains the following helpful observation: "Unfortunately the business and administrative methods of the North Americans are not such as to warrant their yet taking up the position of mentor to any one; . . . one thing is certain—the closer their association with Great Britain, the sooner will their capacity for righteous administration be developed" (p. 364).

While one may not always agree with this British engineer, he is at times decidedly refreshing, as when he says: "The Spanish-American youth educated in the United States is not a happy product. London is the real home for the cosmopolitan refinement suited to their character" (p. 300).

There is little that throws any light on modern Peruvian history or politics.

Mr. Enock does a distinct service in criticizing the exaggerated

accounts of "Inca Roads". Instead of "magnificent military highways" they were really nothing but well-made foot-paths, "not calling for any particular comment" (p. 239).

Five chapters are devoted to the Incas, and contain a number of extracts translated from "the writings of Eusebio Zapata . . . written in 1761". Mr. Enock adds: "I do not think any writings have appeared in English from this source, or indeed in Spanish" (p. 212), but it would have been more useful had he stated that the "interesting volume" from which he translates so many paragraphs was published in Lima in 1904 under the title, *Memorias Histórico-Físicas-Apológicas de la América Meridional* by José Eusebio de Llano y Zapata.

HIRAM BINGHAM.

TEXT-BOOKS

A Student's History of Greece. By J. B. BURY, M.A., Hon. Litt.D., Hon. LL.D. Edited and prepared for American High Schools and Academies by EVERETT KIMBALL, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Smith College. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xviii, 377.)

BURY-KIMBALL'S *Students' History of Greece* contains approximately two thirds of Bury's *History of Greece for Beginners*, which, in turn, contains about one third of Bury's *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*. That is to say, we have an American adaptation of an abridgment, made for English schools, of the most satisfactory work in our language on the period it covers. The abridgment was very skilfully executed, and the adaptation is also meritorious.

The present book does not give the usual insipid résumé of Hellenistic history; it ignores the existence of this period altogether. Instead of the court intrigues and frontier wars of the Roman Empire, no Roman Empire at all! But an adequate treatment of Imperial Greece would have made this book Kimball's, not Bury's.

This is a conspicuous defect, and it is only partially made good by conspicuous virtues. The book is a real history, not a poor encyclopaedia. The story is never smothered by classifications of motives and results, scraps of literary and art history, tid-bits of philosophy and hackneyed generalizations, as is the case with some of its competitors. It is unexcelled for unity of conception, vigor of style and general interest.

W. S. FERGUSON.

A Short History of Rome. By FRANK FROST ABBOTT, Professor in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company. 1907. Pp. 304.)

THIS work has two parts, a text-book for pupils, and a handbook for teachers and advanced students. To the latter most of the pedagogical

apparatus has been relegated, and had all reflections and explanations been incorporated in it still more room would have been left for vivid narrative. The teacher can supply the analysis, but he is seldom able to tell the story accurately and dramatically. The plot-interest should, therefore, be made prominent in the text-book—a wizard's task, when the events of a millenium and a half have to be compressed into two hundred and fifty pages. Professor Abbott's handbook is very much to be commended—may it prosper and grow larger!

The text-book has fifteen chapters, each introduced by a concise description and ended by an admirable summary. The whole text is subdivided into sections with appropriate headings, and is followed by a chronological list of important events, a brief bibliography and a good index. The book is well equipped with maps and illustrations, and, taken as a whole, is well planned and well written. The best chapters, despite a certain nervousness as to Augustus and his work, are those devoted to the principate; but they are too short, and do not give sufficient attention to municipal life.

Professor Abbott, as in his *Roman Political Institutions*, has accepted Mommsen's conception of the growth of the early Republic. This has no longer the endorsement of the leading historians. In fact, its main strength was taken from it by Mommsen himself, when he demonstrated clearly, what with Meyer, Niese, Neumann, Kornemann, Schwartz, De Sanctis, Beloch and others is now axiomatic, that Diodorus gives us by far the most, if not the only, reliable data on Roman history for the period prior to Pyrrhus. The pre-Gracchan annals, moreover, which, because of their brevity, Diodorus did not need to alter for use in his *Historical Library*, represent the prototype from which Livy and Dionysius depend indirectly; and the way in which these annals seem to have misinterpreted the *fasti* is incompatible with the existence in contemporary governmental circles of a genuine detailed tradition as to the rise of a constitution. Accordingly, the most that we can do is to insert into the framework of the *fasti*, with as little specific connective as possible, the disconnected items which Diodorus found in his sources, and this Edward Meyer has done with results that are fast becoming canonical. His conception, which owes little to the parts of Diodorus attacked successfully by Ettore Pais, deserves the adhesion of conservative scholars.

Professor Abbott narrates first external, then internal, events. This practice is commendable in dealing with the periods of the Italian and foreign conquests, but, when continued into the post-Gracchan era of the Republic it tears far apart things that belong closely together. The successive stages of the revolution were marked off in advance by external disasters; and the governmental crises should be described in each case directly after the *fiasco* in the conduct of foreign affairs. If this were done, the Spanish wars would not be mere episodes, and Caesar's conquests would not be narrated before the Gracchan reforms.

At the same time, the reader's attention could be fixed more firmly upon the demagogue and the victorious general, and the reason made clear why Augustus did not succeed in restoring a stable government on the old lines except through giving to the prince proconsular *imperium* and tribunician *potestas*—powers fatal to republican initiative.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Outline for Review: Greek History and *Outline for Review: Roman History*. By Charles Bertram Newton and Edwin Bryant Treat, of the Lawrenceville School. (New York, American Book Company, pp. 51; 62.) These little books contain outlines of ancient history for use in review, and typical questions from college entrance examination papers. They are certain to be serviceable to both pupils and "coaches". In fact, every experienced teacher must use something of the sort. Those by Messrs. Newton and Treat are not to be especially recommended. They contain most of the false notions which have been discarded during the last twenty-five years, and many new ones in addition—such as the confusion of neolithic and paleolithic on the opening page of the Greek manual. They are, however, compiled with much skill and knowledge of conditions.

W. S. FERGUSON.

A Political History of Modern Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day. By FERDINAND SCHWILL, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xiv, 607.)

THIS is a readable, readily assimilated and generally reliable textbook of Modern Europe history. It appears to be suitable for work in high-schools of high grade, for elementary college work and especially for the interested general reader who wants an introduction to the subject. In regard to the dividing line between medieval and modern history (so far as we can make one at all) and in regard to the proper subject-matter for history, the author adopts the views (with which the reviewer does not happen to be in accord) that "the one thousand years before 1500 are generally agreed to constitute the medieval period" (p. 6) and that "history is primarily concerned with politics" (p. 2). After an excellent preliminary survey of the modern nations and the church before the Reformation, which we venture to think the best part of the whole book, the general plan and allotment of space to the Reformation, the Absolute Monarchy, and Revolution and Democracy, is conventional but unusually clear and simple. English history is included and given in more detail than that of any other country. A final chapter on the Threshold of a New Century suggests the great inventions of our day and their effects, the problem of socialism and the international prevention of war, and the European advance into Africa and Asia.

The author has a sprightly, almost Gallic, vivacity; he often gives his reader the confidential and picturesque impression which usually goes only with the spoken word. At the same time, however—and this is the chief criticism of the book—there is too often a surplus of adjective, a deficiency of definite fact and an occasional looseness in the use of terms (e. g., *Bund*, pp. 418, 470) which we fear will leave an elusive haziness in the student's mind and make the book difficult to quiz upon. It is not true that the "Prussian and Austrian troops . . . entered the duchies [of Schleswig-Holstein] side by side" (p. 471), nor that Napoleon "persuaded the French legislature to declare war" in 1870 (p. 475). Murillo died in 1682 and not 1681 (p. 118), and Rembrandt in 1669 and not 1674 (p. 176). For Lasalle (p. 510) read *Lassalle* and for Rousillon (map p. 36), *Roussillon*. But let not this criticism obscure the far more important fact that here is a text-book which is interesting.

The eighteen maps, especially those in black and white, are simple, clear and well-adapted to their purpose. An excellent feature is the side-note on each map telling the student the principal things he ought to see. The map of Germany on the eve of the Reformation is an exception in being poorly done; Wittenberg and Leipzig find no place on it, and the Albertine line in Saxony is wrongly indicated as the electoral line; it was not electoral until Maurice's perfidy in 1547. In an appendix there are more than a dozen very helpful genealogical tables, a "\$25 list of books for a small library" and a brief general bibliography. This might have well included a few books in French—at least a mention of the new Lavissee or of the more convenient and very easy French articles in Lavissee and Rambaud. No one ought to be referred any longer to the sixth edition of Dahlmann-Waitz (p. vii) when the seventh edition which has been out two years is so much more complete.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Atlas of European History. By EARLE W. DOW. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1907. Pp. v, 46.)

In his modest, dignified and scholarly preface the author states that he has "sought to meet the long felt need of a small atlas of European history which should be in the English language, which should treat of the different peoples of Europe impartially, which should not obscure general views by too many details, and which should have a serviceable key to its contents". He has succeeded; and for his effort he deserves the thanks of all teachers and students of European history. To what he has drawn from the best German, French and English atlases, he has added by original research.

The thirty-two double-page colored plates contain eighty-one maps, sometimes a single map occupying an entire plate, other times as many as five being placed on a single plate. On the reverse of the colored plates are twenty-two additional maps printed only in black and white.

Four plates containing thirteen maps illustrate the period before the Germanic invasion of the Roman Empire. Eleven plates containing forty-three maps belong to the period between the Germanic invasion and the end of the fifteenth century. The remaining seventeen plates containing forty-seven maps fall in the period since the beginning of the sixteenth century. No country or period is neglected and none are over-emphasized.

The maps contain not only the geographical information indispensable to a clear understanding of history; they contain also much more. By the insertion of dates on the face of the map, and by the skilful use of color schemes, of numbers and of other devices known to makers and students of historical maps, the author has succeeded in conveying a vast amount of historical information in a way that greatly aids the memory in retaining it.

While on the whole the work is to be highly commended, yet it is not entirely above adverse criticism. The author realizes this and invites such criticism in the hope of improving subsequent editions. In the otherwise excellent index there are some, though very few, errors; see, *e. g.*, Aland, where the plate number is omitted. A good many names of considerable historical importance are not included, *e. g.*, Camperdown, Klein-Schnellendorf, Leuthen, Ligny. It would seem that all places referred to in books so much used as the Oxford periods of European history might have been given. Convenience has been sacrificed in the effort to avoid too great detail. As a consequence one often has to turn to several plates in order to locate places associated in a single event or movement, as a campaign. The absence from nearly all maps of any device to indicate mountains is a defect. This could be partially remedied by a single good relief map. But perhaps all this is only saying that the author has not done what was impossible, and what he did not intend to do.

A desirable feature of such an atlas would be a series of maps illustrating the progress of geographical knowledge. The use of none but perfect maps in studying periods during which contemporary geographical knowledge was so imperfect, makes it all but impossible for students to appreciate the difficulties both imaginary and real that confronted the actors of the time and had such a large influence on the making of history.

W. R. MANNING.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne of Yale University died at New Haven on February 24, at the age of forty-seven and in the prime of his remarkable powers. Born in 1860, he was graduated from Yale in 1883, and received its degree of doctor of philosophy in 1892. From 1886 to 1888 he was an instructor in that university; from 1888 to 1890 he was an instructor, from 1890 to 1895 a professor of history, in Adelbert College, Western Reserve University. In 1895 he returned to Yale as professor of history. Into the work of teaching he carried extraordinary learning, both in European and in American history, and great though quietly expressed enthusiasm. No one in America surpassed him in the art of teaching historical criticism to graduate students. Indeed, this was always his chief interest. Wide as was the range of his reading, and various as were the subjects on which he wrote, the unifying trait was that delight in the processes of historical criticism which marked his singularly keen and active mind. It is not too much to say that he was the chief master in America of that specific portion of the historian's art, and that in this specialty the profession has suffered in his death an irreparable loss. This quality of his mind was exhibited in varied ways in his volume of *Essays in Historical Criticism*, published in 1901. He also published in 1885 a *History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837*, in 1904 a valuable volume on *Spain in America*. He furnished an introductory survey of Philippine history to the series called *The Philippine Islands*, edited the *Voyages of Champlain*, and edited most of the first volume, devoted to Columbus, of the series called *Original Narratives of Early American History*. To this journal he was always one of the most valued contributors, and it profited greatly by his critical skill; in the general index to our first ten volumes the entry under his name occupies more space than that under the name of any other writer. Mr. Bourne was moreover of so kindly and genial a character, so open and helpful in spirit, so free from vanity and self-seeking, so cheerful and happy in disposition, despite much suffering, that his premature death will be widely felt as a source of personal sorrow.

Major-General Albert von Pfister, of Württemberg, the author of several historical works largely on military history, died on October 19 at the age of sixty-seven. His two-volume book, *Die Amerikanische Revolution, 1775-1783* (1904) lays stress upon the influence of the Germans upon America and the American Revolution.

Professor Gustav Hertzberg of Halle, the author of numerous valuable works on ancient history, among which are *Die Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer* (two volumes, 1866-1875) and *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Absterben des Antiken Lebens bis zur Gegenwart* (four volumes, 1876-1879), died on November 16, aged eighty-one.

Alessandro Gherardi, director of the state archives at Florence, died on January 8, aged sixty-four. Among his very numerous publications are the *Diario d'Anonimo Fiorentino*, an account of the popular uprising of the fourteenth century, and two volumes, *Le Consulte della Repubblica Fiorentina dal 1279 al 1298*. He had recently been examining the papers of the Guicciardini family with a view to a new edition of the *Storia d'Italia*, of which a considerable part is in the press.

Professor Edwin Erle Sparks of the University of Chicago has been elected to the presidency of Pennsylvania State College.

Professor Max Farrand of the Leland Stanford University has accepted an appointment as professor of history in Yale University, and will begin instruction there next autumn. Professor Wilbur C. Abbott has accepted appointment as professor of history in the Sheffield Scientific School.

Messrs. William R. Shepherd and James T. Shotwell have been raised to the rank of professor in Columbia University, James W. Thompson to that of associate professor in the University of Chicago.

Professor William Scott Ferguson of the University of California has been elected assistant professor of history in Harvard University.

A volume on *Frederic William Maitland*, two lectures and a bibliography by Mr. A. L. Smith of Balliol College, has been recently issued by the Oxford University Press.

The second volume of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905* has, as mentioned elsewhere, already appeared. The Annual Report for 1906 is already in type. Volume one contains the usual report of the proceedings of the Providence meeting, four other reports, chiefly of conferences which took place on that occasion, seven of the papers read at the meeting, and Miss Annie H. Abel's Winsor Prize Essay, "The History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi". The whole of volume two is devoted to the report of the Public Archives Commission, which presents a summary of the present state of legislation of states and territories relative to the custody and supervision of public records, prepared by the late Robert T. Swan; inventories of the archives of Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Ohio, Tennessee, and three minor localities; and a bibliography of the public archives of the thirteen original states, extending to 1789, and prepared by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse.

The third International Congress for the History of Religions will be held at Oxford from September 15 to 18 inclusive. Besides general meetings, there will be meetings of sections which will deal with the following peoples and their religions: I. The Lower Culture (including Mexico and Peru); II. The Chinese and Japanese; III. The Egyptians; IV. The Semites; V. India and Iran; VI. Greeks and Romans; VII. Germans, Celts, and Slavs; VIII. Christianity. The local secretaries are Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter, 109 Banbury Road, Oxford, and Dr. L. R. Farnell, 191 Woodstock Road, Oxford.

The Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland held its sixth annual convention at Baltimore on March 13 and 14. The principal address was by the British ambassador, Mr. James Bryce. The principal topics of discussion were: Possible Modifications of the Secondary School Courses in Ancient, Medieval and Modern History, and the Correlation of History and Geography.

The next annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society will be held in New York on May 3. A proposal to enlarge the scope of the society, so as to embrace general Jewish history, and not merely American Jewish history, will be acted upon by the society at this meeting.

A report of the German Historikertag, held in Dresden last September, appears in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* (Nachrichten und Notizen, II.) for February. Of special interest to many will be the account of Professor Karl Lamprecht's lecture on *Die Ausgestaltung der Universalgeschichtlichen Studien im Hochschulunterricht* and of the discussion that it aroused. A letter from Professor Lamprecht, describing the opportunities afforded for the study of American culture and universal history in the historical seminaries of the University of Leipzig, is printed in the *Nation* of December 19.

The latest fascicle of the *Bibliographie Annuelle des Travaux Historiques et Archéologiques* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, pp. 289) published by the learned societies of France and edited by Count Robert de Lasteyrie and M. Alexandre Vidier as a supplement to their *Bibliographie Générale*, covers the years 1903 to 1907.

The Council of the Navy Records Society proposes to issue every June, as an appendix to their annual report to the society, a list of the books and articles of naval interest that have appeared during the preceding twelve months; and, in the first instance, since January 1, 1907.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for January, 1908, contains an extensive list of works relating to the history of music.

The Library of Congress expects to issue during the summer, in a book of probably more than fourteen hundred pages, *A List of Atlases in the Division of Maps and Charts in the Library of Congress*, edited

by the chief of that division, Mr. P. Lee Phillips. The titles will be accompanied with full historical notes in which an especial effort will be made to bring out the American material contained in those atlases which have historical value.

Miss Semple's paper on Geographical Location as a Factor in History, mentioned on page 435, *ante*, has since been printed in the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society for February, 1908.

The first number of *The Sociological Review* (London, Sherratt and Hughes, pp. 104), a quarterly which will take the place of the annual volume of proceedings of the Sociological Society, includes papers by Mr. R. R. Marett on Comparative Religion and by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher on the Sociological View of History. Professor L. T. Hobhouse is chairman of the editorial committee. The first number of the monthly *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques* (Paris, Paul Geuthner), edited by M. Arnold van Gennep, opens with an article by Mr. J. G. Frazer on St. George and the Parilla; the second number has an article by Mr. Andrew Lang on exogamy. A new quarterly, also published by P. Geuthner, is the *Revue d'Histoire des Doctrines Économiques et Sociales*, edited by Professors A. Deschamps, A. Dubois and E. Depitre, and intended to include not only articles on the history of economic theory but also those treating of the history of economic, political, or juridical institutions in relation to economic opinion.

A Systematical List of the Principal Continental Law-Literature published during 1907 has been issued by the publisher M. Nijhoff, the Hague.

M. F. Mourret, professor of history in the higher school of Catholic Theology at Paris, has in preparation an eight-volume *Histoire Générale de l'Église*, which will bridge the gap between the great histories of Rohrbacher and of Darras and the school manuals. While the external history will be narrated, especial stress will be laid upon the inner life and social action of the Church, and upon the development of dogmas and juridical institutions. The third volume, *L'Église et le Monde Barbare* (Paris, R. Roger, F. Chernoviz) is the first to be published and will be followed by the fifth volume, *La Renaissance et la Réforme*.

Abbé L. Duchesne's *The Churches separated from Rome* (New York, Benziger, pp. ix, 224) has been translated by Arnold Harris Mathew and published in the International Catholic Library. The work treats of the church of England; the Eastern schisms; the encyclical of the patriarch Anthimus; the Roman church before the time of Constantine; the Greek church and the Greek schism; ecclesiastical Illyria; and the Christian missions south of the Roman Empire.

A collection of data for the study of the origin and development of the leading religions of the Orient has been issued by Professor A.

Bertholet of the University of Basel and four coadjutors under the title *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* (Tübingen, Mohr).

E. Driault, whose work *La Question d'Orient* was crowned by the Institute, has issued through Alcan a volume on *La Question d'Extrême Orient*.

The second volume of F. von Wenckstern's excellent *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* (London, Quaritch, pp. xvi, 535) comprises the literature in European languages from 1894 to 1906, Miss V. Palmgren's list of the Swedish literature on Japan and Léon Pagès's *Bibliographie Japonaise*.

M. Papinot is preparing an English edition of his *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie du Japon*, reviewed in our October number (XIII. 151).

Die Kultur Japans (Berlin, Curtius) by Dr. Daiji Itchikawa, lecturer in the Japanese department of the Oriental seminary in Berlin, treats mainly of the history and the present character of civilization in Japan.

Mr. Ellsworth Huntington's volume, *The Pulse of Asia* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin), which is based on observations in the deserts of Chinese Turkestan, is a study of "the geographic relation between physical environment and man, and between changes of climate and history".

The *Alumni Register* of the University of Pennsylvania contains in its November number an interesting and well-written address by Professor E. P. Cheyney, entitled "What is History?"

Mr. G. L. Gomme is publishing in the series of "Antiquary's Books" (Methuen), a volume on *Folk-Lore as an Historical Science*.

Professor C. H. Firth is writing the introduction to a translation of Dr. Oskar Jäger's *Geschichtsunterricht* which Mr. Blackwell of Oxford is publishing.

The Cambridge University Press will publish a volume by Professor Foster Watson on *School-Books and Curricula, chiefly of English Schools*, containing material illustrative of the period from 1500 to 1650. Another work by the same author on the *Theory and Practice of Education in the Eighteenth Century* will appear in the Cambridge series of "Contributions to the History of Education in Medieval and Modern Europe".

Professor N. M. Trenholme of the University of Missouri has prepared, and Ginn and Company have published, *A Syllabus for the History of Western Europe*, based on Robinson's *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, and designed as an aid in the use of Professor Robinson's text, together with his *Readings in European History*. The *Syllabus* is in two parts, "The Middle Ages", and "The Modern Age", bound separately (pp. 80 and 94), each part being designed for

a half year's work. Copious references for collateral readings accompany each chapter, and review questions appear at intervals throughout the work. Desiring to emphasize the element of causation and connection, the author has given to the topical analyses as large a measure of fullness and clearness as the character of such a syllabus will permit.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Historical Sources: Their Nature and Uses* (Athenaeum, December 28); James Bryce, *The Influence of National Character and Historical Environment on the Development of the Common Law* (The Law Quarterly Review, January).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Professor F. Hirth of Columbia University has published a volume on *The Ancient History of China to the End of the Ch'ou Dynasty* (Columbia University Press, 1908, pp. xx, 383) which begins with a chapter on the mythological and legendary period and comes down to the third century B. C. An appendix of chronological tables gives the dates of the princes of the various states.

The well-known Egyptologists, Messrs. L. W. King and H. R. Hall, have published an abundantly illustrated account of *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1907, pp. 480).

Prolégomènes à l'étude de la Religion Égyptienne (Paris, Leroux), an essay on Egyptian mythology by E. Amelineau, director of studies at the École des Hautes Études, forms the twenty-first volume in the series of the religious sciences, in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.

In 1906, M. F. Thureau-Dangin published a French translation of all the known historical inscriptions belonging to the Sumerian period or written in Sumerian. That translation has been revised and a German version, together with a transliteration of the texts, published under the title *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, pp. 275).

In a previous number of this journal (XII. 705) we noticed the remarkable discoveries made by Professor Hugo Winckler in 1906 at Boghaz-Köi, the ancient centre of the Hittite kingdom. Last summer Professor Winckler made further discoveries there; a detailed description of these together with a general sketch of the results obtained for history from his study of the Hittite records is published by him in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 35.

Georg Misch's *Geschichte der Autobiographie* (Leipzig, Teubner) should be of interest to both the historian and the psychologist. The first volume, published last year, is entitled *Das Altertum*, and treats of the development of this form of writing in Greece and Rome.

The first volume of the second part of E. Babelon's monumental *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines* is a *Description Historique* (Paris, Leroux, 1907, pp. iv, 1670) of all the series of Greek coins, including those of the Hellenic East and West, from the earliest times to the second Persian war, 479 B. C. An album of plates accompanies the volume. In this excellent and comprehensive work history and numismatics are studied in the closest relation.

Nearly half of the contents of the *Annual* of the British School at Athens for the session 1905-1906 (Macmillan) treats of the topography, architecture and antiquities of Sparta and Laconia. Mr. Traquair contributes a paper on the medieval fortresses and churches in Laconia. There are several articles on Crete, and some of a miscellaneous character, among which may be mentioned the notes from the Sporades by the director and Mr. Wace, Mr. Hasluck's reproduction of early maps of Crete and Constantinople and his list of MSS. in the British Museum relating to the geography of the Levant.

E. Ziebarth's *Kulturbilder aus Griechischen Städten* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1907, pp. 120), number 131 in the series *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, gives a picture of life in ancient cities based in part upon the most recent discoveries. After a discussion of the nature of the ancient archives and their value, Thera, Pergamon, Priene, Miletus, the temple of Apollo at Didyma and the Greek cities in Egypt are described.

A paper entitled *Who were the Romans?* (pp. 44) read by W. Ridgeway before the British Academy, has been printed by Frowde. It will be published in the third volume of the *Proceedings* of the Academy.

The fourth volume of *Papers of the British School at Rome* (Macmillan) contains articles on the Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna, III., section 1., by T. Ashby (pp. 160); the Goldsmiths of Rome under the Papal Authority, their Statutes hitherto discovered, and a bibliography (pp. 66); Studies on Roman Historical Reliefs (pp. 50) by A. J. B. Wace and two shorter papers of which one deals with the Early Iron Age in South Italy.

The Macmillan Company have just published *Livy, Book I. and Selections from Books II.-X.*, by Professor Walter Dennison of the University of Michigan. There is a departure from the usual mode of editing Latin texts in that the annotation emphasizes the historical rather than the grammatical side, a feature further emphasized by the inclusion of parallel references to modern handbooks of Roman history.

Mr. H. Stuart Jones, formerly director of the British School at Rome, has written for the "Story of the Nations" series a volume on *The Roman Empire, B. C. 29-A. D. 476* (Putnams).

In the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1907, pp. 165-201, Professor O. Hirschfeld discusses the Roman milestones, of which about four thousand are known. In an appendix it is argued that under

Constantine the Gallic *civitates* were replaced by the cities as governmental units, often with a transference to the city of the old communal name.

La Frontière de l'Euphrate, de Pompée à la Conquête Arabe, by Victor Chapot, forms the 99th volume of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (Paris, Fontemoing).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. W. Botsford, *The Roman Gens* (Political Science Quarterly, December); R. C. Bosanquet, *Greek Temples and Early Religion* (Quarterly Review, January); Paul Allard, *La Jeunesse de Sidoine Apollinaire* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

A valuable work on *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum*, by Paul Wendland (Tübingen, Mohr, 1907), forms the second part of the first volume of the *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* edited by H. Lietzmann, H. Gressmann and others.

Professor W. M. Ramsay's studies of *The Cities of St. Paul. Their Influence on his Life and Thought: The Cities of Eastern Asia Minor* (A. C. Armstrong, 1908, pp. 452), which include parts on *Paulinism in the Graeco-Roman World* and on *St. Paul in the Roman World*, were the Dale Memorial lectures, delivered in Mansfield College, Oxford, in 1907.

Les Idées Philosophiques et Religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie is the subject of a critical work by Émile Bréhier (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. xiv, 340).

L'Église Chrétienne au Temps de Saint Ignace d'Antioche (Paris, Beauchesne, 1907, pp. 266), an interesting study of early Christianity by Henri de Genouillac, treats of St. Ignatius and his work in their historic milieu and discusses in detail his theological position and his personality.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The authorities of the Vatican Library are preparing to bring out, as the sixth of the *Codices e Vaticanis Selecti Phototypice Expressi*, the miniatures of the *Topographia Christiana* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, cod. Vat. gr. 699.

An enlarged edition of Professors D. C. Munro and G. C. Sellery's *Medieval Civilization: Selected Studies from European Authors* (1907, pp. x, 594) has been published by the Century Company.

The first part of Professor Siegfried Rietschel's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Germanischen Hundertschaft* treats of *Die Skandinavische und Angelsächsische Hundertschaft* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1907,

pp. 95). It was originally printed in the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*.

Professor J. Friedrich's monograph *Über die Kontroversen Fragen im Leben des Gotischen Geschichtschreibers Jordanes* (Munich, G. Franz, pp. 379-442) has been reprinted from the transactions of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

Professor Hans Prutz, the well-known authority in this field, has published a volume on *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden: Ihre Stellung zur Kirchlichen, Politischen, Gesellschaftlichen und Wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Mittelalters* (Berlin, Mittler, 1908, pp. xviii, 549).

Professor H. Pirenne's discussion *A propos de la Lettre d'Alexis Comnène à Robert le Frison, Comte de Flandre* (Brussels, Lamertin, pp. 217-227), which originally appeared in the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique*, has been issued in separate form.

Mr. Murray is issuing a work by William Miller on *The Latins in the Levant: a History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*, which is based on documentary material both published and unpublished.

Théodore II. Lascaris, Empereur de Nicée (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. xv, 192) by M. J. B. Pappadopoulos, appears to be a very complete and scholarly study of the life, reign and writings of the emperor.

Dr. H. Fischer's chronological-historical investigations regarding *Der Heilige Franziskus von Assisi während der Jahre 1219-1221*, forms the fourth volume in the *Freiburger Historische Studien* (Freiburg, Universitäts Buchhandlung).

The twenty-second volume of the *Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Géographie depuis le XIII^e jusqu'à la Fin du XVI^e Siècle* (Paris, E. Leroux) is *Le Livre de la Description des Pays* of Gilles le Bouvier, called Berry, first king of arms of Charles VII., king of France, published for the first time with an introduction and notes, and followed by the *Itinéraire Brugeois*, the Table of Velletri, and several other unpublished or little known geographic documents of the fifteenth century, collected and annotated by Dr. E. T. Hamy of the Institute.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dom L. Gougaud, *L'Oeuvre des Scotti dans l'Europe Continentale (fin vi^e-fin xi^e siècles)*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, January); Achille Luchaire, *Innocent III. et le Quatrième Concile de Latran* (*Revue Historique*, March-April).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The fourth volume of M. Richard Waddington's *Histoire Diplomatique et Militaire de la Guerre de Sept Ans* (Firmin-Didot) treats of *Torgau et le Pacte de Famille*.

The well-known writers on the Napoleonic period, Dr. Holland Rose and Mr. A. M. Broadley, are publishing through Mr. John Lane a work on *Dumouriez and the Defense of England against Napoleon*, which will include many illustrations and several unpublished documents.

Ernst von Meier aims at tracing the influence of French conceptions on the public law of Prussia in a work called *Französische Einflüsse auf die Staats- und Rechtsentwicklung Preussens im XIXten Jahrhundert*, of which a volume on the *Prolegomena* of the subject was published last year (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, pp. viii, 242.)

Nagao Ariga, professor of international law at the high school for the navy and army, Tokio, has written a study based on unpublished official documents kept by the historical section of the Japanese general staff, on the war of 1904-1905, entitled *La Guerre Russo-Japonaise au Point de Vue Continental et le Droit International* (Paris, Pedone).

Mr. Alleyne Ireland, after several years spent in the intimate study of British colonial administration in the Far East, has published, in two volumes on *The Province of Burma* (Houghton), the first instalment of a twelve-volume work on the subject.

The *Archives Diplomatiques* (20 rue de Tournon, Paris) has issued a verbatim report of the Second Peace Conference, the final act and diplomatic correspondence.

The American Branch of the Association for International Conciliation has issued a reprint of the article by Dr. David Jayne Hill on "The Net Result at the Hague", published in the *Review of Reviews* for December, 1907, that by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant on "The Results of the Second Hague Conference", published in the *Independent* of November 21, 1907, and a pamphlet of twenty-seven pages by Professor James Brown Scott of the Department of State, on *The Work of the Second Hague Conference*.

Documentary publications: A. Chuquet, *Journal de Voyage du Général Desaix: Suisse et Italie, 1797* (Plon, pp. xii, 305); M. A. Polovtsoff, *Correspondance Diplomatique des Ambassadeurs de Russie en France et de France en Russie avec leurs Gouvernements (1814-1830)* (Paris, Conard).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. F. Chance, *The Northern Pacification of 1719-20*, III. (The English Historical Review, January); H. T. Colenbrander, *Les Rapports de la Hollande et de la France, 1780-1815: État des Travaux* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, January); J. Ribet, *Diplomatie d'Hier et Diplomatie d'Aujourd'hui* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, January); Edward G. Elliott, *The Development of International Law by the Second Hague Conference* (Columbia Law Review, February).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Oxford University Press will publish an exhaustive *catalogue raisonné* of the nearly 2000 portraits in possession of the university, colleges and municipality of Oxford, on the lines of the catalogues of the three exhibitions of historical portraits already held at Oxford. Mr. W. Roberts will describe the portraits, and Mrs. R. L. Poole will contribute the biographies.

M. Léopold Delisle defends his theory relative to the *Formules Rex Anglorum et Dei Gratia Rex Anglorum* (Chantilly, 1907, pp. 13) in the form of a letter to Mr. J. Horace Round, who has opposed his conclusions.

The Selden Society volume for 1907, *The Year Book 3-4 Edward II.*, edited by the late Professor F. W. Maitland, will be placed in the hands of members of the society before the end of April. For 1908 they will receive the first volume of *Select Pleas of Fair Courts and other Records concerning the Law Merchant*, edited by Professor Charles Gross.

Eugène Déprez, who is editing for the Society of the History of France all the private and secret letters preserved in the London Public Record Office, dating from 1272 to 1485 and relating to French history, has published a valuable little volume, *Études de Diplomatie Anglaise de l'Avènement d'Édouard I^{er} à celui de Henri VII., 1272-1485* (Paris, Champion, 1908, pp. 126), which treats of the English chancery and of certain special types of royal acts received by it, chiefly the letters of privy seal and the secret letters. The documents printed in the volume are all drawn from the Privy Seals series in the Public Record Office and have not previously been published.

The Fitz-Patrick lectures delivered by Dr. Norman Moore before the Royal College of Physicians of London are being published under the title *The History of the Study of Medicine in the British Isles* (London, Frowde). The topics covered are: medical study in London during the Middle Ages; the education of physicians in London in the seventeenth century; and the history of the study of clinical medicine in the British Isles.

Abbot F. A. Gasquet has published a new and revised edition of his excellent history of *The Great Pestilence* under the title *The Black Death of 1348 and 1349* (London, Bell). The same house is publishing *The Last Abbot of Glastonbury* and other essays by the same author.

A History of the English Agricultural Labourer, by Dr. W. Hasbach of the University of Kiel, has been translated and brought up to date by Miss Ruth Kenyon, and is being published by Messrs. P. S. King.

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester: a Biography (Constable, pp. xviii, 491) by K. H. Vickers of Exeter College, Oxford, now lecturer in

modern history at University College, Bristol, treats of the career of the duke as soldier, statesman and humanist. The political influence of the city of London in the fifteenth century is shown. A list of sources and authorities fills twenty pages.

A work published in 1905 by Professor Josef Redlich of the University of Vienna has been well translated by A. E. Steinthal and issued in three volumes under the title *The Procedure of the House of Commons: a Study of its History and Present Form* (London, Constable). Sir Courtenay Ilbert, clerk of the House of Commons, contributes an introduction and a supplementary chapter on the changes introduced by the present government.

A fourth and revised edition of Archdeacon William Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times* has been published by the Cambridge University Press at a considerably lower price. The two parts on the Mercantile System and Laissez Faire are now obtainable separately, and the parts entitled Parliamentary Colbertism and Laissez Faire are also issued in one volume under the title *The Industrial Revolution*.

Mr. Murray announces a work on *The King's Customs* by Henry Atton and Henry Hurst Holland. The authors treat of the effects of the Navigation acts; the rise and sway of some of the commercial companies; the development of smuggling during the Georgian period, the methods of revenue farmers, customs and contrabandists, and social conditions.

Major Martin Hume will publish through Methuen a book on *Philip and Two English Queens* which will include much new information concerning the life of Philip II. in England.

Mr. C. L. Kingsford, whose edition of some early *Chronicles of London* was favorably reviewed in a former number of this journal (XI. 884-885), is publishing an edition of Stow's *Survey of London* through the Oxford University Press.

The third volume of Dr. James Mackinnon's *History of Modern Liberty* (Longmans) deals with the struggle for political liberty in England and Scotland in the seventeenth century.

We can mention only a few of the numerous British works combining biographical and historical interest that have been recently published or are announced for early publication: *A Scots Earl in Covenanting Times: Being Life and Times of Archibald, Ninth Earl of Argyll* (1629-1685), by John Willcock, author of *The Great Marquess*, the ninth earl's father (Edinburgh, Elliott, pp. 448); *Our First Ambassador to China*, the life and correspondence of George, first earl Macartney, 1737-1806, governor of Grenada, envoy at St. Petersburg, chief secretary for Ireland, governor of Madras, ambassador to Peking, governor of the Cape of Good Hope, etc., from hitherto unpublished

correspondence and documents, by Mrs. H. H. Robbins (Murray, pp. 479); *Bombay in the Day of George IV.: Memoirs of Sir Edward West* (1782-1828), chief justice of the King's Court during its conflict with the East India Company, with hitherto unpublished documents, by Dr. F. D. Drewitt (Longmans, pp. 368); *Brougham and his Early Friends*, hitherto unpublished letters collected and arranged by R. H. M. B. Atkinson and G. A. Jackson (three volumes privately printed, sold by Quaritch); *Before and After Waterloo*, letters written by Edward Stanley, father of Dean Stanley, 1802-1816, edited by J. H. Adeane and M. Grenfell (London, Fisher Unwin); *Correspondence of George Canning and some Intimate Friends*, containing hitherto unpublished letters of the Marquess Wellesley, Lord Lyttelton and other statesmen, edited by J. Bagot (Murray, two volumes); *John Thaddeus Delane, 1817-1879*, editor of the *Times*, his life and correspondence, compiled from hitherto unpublished letters by A. I. Dasent, and including letters from Palmerston, Disraeli, Lord Brougham and other statesmen (Murray, two volumes); *The Reminiscences of the Late Albert Pell, sometime M. P. for South Leicestershire* (Murray) edited with memoir by Thomas Mackay, and an appreciation by James Bryce (Mr. Pell was a recognized authority on farming, local government and poor law questions, and the book contains interesting accounts of rural life in England forty or fifty years ago); *Memories of Eight Parliaments*, by Henry W. Lucy (Heinemann).

The King over the Water (Longmans, 1907, pp. xiii, 499) by Miss Alice Shield and Mr. Andrew Lang, is based mainly upon the extensive researches of Miss Shield and presents an unusually favorable picture of the Old Pretender.

A new instalment of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's survey of *English Local Government*, giving in two volumes an analytic and descriptive account of the administration between 1689 and 1835 of rural manors and municipal boroughs of England and Wales, has been published by Longmans. The work throws new light upon the manor, its courts and juries, and its relation to other authorities.

John Law of Lauriston (London, E. Saunders) by A. W. Wiston-Glynn presents the first adequate account of the financier.

In Mr. Julian S. Corbett's *England in the Seven Years' War: a Study in Combined Strategy* (Longmans, 1907, pp. xi, 476; vii, 407), the author, who is lecturer in history to the Royal Naval War College, shows that in order to understand the conduct of the war it should be approached from the naval rather than from the military side.

Messrs. Longmans, Green and Company are publishing volumes three and four of the late Sir Spencer Walpole's *History of Twenty-five Years*, a continuation of his *History of England from 1815*, which will bring the work down to 1881.

Mr. Ivor Bowen, barrister-at-law of the South Wales circuit, has collected and edited, and is publishing through Mr. Fisher Unwin, *The Statutes of Wales*, being all the important acts of Parliament relating exclusively or principally to Wales, passed since the time of Magna Charta.

The first volume of a meritorious *History of the Queen's County* (Dublin, Sealy, pp. 440) by the Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon and the Rev. E. O'Leary comes down to the year 1558.

The recently formed association for promoting the establishment of libraries in Ireland is endeavoring to procure the publication of the Townland Name Books, preserved in the Ordnance Survey Department, Phoenix Park. It has recommended that meanwhile copies should be placed in the Royal Irish Academy, in the National Library and in the offices of the county councils. The association will publish the letters of John O'Donovan and others relating to these names which are of great interest to students of Irish history and archaeology.

Longmans is publishing an *Historical Atlas of India*, by C. Joppen, for the use of high schools and colleges.

British government publications: S. R. Scargill Bird, *Guide to the Various Classes of Documents preserved in the Public Record Office*, third edition (pp. xxxvii, 460); *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Edward III., vol. IX., 1350-1354; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath preserved at Longleat, vol. III.

Other documentary publications: D. Patrick, *The Statutes of the Scottish Church* (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society); Ethel B. Sainsbury, *A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1635-1639*, with an introduction and notes by W. Foster (Oxford University Press); British Museum, *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers and MSS. relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth and Restoration, collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661* (London, Frowde, two volumes).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. W. C. Davis, *The English Borough* (Quarterly Review, January); J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council from Edward I. to Edward III.* (English Historical Review, January); Miss Stella Kramer, *The Amalgamation of the English Mercantile Crafts*, I. (English Historical Review, January); T. F. Henderson, *Mr. Lang and the Casket Letters* (Scottish Historical Review, January); A. W. Ward, *Queen Victoria's Letters, 1837-1861* (English Historical Review, January); *Queen Victoria's Letters* (Edinburgh Review, January); G. W. E. Russell, *The Queen and the Whigs* (Cornhill Magazine, February); Charles Menmuir, *The Social Condition of Eighteenth Century Ireland* (Westminster Review, January).

FRANCE

The celebrated geographer, M. Vidal de la Blache, has reissued in a volume entitled *La France* (Hachette, 1908), the geographical description contributed by him to M. Lavisse's *Histoire de la France*. The three hundred illustrations, in no instance selected for their picturesque character, form a new and highly valuable feature of the work.

The Vienna Academy of Sciences has entrusted to the Belgian scholar Germain Morin, the preparation of a new and critical edition of the works of the fifth-century churchman, Caesarius of Arles.

Professor Ch.-V. Langlois has brought together into a volume entitled *La Vie en France au Moyen Âge d'après Quelques Moralistes du Temps* (Paris, Hachette, 1908, pp. xix, 359) extracts from ten works, written in the vernacular, and edited with a sufficient amount of explanatory matter to make clear their value to the student of medieval manners and modes of thought.

Claude Faure's scholarly *Histoire de la Réunion de Vienne à la France, 1328-1454* (Grenoble, Allier, 1907, pp. 362) includes a number of *pièces justificatives* important for this subject.

Félix Dignonnet, administrator of the Musée Calvet of Avignon, has published an illustrated account of *Le Palais des Papes d'Avignon* (Avignon, Seguin, 1907, pp. 424) in which he sketches the history of the city of Avignon and the county of Venaissin before the coming of the popes, the causes of their residence in Avignon and of their withdrawal, and describes in detail the history of the construction of the palace as it was enlarged or altered during successive reigns. The concluding chapter is a guide to the palace in its present state.

La Maison d'Armagnac au XV^e Siècle, et les Dernières Luites de la Féodalité dans le Midi de la France, by Ch. Samaran (Picard, pp. xxi, 523) forms the seventh volume of the *Mémoires et Documents* published by the Société de l'École des Chartes.

The first volume of M. Anatole France's *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy) has gone through a remarkably large number of editions since its publication some two months ago.

M. André Marty, whose sumptuous volume on Marie Antoinette was noted in a recent number of this journal (XII. 949), has collected in a *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, d'après les Documents Originaux et les Oeuvres d'Art du XV^e au XIX^e Siècle* (Orléans, M. Marron), one hundred facsimiles of manuscripts, miniatures, prints, etc. M. Marius Sepet has written an introduction to this work, of which only 250 copies have been printed, sold at 100 francs each.

T. Douglas Murray's *Jeanne d'Arc*, which will be published by the McClure Company, contains the complete proceedings of the trial, translated from the original Latin.

Under the title *Voyages Français à Destination de la Mer du Sud avant Bougainville, 1695-1749* (extract from the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, vol. XIV., Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1907, pp. 423-568) Mr. E. W. Dahlgren, director of the Royal Library of Stockholm, has compiled a series of notices of French vessels that during this period sailed to the South Sea, stating the names of the vessels, the ports whence they originally sailed, the names of captains and owners, dates of departure and return, names of ports stopped at, and value of cargoes. The sources of information, mostly manuscript, are given in each case, and the list is preceded by an interesting general sketch of the history and results of the voyages (pp. 423-439). The author has in view the early publication of a more extended treatise on the subject.

A critical study of the text and of the historical value of the *Commentaires of Blaise de Monluc Historien* (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. xlviii, 685) by P. Courteault is based upon very extensive researches in the archives of Paris, of the French provinces and of Italy, which also throw new light on the life of Monluc, upon the political, diplomatic and military history of the reigns of Francis I. and of Henry II., and upon the first three civil wars in the south of France.

Le Parlement de Bretagne (1554-1790), a biographical repertory of all the members of the court, accompanied by chronological and other lists and preceded by an historical introduction, has been compiled by F. Saulnier for issue in 1908 through Plihon and Hommay, Rennes.

M. Frantz Funck-Brentano has written an interesting account, based on original sources, of *Mandrin, Capitaine-Général des Contrebandiers de France* (Paris, Hachette, 1908, pp. xii, 574) which traces the history and organization of the various forms of taxes and the administration of the farmers-general, and explains the popular sympathy for the prince of *contrebandiers*.

M. G. Bonet-Maury has collected into his volume entitled *France, Christianisme et Civilisation* (Paris, Hachette, 1907, pp. viii, 313) a number of articles previously printed in reviews. The five chapters of his book are entitled: Les Missions Chrétiennes et leur Rôle Civilisateur; Les Précurseurs Français du Cardinal Lavigerie dans l'Afrique Musulmane; La France et la Rédemption des Esclaves en Algérie à la Fin du XVII^e Siècle; La France et le Mouvement Antiesclavagiste au XIX^e Siècle; Le Congrès Religieux de Chicago et la Réunion des Églises. M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu contributes a preface.

A very detailed monograph by M. L. Legras on the *Histoire de la Commune de Tronquay* (Saint Lô, Imp. de Basse Normandie, 1907, pp. 222) throws fresh and important light on such economic matters as the history of taxation in France in the eighteenth century and the division of landed property.

The first volume of Maurice Dumolin's *Précis d'Histoire Militaire* (Paris, Andriveau-Goujon, pp. 980, and 100 sketches) relates to the French Revolution, and has an introduction on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some fascicles have been published of the second volume, on the Empire.

The second fascicle of Pierre Caron's *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France depuis 1789* (Paris, Cornély, 1907, pp. 160), containing 3197 numbers, completes the sections relating to internal political history and diplomatic history and begins the section relating to military history.

Professor A. Esmein of the Faculty of Paris has published a *Précis Élémentaire d'Histoire du Droit Français* during the Revolution, Consulate and Empire.

The Société des Études Robespierristes, with headquarters at the Librairie Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, has been recently organized for the purpose of finding, classifying and publishing all historical documents that will throw new light on the life and influence of Robespierre, and of investigating with scientific impartiality the history of the Revolution and of later revolutionary thought. The first number of the organ of this society, a quarterly review, *Annales Révolutionnaires* (Paris, Leroux, 1908, pp. 183) contains articles by MM. Arthur Chuquet of the Institute, Albert Mathiez, V. Barbier, Ch. Vellay and Mlle. Louise Lévi, besides notes, documents, reviews and lists of new publications. The society will also issue an edition of the complete works of Robespierre by MM. Victor Barbier and C. Vellay.

Pages Choiesies des Grands Républicains is the title of a collection that will represent most of the principal personages of the Revolution. The first volume, *Robespierre* (Paris, Schemit, pp. xxiii, 182) includes the most noteworthy passages from his discourses.

The fourth volume of L. de Lanzac de Laborie's *Paris sous Napoléon* is devoted entirely to religion. The first three volumes of this work have been awarded the Grand Prix Gobert of the French Academy and the Prix Berger of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

A translation by Dr. G. K. Fortescue of Thibaudeau's *Mémoires sur le Consulat*, originally published in Paris in 1827, will shortly be published by Messrs. Methuen under the title *Bonaparte and the Consulate*.

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher of the British Academy has brought together into a volume entitled *Bonapartism* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. iv, 122) six interesting lectures delivered by him in the University of London. He shows that the Bonapartist governments of both the First and the Second Empires "were to a large extent inspired by the same principles, rested upon the support of the same intellectual and social forces, . . . and shared in the same kind of ruin".

Lamartine et la Politique Étrangère de la Révolution de Février, 24 Février-24 Juin, 1848 (Paris, Juven) is the subject of a work by M. P. Quentin-Bauchard.

In the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* of January-February, M. A. Lichtenberger reviews the more important recent works relating to contemporary France.

The eleventh volume of the *Histoire Socialiste, 1789-1900*, published under the direction of M. Jaurès, treats of La Guerre Franco-Allemande, 1870-1871, by M. Jaurès, and La Commune, 1871, by M. L. Dubreuilh.

Documentary publications: Marquis de Ripert-Monclar, *Cartulaire de la Commanderie de Richerenches de l'Ordre de Temple* (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. clxiv, 307); A. Gazier, *Mémoires de Godefroi Hermant, Docteur de Sorbonne, Chanoine de Beauvais, Ancien Recteur de l'Université, sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique du XVII^e Siècle (1630-1663)*, IV., 1658-1661 (Paris, Plon, 1907, pp. 739); E. Arber, *The Torments of Protestant Slaves in the French King's Galleys and in the Dungeons of Marseilles, 1686-1707*, "The Christian Library", II. [Three narratives of Huguenot galley-slaves] (London, Stock); P. de Vaissière, *Lettres d'Aristocrates, 1789-1794* (Paris, Perrin, 1907, pp. xxxviii, 626); Comte Boulay de la Meurthe, *Correspondance du Duc d'Enghien (1801-1804) et Documents sur son Enlèvement et sa Mort*, II. *Découverte du Complot: la Sentence de Vincennes* [Published for the Society of Contemporary History] (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. 475); P. Fain, *Mémoires du Baron Fain* [First Secretary to Napoleon I.] (Paris, Plon); Duc de Chambord, Comte de Paris and Duc d'Orléans, *La Monarchie Française: Lettres et Documents Politiques, 1844-1907* (Paris, Nouvelle Libr. Nationale, 1907, pp. 277); A. Hélot, *Journal Politique de Charles Lacombe, Député de l'Assemblée Nationale*, II. January, 1874-November, 1877 [Publications of the Society of Contemporary History, XXXIX.] (Paris, Picard, pp. xlxi, 394.)

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Bédier, *La Légende de Raoul de Cambrai*, concl. (*Revue Historique*, January-February); H. Moranvillé, *Charles d'Artois* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, September-December); F. Aubert, *Le Parlement et la Réforme* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); L. Febvre, *Guillaume Budé et les Origines de l'Humanisme Français à propos d'Ouvrages Récents* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, December); J. Nouaillac, *Le Règne de Henri IV. (1589-1610): Sources, Travaux, et Questions à Traiter*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, November); J. de la Servière, *Les Idées Politiques du Cardinal Bellarmine*, concl. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); L. Batiffol, *Le Coup d'État du 24 Avril 1617*, II. (*Revue Historique*, January-February); H. Hauser, *Les Pouvoirs Publics et l'Organisation du Travail dans l'Ancienne France*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, December); C. Schmidt, *La*

Crise Industrielle de 1788 en France (Revue Historique, January-February); A. Carré, *L'Assemblée Constituante et la "Mise en Vacances" des Parlements, Novembre 1789-Janvier 1790*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, January); E. Déprez, *Les Origines Républicaines de Bonaparte* (Revue Historique, March-April); H. de Grimouard, *Les Origines du Domaine Extraordinaire: Le Receveur Général des Contributions de la Grande Armée, ses Attributions, ses Comptes, 1805-1810* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); G. Weill, *Les Journaux Ouvriers à Paris, 1830-1870* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, November).

ITALY AND SPAIN

The first part of the second volume (*Guelfen und Ghibellinen*) of Dr. R. M. Davidsohn's *Geschichte von Florenz* treats of the *Staufische Kämpfe* (Berlin, Mittler, 1908, pp. xii, 621). The same author has also issued through the same house the fourth part of *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz* (1908, pp. vi, 616), on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

André Bonnefons has published a study of the fate of Venice, as a neutral state under the Revolution, under the title *La Chute de la République de Venise, 1789-1797* (Paris, Perrin).

The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries (University of Chicago Press) a contribution to the study of Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, by Professor Camillo von Klenze of Brown University, is of interest to the student of European culture.

La Jeune Italie et la Jeune Europe, a collection of unpublished letters by Joseph Mazzini to Louis-Amédée Melegari, has been edited by Dora Melegari and issued by the Librairie Fischbacher.

In honor of the first centenary of the birth of Garibaldi, the municipality of Bologna is offering a prize of 10,000 francs for the best historical account of the Expedition of the Thousand. The manuscripts, which may be in Italian, French, English or German, must be received by June 30, 1910.

In the *Revue Historique* for March-April Don Rafael Altamira gives an extensive general survey of the publications of 1901-1906 on the history of Spain, M. Georges Bourgin of recent books on the history of Italy in the nineteenth century.

Under the patronage of the legislative assembly of Barcelona has been established an "Instituto de Estudios Catalanes" with purposes partly historical. It announces as its first publication a volume of *Documents para l'Historia de la Cultura Catalana*, edited by Don Antonio Rubió y Lluch, to be followed by *Les Monedes Catalanes*, by Señor Botet y Sisó.

Dr. Henry C. Lea's new work on *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (Macmillan, 1908, pp. xvi, 564) is a detailed investigation into the careers of tribunals in Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Milan, the Canaries, Mexico, Peru and New Granada.

Documentary publications: Friar Alonso de Espinosa, *The Guanches of Tenerife: the Holy Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, and the Spanish Conquest and Settlement*, translated and edited by Sir Clements Markham (London, Hakluyt Society, pp. xxvi, 221); *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, XI., eds. Fita and Oliver [Cortes of 1412-1414 and supplements to 1305, 1307 and 1357].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. A. Navarro, *Los Señores Aragoneses: Actos de Posesión y Homenajes* (Cultura Española, November); A. Marx, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Jewish Quarterly Review, January).

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Longmans is publishing a new volume of posthumous lectures by Bishop Stubbs on *Germany in the Dark and Middle Ages*.

Numbers four and five in the series of *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer) edited by Professors Brandenburg, Seeliger and Wilcken are *Die Gerichtsbefugnisse der Patrimonialen Gewalten in Niederösterreich: Ursprung und Entwicklung von Grund-, Dorf- und Vogtobrigkeit* (pp. viii, 100) by Dr. P. Osswald and *August der Starke und die Pragmatische Sanktion* (pp. xv, 139) by Dr. A. Philipp.

The first volume of the *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Friedrich I.* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1908, pp. xxiv, 784) by H. Simonsfeld covers the years 1152 to 1158.

Dr. D. H. Siebert's *Beiträge zur Vorreformatoren Heiligen- und Reliquienverehrung* (1907, pp. xi, 64) forms the first heft of the sixth volume of *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* (Freiburg, Herder), edited by L. Pastor.

Volume X. of the *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot), edited by Walther Stein, extends from 1471 to 1485, and contains many documents relating to important international negotiations, as well as a great store of documents for the history of commerce.

The principal works published in 1906 concerning the modern and contemporaneous history of Germany are reviewed by M. Philippson in the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* of January-February.

The first heft of the *Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot) edited by Max Jansen is a work by the editor on *Die Anfänge der Fugger, bis 1494* (1907, pp. x, 200).

The first volume of Professor F. Thudichum's history of *Die Deutsche Reformation, 1517-1537* (Leipzig, Sängewald, 1907, pp. 614) comes down to 1525.

A Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort, 1554-1558 (London, Stock), attributed to William Whittingham, introduces the reader to Calvin, Beza, Knox and other divines. The volume is the first of a series of reprints, which will be issued by Mr. Edward Arber under the title "A Christian Library".

Mr. C. T. Atkinson, fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, is publishing *A History of Germany from 1713 to 1815* (Methuen).

The principal contribution to the *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte* for 1907, published at Herrnhut, by the Society for the History of the Moravian Brethren, is the journal for the years 1716-1719 of Count Nicolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf, the founder of the society. Besides this semi-annual periodical the society will publish in separate volumes the sources of the history of the Moravian Brethren.

Heinrich Friedjung, whose book on *Der Krimkrieg und die Österreichische Politik* was reviewed in a recent number of this journal, has since published the first of two volumes on *Österreich von 1848 bis 1860* (Berlin, Cotta).

Documentary publications: H. Bloch, *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur; Cronica Hohenburgensia cum continuatione et additamentis Neoburgensibus; Annales Alsatici Breviores*. [Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum] (Hanover, Hahn, pp.xxiv, 167); M. A. Currie, *The Letters of Martin Luther* [translated from the Latin collection edited by De Wette] (London, Macmillan).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

In the sixty-sixth volume of the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (Brussels, Kiessling, 1907, pp. xcvi, 536) Abbé A. Cauchie, professor at Louvain, gives an inventory of the archives of Margaret of Parma, and other inventories from the Farnesi archives at Naples; M. Henri Lonchay gives an account of the archives of Simancas from the point of view of the history of the Low Countries in the seventeenth century, and presents an inventory of the petitions to the Supreme Council of Flanders and Burgundy, prepared by Señor Julian Paz of the archives of Simancas; and Professor Carlo Bornate of Spezia prints a memoir of Chancellor Mercurino de Gattinara on the rights of Charles V. over the duchy of Burgundy and its dependencies, which he found in the archives of the Marquis de Gattinara.

Volume XXIX. of the *Verslagen omtrent 'sRijks Oude Archieven* (the Hague, 1907, pp. 533) contains, besides the customary annual reports of the Rijksarchief at the Hague and the archives of the

provinces, an extensive list of the unusually important acquisitions made by the former during 1906, and an inventory of the archives of the Anabaptist community in Middelburg, extending from 1694 (in a sense from 1577). The volume concludes with the annual reports of the Commission of Advice on National Historical Publications and of the Historical Institute in Rome.

In the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, vol. XXVIII., Abbé Brom has studied in detail the effects of the Great Schism in the diocese of Utrecht (practically the Netherlands). A further and recently discovered portion of the correspondence of Joan Derck van der Capellen tot den Pol, printed in this volume, should, like the volume published in 1879, contain valuable material for the history of the American Revolution.

EASTERN EUROPE

Kulturgrenze und Kulturzyklus in den Polnischen Westbeskiden (Gotha, Perthes, 1907, pp. vii, 115), a contribution to anthropo-geography by Dr. Erwin Hanslik, is *Ergänzungsheft* no. 158 of *Petermanns Mitteilungen*.

The Cambridge University Press has published in the Cambridge Historical Series a work by Mr. R. Nisbet Bain on *Slavonic Europe: a Political History of Poland and Russia from 1447 to 1796* (1908, pp. 452) which is believed to be the only compendium in English relating to precisely this theme.

The first volume of Professor N. Jorga's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, which has recently been published in Professor Lamprecht's series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte: Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, comes down to the year 1451.

Dr. Samuel N. Harper, associate in Russian in the University of Chicago, presents in a pamphlet of fifty-six pages, published by the University of Chicago Press, a thorough, and partly historical, study of *The New Electoral Law for the Russian Duma*.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Professor Carl Russell Fish of the University of Wisconsin will go to Italy next summer, as a "research associate" of the Carnegie Institution, to spend a year in investigation of the Roman archives and the preparation of an inventory of the materials they contain for the history of the United States. Mr. Leland and Professor Bolton continue till September their investigations in Paris and Mexico. The second edition of the *Guide to the Archives of the Government in*

Washington has appeared, and is described on another page. Professor Allison has nearly completed the collection of material for his inventory of archives for the religious history of the United States. The *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States, to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge*, by Professor Andrews and Miss Davenport, is in the press. It will make a volume of about 500 pages. The annual report of the director of the Department of Historical Research for 1907 (9 pp.) has been issued separately from the sixth *Year-Book* of the Institution. Progress has been made with the volumes of treaties, of letters of delegates to the Continental Congress and of Parliamentary proceedings and debates respecting America, and with the list of Spanish transcripts in the United States. In accordance with recent action of the trustees of the Carnegie Institution, publications of the Department must hereafter be obtained by purchase.

The annual bibliography entitled *Writings on American History, 1906*, compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin, is now in press, and may be expected to be published (Macmillan) in May. Much of the work of compiling the volume for 1907 has been accomplished. By the kindness of Dr. James Bain, chief librarian of the Toronto Public Library, arrangements have been effected whereby the Canadian section will be made much more complete than it could be made by work in Washington alone.

The Department of Economics and Sociology in the Carnegie Institution of Washington reports the completion of a volume on the *State Works of Pennsylvania*, by Mr. A. L. Bishop, of one on the *History of Railway Finance*, by Professor F. A. Cleveland, of one on the *History of Transportation in the Southern Cotton Belt, to 1861*, by Professor U. B. Phillips, of one on the *History of the Organization of Ocean Commerce*, by Dr. J. Russell Smith, and of monographs on the history of banking in Pennsylvania and in Florida, by Messrs. J. H. Holdsworth and D. Y. Thomas respectively. Of Miss Hasse's index to the economic material in state publications the Institution has published the parts relating to Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York, and those relating to Massachusetts and Rhode Island are in press.

Among the manuscripts recently acquired by the Library of Congress may be mentioned: some miscellaneous matter relating to the War of 1812, from the papers of Brigadier-General John McNeil; some miscellaneous papers of A. H. H. Stuart and John Esten Cooke of Virginia; a number of legal documents in the writing of Roger Sherman; the original manuscript of Condorcet's *Éloge* of Benjamin Franklin; a number of Revolutionary papers from New Hampshire; and a good collection of Tennessee political broadsides. The transcripts of Spanish documents relating to the Spanish settlements of the United States,

made by the late Woodbury Lowery, have been received and are now accessible; as are the papers obtained from the New Orleans Custom House. These last relate to the early commerce of the Mississippi Valley and to the management of the Custom House while New Orleans was under the Confederacy.

The sixth volume of the "Original Narratives of Early American History", devoted to Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, has appeared. The seventh and eighth, comprising Dr. James K. Hosmer's edition of Winthrop's *Journal*, is in the press. The ninth and tenth, *Narratives of New Netherland* and Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence*, both edited by J. F. Jameson, are in preparation. In the case of the former, great pains are being taken to substitute correct translations from the Dutch for the incorrect versions of New Netherland narratives now current. The volume will comprise Meteren's and Juet's narratives of Hudson's voyage, the appropriate portions of De Laet, Wassenauer and De Vries, the letters of Rasières, Michaelius and Jogues, the journey of 1634 to the Mohawks, the account of them by Megapolensis, Jogues's *Novum Belgium*, the "Journal of New Netherland" of 1647, the *Vertoogh* of 1650 and Van Tienhoven's reply, Bogaert's letter to Bontemantel, several letters to the Classis of Amsterdam, Van Ruyven's journal, an unpublished description of Manhattan in 1662, the town council's account of the surrender and Stuyvesant's defence.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at its annual meeting of October, 1907, contains an article by Professor Edward Channing on Colonel Thomas Dongan; a paper entitled "Was it Andros?" by Mr. Andrew MacFarland Davis, on alterations in a pamphlet of 1688 respecting the erection of a bank; and a calendar of those manuscripts of Sir William Johnson possessed by the society, prepared by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln.

Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, goes to England in May to spend three months in researches connected with the editing, which he has undertaken for the American Antiquarian Society, of two volumes of the royal proclamations respecting America, extending from 1607 to 1815.

In the September issue of the *Magazine of History* Mr. George C. Benedict gives an account of the recovery of the Fay Records, the minutes of the general conventions of Vermont made by the secretary, Jonas Fay, which were recently discovered in the Library of Congress. The October number of the magazine opens with a first paper by Albert S. Batchellor bearing the title: "The Ranger Service in the Upper Valley of the Connecticut, and the Most Northerly Regiment of New Hampshire Militia in the period of the Revolution". There is a brief article on Michael Hillegas, and an account of "The Massacre of the

Verendrye Party at Lake of the Woods", by N. H. Winchell. In the November issue Mr. Batchellor's second paper on the ranger service appears, and Dr. F. C. Clark of Providence begins a series of papers bearing the title: "The Maryland Episode", dealing with the question of religious toleration in the colony. In the same issue are some letters of Washington, Jefferson and Henry Laurens. One of the Jefferson letters is of date August 25, 1814, and discusses the slavery question.

No. 16 of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society (1907, pp. xvii, 230) contains further notes on the history of the Jews in Surinam, by Rev. P. A. Hilfman, accompanied by a provisional catalogue of the old records of the Dutch-Portuguese congregation in Paramaribo; an account of the struggle for religious liberty in North Carolina, with special reference to the Jews, by Mr. Leon Hühner; two papers on Jacob Philadelphia, the mystic and physicist, relating to his early life and to his relations with Frederick the Great; and an elaborate study, by Mr. Samuel Oppenheim, of a Jewish colony established on the Pomeroon River in Western Guiana, in 1658, and destroyed by an English incursion from Barbados by John Scott, in 1666. The Dutch grant of privileges for this colony is shown by Mr. Oppenheim to have been the origin of the British grant of privileges to the Jews of Surinam in 1665.

The German American Historical Society held its annual meeting in Philadelphia on January 6. Former Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker spoke of the part which Anabaptists and Quakers had played in the history of Pennsylvania, and Dr. C. J. Hexamer discussed the topic "Research in German American History as a Patriotic Motive of American Citizenship". Other brief addresses were made.

The *Year-Book of the Swedish-American Historical Society* (Chicago, 1907, pp. 64) contains an article by Mr. Oliver A. Linder, entitled "John Morton: En af Revolutionens Svensk-Amerikaner". Morton of Pennsylvania, signer of the Declaration of Independence, is classed as above on account of his descent from Morton Mortenson, a Swedish immigrant to New Sweden. The proceedings of the society are to be published in English, except that papers read or presented in Swedish will be printed in that language. The society is endeavoring to collect a Swedish-American library in Chicago.

The January number of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* contains a good deal of matter relating to privateers and privateersmen of the Revolution. Among the historical documents in this number are a report by the "Committee of Grievances and Courts", May 22, 1751, against papists of Maryland sending children to foreign seminaries; and a protest of Church of England ministers of Maryland against popish schoolmasters and popish priests.

The volume of *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society issued in November (volume V., part 1.,

pp. 247) contains an unusual number of valuable articles. Mr. A. F. Bandelier contributes a study of the Indians and aboriginal ruins near Chachapoyas in Northern Peru; Dr. A. M. Fernandez de Ybarra gives a sketch of Diego Alvarez Chanca, of Seville, a physician who accompanied Columbus on his voyage to America in 1493; Dr. C. G. Herbermann writes in an interesting manner of New York a hundred and twenty years ago, on the basis of the city's first directory; and Rev. John J. O'Brien presents a useful account of the career of "The Rev. Gabriel Richard: Educator, Statesman and Priest". Nearly thirty pages of the volume are taken up with letters of Rev. P. J. de Smet, S. J. The letters appear in translation made by John E. Cahalan, are of the period 1849-1860, and relate chiefly to missionary enterprises among the Indians.

The Viscount de Fronsac contributes to the January number of the *American Historical Magazine* an article entitled: "The Honorable Matthew Forsyth [1699-1791] and the Scottish Influence in America". "The Stolen Plate", by T. J. Chapman, discusses the incident of the French leaden plate delivered by an Indian chief to Sir William Johnson in 1750. In the series of "Post Revolution Letters" are several letters of interest, one from Lafayette to Washington, written from Paris in November, 1783; one from William Ellery to Oliver Wolcott, jr., October 3, 1796, relative to some appointments; and several from Samuel Meredith, first treasurer of the United States, to his wife in 1790, which touch upon affairs in Congress.

The second volume (F to L) of Bradford's *Bibliographer's Manual of American History*, edited and revised by Stan. V. Henkels, is now out.

Messrs. Callaghan have recently issued a new edition of Boyd's *Cases on Constitutional Law*, published some ten years ago.

The Library of Congress has issued a *List of Works relating to Political Parties in the United States*, compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, chief bibliographer. The list has to do with books and articles on the formation and history of political parties in the United States, but not with those on the general political history of the nation, unless treating of party organization or party action.

Messrs. Harper and Brothers have issued *Decisive Battles of the Law*, by Frederick Trevor Hill. The book contains accounts of the following contests: United States *vs.* Callender, United States *vs.* Burr, Commonwealth of Virginia *vs.* John Brown, Scott *vs.* Sanford, the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson, the Alabama Arbitration, the Hayes-Tilden Contest and the People of Illinois *vs.* Spies.

The January number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* is a "symposium" of articles and addresses on "American Waterways". Some of the papers possess his-

torical as well as economic interest, notably, "Atlantic Coastwise Canals: their History and Present Status", by Dr. G. D. Luetscher; "The Anthracite-Tidewater Canals", by Dr. Chester Lloyd Jones; and "The New York Canals", by Professor John A. Fairlie.

The monograph of James M. Motley, Ph.D., entitled *Apprenticeship in American Trade Unions*, which appears as one of the Johns Hopkins University Studies, is, in about half of its contents, an historical study, containing useful chapters on apprenticeship as regulated by government, custom, trade-unions and trade agreement.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

A recent bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology is *Skeletal Remains suggesting or attributed to early Man in North America*, by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, a study of all the known American human remains for which geological antiquity has been claimed.

A work of considerable magnitude and of importance for the investigation of our colonial history, undertaken by Lyman H. Weeks and Edwin M. Bacon as editors, and the Society Americana as publishers, is the preparation of *An Historical Digest of the Provincial Press*. The work is to be a digest of all items of personal reference and of historic events and documents printed in the newspapers of the provincial period. Many documents will be printed in their entirety, others reproduced in copious abstracts. The arrangement will be chronological, and a system of references will indicate the source and location of the original prints. The whole set will comprise twenty volumes of some five hundred pages each. Each volume will be provided with a copious index, and an exhaustive personal and analytical index, in a single volume, will conclude the series. The work is to be typographically attractive and will be illustrated with facsimiles of publications and with portraits.

The *Tagebuch* of Philipp Waldeck, chaplain of the third Waldeck regiment during its service in the Revolutionary War, has been published by the Americana Germanica Press, under the title *Philipp Waldeck's Diary of the American Revolution* (pp. xiii, 146) with an introduction by Professor Marion Dexter Learned. The text is printed from an original manuscript copy, now in possession of Dr. J. G. Rosengarten of Philadelphia, which varies somewhat from what is known as the Bancroft copy in the Lenox Library. The more important variations are indicated by Professor Learned in his introduction. The diary begins on May 20, 1776, the day the regiment marched out of Korbach, and ends in December, 1780, in Pensacola, where the Waldeckers had long been stationed. (The Rosengarten copy ends abruptly in March, several leaves having been lost.) The entries vary from brief exclamations anent the weather to passages occupying several pages. The fortunes of the regiment are chronicled as a rule briefly;

the longer passages are usually comments on customs and events or descriptions of scenes and places. There are also occasional accounts by Chaplain Waldeck of the performance of his spiritual functions. The diary is an important source for the history of the German allied troops, but it is also of interest for the glimpses of colonial life reflected from this German mind.

The Maine Society of the Sons of the American Revolution have published the proceedings at the unveiling, October 17, 1907, of the marker erected at Valley Forge by the state of Maine, under the auspices of the society, in honor of the Maine men, more than a thousand in number, who were at Valley Forge with Washington in the winter of 1777-1778. The chief address was one by Augustus F. Moulton of Portland, rehearsing the story of the winter at Valley Forge, and of Maine's representatives in Washington's army.

In *Old South Leaflets*, no. 186, Pelatiah Webster's *Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States* has been reprinted.

It is announced that Messrs. Putnam are to bring out, as a separate work in two volumes with the title *Madison's Journals of the Constitutional Convention*, the two volumes devoted to that matter in Mr. Gailard Hunt's edition of the *Writings of James Madison*. We hope that it is not too late to protest against so inappropriate a title.

The *American Political Science Review* for February contains a valuable discussion of the "Political Theories of the Supreme Court from 1789 to 1835", by Charles G. Haines.

The Romance of an Old Time Shipmaster, edited by Ralph Paine, comprises the letters and journals of Captain John Willard Russell of Bristol, Rhode Island, a mariner who made numerous voyages to the West Indies during the period 1796 to 1813, and one to Africa on a slaving venture. The work is of interest for the picture of life on the sea in those times, particularly for the glimpse of the slave traffic, given by a man of some culture and taste.

The next number of this journal will contain the papers taken from Captain Zebulon M. Pike at Chihuahua in May, 1807, and lately discovered in the Mexican archives by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, together with some papers at Washington casting light on the origin and purposes of Pike's expedition.

The Addresses, Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Writings of Millard Fillmore, edited by Frank H. Severance of the Buffalo Historical Society, an undertaking mentioned hitherto in these pages, has been issued by the society. The work is in two volumes, comprising volumes X. and XI. of the society's *Publications*.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas joint debate is to be further commemorated by the publication through the Macmillan

Company of *Stephen A. Douglas: a Study in American Politics*, the work of Professor Allen Johnson of Bowdoin College. Professor Johnson has made use of material hitherto unpublished and aims to give an authentic and impartial account of Douglas's career as a national figure.

Lincoln and the New York Herald, privately printed at Plainfield, N. J., contains unpublished letters of Abraham Lincoln from the collection of Judd Stewart. There are facsimiles of letters written by Lincoln to George G. Fogg, secretary of the first Republican National Convention.

It is now announced by the publishers of *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, the McClure Company, that a third volume of the reminiscences was prepared by Mr. Schurz, bringing the narrative of his career down to the administration of Grant, and will be added to the two volumes already published. They announce also that a large quantity of material was left from which a further volume will be prepared by a competent historian to whom the work has already been entrusted.

Edward B. Eaton of Hartford has published a volume of original photographs taken on the battlefields during the Civil War by Mathew B. Brady and Alexander Gardner, who operated under the authority of the War Department and the protection of the secret service. The reproductions in this volume are selected from among the seven thousand original negatives now in the possession of Mr. Eaton.

The University Press of Sewanee, Tennessee, are the publishers of a life of General Edmund Kirby-Smith, by Arthur H. Noll. The book is made up largely of the letters of General Kirby-Smith.

Moffat, Yard and Company are about to bring out an account of *Stuart's Cavalry in the Gettysburg Campaign*, by Colonel John S. Mosby. The book will include also a sketch of the battle of Chancellorsville, in which Stuart succeeded Jackson.

Mr. Paul C. Chamberlain, son of Daniel H. Chamberlain, who was governor of South Carolina in 1874-1875, is engaged in the preparation of a life of his father and would be glad to communicate with persons who may possess letters of Governor Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain's address is 10 Torrington Square, London, W. C., England.

It is understood that Mr. Sherman Evarts is preparing an elaborate biography of his father, the late William M. Evarts, Secretary of State.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Maine Historical Society has published in an illustrated pamphlet of fifty-eight pages an account of the proceedings at the society's celebration of the ter-centenary of the landing of the Popham colonists at the mouth of the Kennebec, August 29, 1607, containing addresses by the Honorable James P. Baxter, president of the society, Professor

Henry L. Chapman of Bowdoin College, Reverend Henry S. Burrage and Mr. Fritz H. Jordan.

The first number of *The Massachusetts Magazine* (January, 1908), a new quarterly, "devoted to Massachusetts history, genealogy and biography", has just made its appearance. The editor is Thomas F. Waters and the publishers are the Salem Press Company. The *Magazine* expects to include: a compilation of the records of all the military organizations of the state in the Revolutionary War; pictures and short accounts of famous old houses; accounts of Massachusetts pioneers to other states; sketches of Massachusetts historical writers; errors in genealogy. There will be a regular "Department of the American Revolution", conducted by Dr. Frank A. Gardner, and a department of "Pilgrims and Planters", under the charge of Lucie M. Gardner. For the present number Thomas F. Waters writes an article on "Whittier, the Poet, as Historian"; and F. A. Gardner contributes articles on "Colonel John Glover's Marblehead Regiment" and "The Founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony". Sketches of several historical writers are given.

The next volume of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society will contain a paper by Mr. Charles Francis Adams on President Lincoln's offer of a high military command to Garibaldi, a paper by Mr. Frank B. Sanborn on the history of Kansas from 1854 to 1861, a batch of documents referring to the John Brown trial, and some letters which passed between Edward Everett and John McLean in 1828 on the use of official patronage.

Old South Leaflet, no. 184, is a portion of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, relating to the early history of Harvard College. No. 185 contains Mather's biographical sketches of the first two presidents, Dunster and Chauncy.

A valuable and interesting paper on *Early Oriental Commerce in Providence*, by Mr. William B. Weeden, has been printed in advance from the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for December, 1907.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have brought out a new edition, in one volume (pp. xv, 560), of Mr. I. B. Richman's *Rhode Island: its Making and its Meaning*, published in two volumes in 1902.

The orderly-book of Colonel Christopher Greene, mentioned in these pages in January, has been presented to the Rhode Island Historical Society. The society has also received, as a gift from Senator Wetmore, the original volume containing the list of vessels sailing from Newport from 1785 to 1788, of interest chiefly for its description of the commerce of Newport.

The State of Connecticut in 1889 published a volume of *Record of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution*. New rolls coming to

light, the Connecticut Historical Society published in 1901 as the eighth volume of its collections *Rolls and Lists of Connecticut Men in the Revolution*. Sufficient information remaining still unpublished, the society is now preparing and during the current year will print as the twelfth volume of its *Collections* another volume of names of Connecticut men who served in the Revolution.

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan has recently presented to the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, and that institution has deposited with the Connecticut Historical Society, a series of fifty-three manuscript letters written by Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford to Gen. Nathanael Greene. The letters are of the Revolutionary period, 1779-1785.

Records of the Congregational Church in Turkey Hills, now the Town of East Granby, Connecticut, 1776-1858, is the title of a volume of 158 pages recently published by Albert C. Bates, librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, as the third in his "Turkey Hills Series" of records.

The editor of *Old^e Ulster* contributes to the January number of that periodical a short article relative to the use of the phrase "The Silver Covenant Chain", which frequently appears in the treaties made by the New York Indians. In the February number appears a first paper on Governor George Clinton; a sketch, "The Story of Kingston" and a continued paper, "Vaughan's Second Expedition". The latter article embodies a letter of some length from Commodore Hotham to Admiral Howe, October 9, 1777.

Silver, Burdett and Company have brought out a volume entitled *Reminiscences of Ogdensburg, 1749-1907*, edited by the Swe-kat-si chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Volume XXVI. of the *New Jersey Archives*, though bearing the imprint date, 1904, has but recently come from the press. This is the seventh of those volumes devoted to extracts from American newspapers relating to New Jersey, and covers the years 1768 and 1769. There is the usual variety of material, illustrating practically all phases of life, but it is noteworthy that so large a proportion of the extracts relate to economic conditions. There are many farms for sale and many executions for debt, as well as other indications of discontent; but there are indications also of development and progress. A number of important items are concerned with political problems, including the question of colonial relation to Parliament and the similar problem of the New Jersey episcopate.

The paper on "German Archives as Sources of German-American History", read before the Pennsylvania German Society in October, by Dr. Joseph G. Rosengarten, is printed in the November-December issue of *German-American Annals*. Professor Marion D. Learned's life of Pastorius is continued through the January-February issue. It is

announced that the *Annals* will shortly publish an article on "The History of the Germans in Texas", and another on "The Germans in Missouri".

The contributions in the January number of the *Pennsylvania-German* to the symposium on "The Pennsylvania-German in his Relation to Education", are: "A German Schoolmaster of 'Ye Olden Time'", by George May; "Three-score Years of Public-School Work", by John M. Wolf; "Reminiscences of a Former Hereford Schoolboy", by the editor. In the February issue appears an English translation of the sketch of Henry William [Baron] Stiegel contributed by C. F. Huch to the *Mitteilungen* of the Deutsche Pionier-Verein, also a brief historical sketch of Sumneytown and vicinity, by J. L. Roush.

History of Old Germantown, with a description of its settlement and some account of its important persons, buildings and places connected with its development, is the joint product of Dr. Naaman H. Keyser, C. H. Kain, J. P. Garber and H. F. McCann.

The *Westonian* (Westtown, Pa.) in its issue of "eleventh month, 1907", presents a useful article on "Quaker Literature in the Libraries of Philadelphia", by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds (pp. 22-203).

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an unusual amount of valuable historical matter. "The Correspondence of Governor Eden" (June, 1771, to March, 1775) and "Some Revolutionary Letters" (Gist Papers), are the most important documentary publications. Dr. Bernard C. Steiner contributes an article on "Reports of the British Board of Trade and Plantations while Maryland was a Royal Province", quoting largely from reports of 1702 and 1703. An article under the heading "Maryland in 1773" is answers to queries that were sent by the Lords of Trade and Plantations to the lieutenant-governor of Maryland in the year 1761. "An Atlantic Voyage in the Seventeenth Century", by Henry F. Thompson, is based mainly on the "Journalls of the Outward and Homeward-bound Passages" of the ships *Constant Friendship* and *Baltimore*, which were in Maryland in 1671 and 1673. DeCourcy W. Thom contributes an article on "The Old Senate Chamber at Annapolis", and T. J. C. Williams a paper on Washington County, Maryland. A letter of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon (January 29, 1768), reporting the completion of their survey, also possesses a certain interest.

In the "Johns Hopkins University Studies" Mr. Hugh S. Hanna has a carefully composed and intelligent summary (pp. 131) entitled *The Financial History of Maryland, 1789-1848*.

The first volume of *Men of Mark in Maryland* has come from the press of Johnson-Wynne Company, Washington. The work contains an introductory chapter on Maryland: Proprietary Province and State, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner. There are numerous full-page engravings.

The *Fourth Annual Report of the Library Board of the Virginia State Library*, dated November 1, 1907, reports considerable progress made in the preparation of the proposed Calendar of Petitions and of the proposed Bibliography of Colonial Virginia, though much of the time of the departments of archives and bibliography was in 1907 consumed by labors connected with the Jamestown Exposition. The remarkable exhibit of historical manuscripts which the library made at that exposition is fully described in an itemized list in one of the appendixes.

The Virginia State Library has begun the issue of a quarterly *Bulletin*. The first number (January, 1908) is a "provisional list of works on genealogy and works helpful in genealogical research in the Virginia State Library, including references to family names occurring frequently in the more comprehensive Virginia genealogies". The list of works occupies six pages of the bulletin, the list of family names twenty-one.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* will continue during 1908 the publications of the journals of the council of Virginia in executive sessions, Virginia legislative papers, and Revolutionary army orders for the main army under Washington, 1778-1779. It is also in contemplation to print during the present year the volume of commissions, letters, etc., kept by the clerk of the council, 1690-1698, to begin the printing of the unpublished portions of the collection of Virginia records known as the Randolph Manuscripts, and to resume the publication of abstracts and copies from the English records, filling in the gap between 1625 and 1628 and continuing the series from 1640, the date at which it was suspended two years ago. The latest number of the *Magazine* (January) prints, in addition to the series hitherto noted, some documents relating to the French and Indian War, 1755-1762, edited by Charles E. Kemper; and some orders and proclamations for Virginia, 1664 to 1666, relative to prizes, protection of shipping, etc.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* resumes, in the January issue, the publication of the diary of Colonel Landon Carter, which was suspended a year ago. The portions here printed are of the year 1776. Among the other documentary publications in this issue is a selection of papers, of the later eighteenth century, relating to William and Mary College.

A History of Orange County, Virginia, from its Formation in 1734 to the End of Reconstruction in 1870, by W. W. Scott (Richmond, E. Waddey Company, pp. 292) is said to be compiled mainly from original records.

The stenographic notes of debates in the convention which framed the first constitution for the state of West Virginia, made by an assistant clerk of the body, Granville D. Hall, have been acquired by the

Department of Archives and History of West Virginia, and will eventually be published by the department. The notes when printed will make three or four volumes.

A general index to the first seven volumes of the *Biographical History of North Carolina*, by Samuel A. Ashe, has been issued. An index to the entire work will appear in the last volume.

The Genesis of South Carolina, 1562-1670, mainly a volume of reprints, with an introduction by W. A. Courtenay, is privately printed at Columbia by the State Company. The contents of the volume are: Laudonnière's narrative, 1562; W. N. Sainsbury, *Later Settlements of French Protestants in America* (reprinted from the *Antiquary*, London, 1881); the preface to the fifth volume of *Collections* of the South Carolina Historical Society; William Hilton's *Relation*, 1664; Robert Sandford, "A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of South Carolina", 1666 (now first printed from the Shaftesbury Papers in the Public Record Office, London); "A Relation of the Voyage of the Colonists who sailed from the Thames in August, 1669, and founded Charlestown" (now first printed from the Shaftesbury Papers); and "The Discoveries of John Lederer", 1672.

The first volume of *Men of Mark in South Carolina* has appeared. It is edited by J. C. Hemphill and published by Men of Mark Publishing Company, Washington.

The *Sixth Annual Report* of the director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi, Dr. Dunbar Rowland (pp. 59), covers the period from October 1, 1906, to October 1, 1907. Beside the data usual in such reports, information is especially given concerning progress of archive researches in foreign countries for the benefit of Mississippi history. Including the period to the present month, the department has received ten volumes of transcripts from the Public Record Office in London, relating to the English occupation of West Florida, three volumes from the French archives, and six from the Archives of the Indies and Seville. The first volume of the *Mississippi Provincial Archives, English Dominion*, is in course of preparation and is expected to be ready for publication during the coming summer. A new issue of the quadrennial *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register*, containing more abundant historical data than the edition for 1904, will be ready for distribution April 15.

The Mississippi Historical Society held its ninth public meeting at Jackson, January 9 and 10. Of the numerous papers read at the two sessions of the society the following may be mentioned: "The Work of the Mississippi Historical Society", by Professor Franklin L. Riley; "What an Historical Society Should Accomplish", by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart; "Aaron Burr in Mississippi", by Bishop Charles B. Galloway; "Jefferson Davis at West Point", by Professor Walter L.

Fleming; "The Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Mississippi", by Rev. T. L. Haman. There were also papers on reconstruction in some Mississippi counties. In connection with the meeting of the society there was a special conference of history teachers at which conditions and problems were discussed from many points of view.

Provided a sufficient number of subscriptions can be obtained, officials of the archives of the Ministry of the Colonies of the French Republic propose to print a detailed calendar of the documents in the series "Correspondance Générale, Louisiane". Beside the fifty-eight volumes embraced in the series properly so entitled, it is intended to include a list of the letters sent, in Series B, relating to Louisiana, and such other Louisiana material as may be found in the colonial archives. The work would be published in one or two volumes, at a price of between ten and twenty francs. The utility of such a work for Southwestern history would be so great that we cordially hope that all who take an interest in its promotion and who could ensure subscriptions to the volume will write to M. Wirth, at the archives of the Ministry of Colonies, expressing such encouragement.

Among the doctoral dissertations presented to the Faculty of Letters at the University of Paris, in December, was one by M. Pierre Heinrich on "La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717-1731", which may be expected ultimately to be printed.

A paper in the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association for January by Miss Kate Mason Rowland on General John Thomson Mason, "an early friend of Texas", contains much material of value for Texan history in the thirties. Letters to and from General Mason as confidential agent of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company are largely quoted. In the same number of the *Quarterly* Charles W. Ramsdell presents a study of "Texas from the Fall of the Confederacy to the Beginning of Reconstruction", based largely on official records and newspapers. There is also a translation, by Mrs. Mattie Austin Hatcher, of "Joaquin de Arredondo's Report of the Battle of the Medina, August 18, 1813".

The valuable collection of documents known as the Austin Papers, in the possession of the University of Texas, are being arranged, catalogued and made available for historical reference. The collection contains some ten thousand documents of all sorts—letters, decrees of the Mexican government, agreements, etc.—ranging in date from about 1790 to 1836.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, whose origin has been described in our article on the Madison meeting, proposes to hold two meetings each year, one in December, in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, the other in June. The meeting of June 1908 will be held at Lake Minnetonka, Minnesota.

The Macmillan Company announce for early publication *The Wilderness Road*, by H. Addington Bruce. The central theme of the book is the opening up of the trans-Alleghany region in the last half of the eighteenth century, and Daniel Boone is the central figure.

The *Quarterly Publication* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio prints in its issue for July-September a number of letters, mainly from the collection of Torrence Papers in the possession of the society, designed to illustrate certain phases of the earlier political and personal career of General William Henry Harrison. Nine of the sixteen letters here printed are from Harrison himself, ranging in date from 1800 to 1828. The letters are arranged and edited by Professor Isaac J. Cox, who purposes treating the later correspondence of General Harrison in a subsequent issue of the *Quarterly*.

The January issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* devotes some thirty pages to accounts of the old forts Loramie and Pickawillany. There are brief articles on "Rivalry between Early Ohio and Kentucky Settlers", "The John Morgan Raid in Ohio" and "The Indian Attack on Fort Dunlap", the latter by Stephen D. Cone.

Mr. C. E. Lart, of Dorset, England, contributes to the January issue of the "*Old Northwest*" *Genealogical Quarterly* a first paper on "The Noblesse of Canada". The papers of Governor Allen Trimble (1823-1830), which the *Quarterly* has been publishing for some months, occupy a large portion of the present number.

The Indiana State Library is the recipient of a collection of letters and other manuscript materials relating to Sunday-school work in the United States during more than half a century. The collection was made by the late William H. Levering.

The papers on internal improvements in Indiana, which appear in the December number of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, relate to early movements for railroad building in the state.

The Illinois State Historical Society has now in press the volume of the *Lincoln-Douglas Debates* edited by Professor Edwin Erle Sparks. Meanwhile three other important documentary volumes are being edited for the society: *The Letter-books of the Early Governors of Illinois*, by Professor E. B. Greene; *The George Rogers Clark Papers*, by Professor J. A. James; and *The Kaskaskia Records*, by Professor C. W. Alvord. It is expected that all these will be issued within the next eighteen months.

The *Annual Report* of the Chicago Historical Society contains a list of the manuscript accessions during the past year. Some mention of the more important of these was made in our July issue.

The Ambrose Lee Publishing Company have issued *Tennessee in the War, 1861-1865* (pp. 225), by General Marcus J. Wright. The

book contains lists of military organizations and military and naval officers pertaining to the state, both Union and Confederate; lists of the Tennessee members of the Congress of the Confederacy and of the United States; also accounts of campaigns, battles, affairs and skirmishes within the limits of the state.

The celebration of the semi-centennial of the opening of the Saint Marys Falls Canal has been given appropriate record in an attractive volume bearing the title, *The Saint Marys Falls Canal*, edited and compiled by Charles Moore and published at Detroit by the Semi-Centennial Commission. The volume comprises a complete record of the exercises at the celebration at Sault Sainte Marie on August 2 and 3, 1905, including the several addresses delivered on the occasion, together with numerous other records and facts pertaining to the canal. Of chief interest to the historical student are the "History of the Saint Marys Falls Canal" (pp. 89-186), by John H. Goff, and an historical address by the Honorable Peter White.

We have received several separates from the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the year 1907, relating to the various phases of the history of Wisconsin. Papers deserving of notice, besides some which we have heretofore mentioned, are "Wisconsin's Emblems and Sobriquet", by Dr. R. G. Thwaites; "Reminiscences of a Pioneer in the Rock River Country", by Edwin D. Coe; "Annals of the Early Protestant Churches at Superior", by Rev. J. M. Barnett; and "The Polish People of Portage County", by A. H. Sanford.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has issued a handsome volume of some 475 pages entitled *Proceedings of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Constitution of Iowa*, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. As mentioned in the July number of the REVIEW, this celebration was held at Iowa City, March 19 to 22, under the auspices of the society. The present volume embodies a complete history of the commemoration, including all addresses. The principal addresses were: "A Written Constitution in Some of its Historical Aspects", by Professor A. C. McLaughlin; "The Relation between General History and the History of Law", by Professor Eugene Wambaugh; "The Romance of Mississippi Valley History", by Dr. R. G. Thwaites; "The Amendment of the Constitution", by Governor A. B. Cummins; "The Constitutional Convention and the Issues before it", by Justice Emlin McClain. A conference on the teaching of history comprised the following: "The Relation of History to Economics", by Professor L. W. Parish; "The Place of History in the Technical School", by Professor O. H. Cessna; "The Best Methods of Teaching History", by Professor W. C. Wilcox and Mr. Seth Thomas; "Local Government as a Key to General History", by Professor Jesse Macy and F. H. Garver. A conference on the work of local historical societies occupies upwards of fifty pages

of the volume. The Constitution of 1857, with subsequent amendments, and a brief history of the State Historical Society of Iowa are given in an appendix. There are portraits of the surviving members of the constitutional conventions, and a print of the old stone capitol, "the birthplace of the constitution of 1857".

The Administrative Departments, Offices, Boards, Commissions and Public Institutions of Iowa from 1838 to 1897: a Study in Administration, by John C. Parish (Iowa City, 1908, pp. 356), is a carefully prepared analysis of the administrative organization in Iowa from the beginning of its existence as a separate territory. In general, the arrangement is in three chronological periods: the territorial, 1838-1846; the period of the first state constitution, 1846-1857; the period of the second constitution, from 1857 to the present time. The principal facts are given not only concerning the permanent offices, boards and public institutions of the several periods, but also concerning such temporary bodies as, commissioners to locate and establish the permanent seat of government for the territory, agent to raise a company of volunteers, commissioners for the relief of sufferers from the grasshopper raid, etc. Under each such heading is given the name, legal status, date of establishment, date of discontinuance, composition, manner of appointment or election, incumbents, powers, duties, functions, etc., requirements as to records, reports, etc. It appears as a separate and also as the appendix to the *Second Report on the Public Archives of Iowa*, by Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, constituting the bulk of that report.

Mr. Louis Pelzer contributes to the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* a paper on "The History and Principles of the Democratic Party of the Territory of Iowa", parallel to his article on the Whigs in an earlier number of the *Journal*. These studies are valuable for the insight they give into the process of moulding into form the heterogeneous political elements in a young and vigorous territory, and for incidental light on national politics. The present number contains also a paper on "The History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa, 1846-1861", by Dan E. Clark, and an interesting account, by John C. Parish, of "An Early Fugitive Slave Case West of the Mississippi River".

The principal article in the January issue of the *Annals of Iowa* is an appreciative sketch, by Edward H. Stiles, of the career of Henry Clay Caldwell, federal judge for the eastern district of Arkansas from 1864 to 1890, and of the eighth circuit from 1890 to 1903. Mr. L. H. Pammel's paper on Dr. Edwin James is concluded in this number. Some correspondence of A. C. Dodge and Thomas H. Benton on the public lands, the homestead bill and the Pacific Railroad is also of interest.

The mass of French and Spanish manuscripts found some time ago in the office of the recorder of deeds of New Madrid County, Missouri, has been transferred to the Missouri Historical Society. There are some eleven or twelve volumes of these manuscripts, of the period from about 1785 to 1810 or 1815. They comprise contracts, petitions, letters, records of suits, etc. The society is now having the manuscripts indexed.

The January number of the *Missouri Historical Review*, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, contains the concluding paper by Professor P. O. Ray on "The Retirement of Thomas H. Benton from the Senate and its Significance"; a paper on "The Democratic State Convention of Missouri in 1860", by J. F. Snyder; and a "Bibliography of Missouri Biography", by F. A. Sampson.

It is a pleasure to note the creditable progress made by the Oklahoma Historical Society since its first organization by the editors of the territory at their annual meeting held at Kingfisher in May, 1890. Two years later the society was reorganized and made a trustee of the territory and is now supported principally by state appropriations. The society is making energetic efforts to procure documentary materials and publications relating to Oklahoma, making a specialty of Oklahoma newspapers, of which it already possesses at Oklahoma City a large collection.

The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town is an interesting monograph by Frank G. Speck, which appears as part II. of volume II. of the *Memoirs* of the American Anthropological Association. There is a brief historical sketch, followed by descriptive accounts of material culture, social organization, customs, etc., together with a number of myths.

The legislature of Nebraska has made an appropriation toward the erection of a home for the Nebraska State Historical Society, and it is expected that the building will be begun in the near future. The twelfth volume of the society's *Publications*, as also the second volume of the debates and proceedings in the Nebraska Constitutional Convention of 1871, have just come from the press. The society will also shortly issue a volume of proceedings and collections.

At the instance of the Relief Committee of San Francisco and under the supervision of Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California, a remarkable collection of materials on the events of the earthquake and San Francisco fire of April, 1906, has been made. Copies of proceedings of civil and military authorities of all grades, first-hand reports of firemen and police, narratives of the personal experiences of some three thousand private citizens, have been supplemented by thousands of newspaper clippings and by files of some eight hundred newspapers from all parts of the world, for several weeks

after the catastrophe. The whole mass affords a basis for an unusually satisfactory account of a great public disaster and of the method and spirit in which the crisis was met by the people.

History of San Diego, 1542-1907 (pp. 736), by William E. Smythe, has been published at San Diego by the History Company.

A revised and enlarged edition of *The Life and Times of General John A. Sutter*, by T. J. Schoonover, has been issued by Bullock-Carpenter Printing Company, Sacramento.

The *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society publishes in its June issue part two of Professor F. G. Young's valuable contribution to the "Financial History of Oregon". The present paper (60 pages) treats of the finances of the territorial period, 1849-1859. The same number contains, under the title "Two of Oregon's Foremost Commonwealth Builders", appreciative accounts of Judge Reuben Patrick Boise and Professor Thomas Condon. The September issue of the *Quarterly* contains an article by Mr. Clyde B. Aitchison on the Mormon settlements in the Missouri Valley, and prints a letter of Dr. John McLoughlin to the *Oregon Statesman*, June 8, 1852, of interest for the light which it throws upon political conditions in Oregon. The December issue prints the address on the career of Dr. McLoughlin delivered by Mr. Frederick V. Holman at the dedication of the McLoughlin Institute at Oregon City, October 6, 1907. Mr. T. W. Davenport continues through the several numbers his "Recollections of an Indian Agent".

In the thirteenth volume of the *Hawaiian Historical Society Papers* Mr. Robert C. Lydecker has an article on the archives of Hawaii.

"In and About Halifax", by Reginald V. Harris, and "Historical Sketch of the Town of Shelburne, N. S.", by R. R. McLeod, are the principal articles in the January *Acadiensis*. Professor W. F. Ganong announces that he will publish from time to time in *Acadiensis* notes on the historical geography of New Brunswick, comprising such new material as may have been brought to light since the publication of his monograph on that subject. To the present number he contributes a note on the site of the old garrison at Presquile.

The International Bureau of American Republics has issued a list of the works on Latin-American history and description in the Columbus Memorial Library. The list is classified by countries and includes public documents and recent magazine articles. (Washington, 1907, pp. 98.)

The important study of Aztec chronology, *Los Calendarios Mexicanos*, by Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, a very defective edition of which was published in the author's *Historia Antigua de Méjico* in 1836, has been issued in a new and sumptuous edition by the Museo Nacional de México, with an introduction by Genaro García.

The Mexican Ministry of Public Instruction has planned to commemorate the revolutionary war of 1810-1821 by a series of twenty large quarto volumes, well illustrated, which will be issued in the years from 1910 to 1921, under the editorship of a commission appointed by the ministry, with Señor Genaro García as chairman. The title of the series will be *Documentos para la Historia de la Guerra de Independencia Mexicana*. The general plan of the volumes may be stated as follows: I. Unpublished or rare documents relative to plans of independence before 1808, including that of Aaron Burr; II. Unpublished documents concerning the plan of independence of 1808; III. Treason trials of 1809; IV., V. Father Mier's practically unpublished History of the Revolt of New Spain; VI., VII., VIII., IX. The war of insurrection according to the reports of military chieftains on both sides, either manuscript or from contemporary newspapers; X., XI. Unpublished trials of Doña Leona Vicario and Don Ignacio Allende; XII., XIII. Rare printed documents of the period; XIV. The Mexican women insurgents; XV. The Mexican deputies in the Cortes, etc. The work will be published under the auspices of the National Museum.

Mines of Chihuahua, by Jorge Griggs, director of the Permanent Mining Exposition of that state (Chihuahua, 1907, pp. 349, xiii) contains, along with a great variety of miscellaneous information, a considerable amount of historical material relating to the mining industry in the state and to particular mines.

Paul Elder and Company announce that they will shortly publish a volume entitled *The Mother of California* by Arthur Walbridge North, an historical sketch of Baja California from the days of Cortez to the present time, "depicting the ancient missions, the mines, and the physical, social and political aspects of the country". The work is to contain numerous illustrations and "the most accurate and only complete map of the country ever made".

Panama: a Personal Record of Forty-Six Years, 1861-1907 (pp. xiii, 282) by Tracy Robinson, has been issued by the Star and Herald Company, New York and Panama.

The first volume of *Historia de Centro América*, by Eduardo Martínez López, covers the period 1502-1821 (Tegucigalpa, Tipografía Nacional).

During the year 1906 the Royal Society of Sciences of Göttingen printed the text of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's *Historia Indica* (which had lain in the library of the University of Göttingen almost unnoticed since 1785), accompanied by a scholarly introduction and notes by Dr. Richard Peitschman. This work, together with the account of the execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru written in 1610 by Captain Baltasar de Ocampo, who was an eyewitness of the affair,

has now been translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Clements Markham, who also writes an introduction. The whole, bearing the title *History of the Incas*, etc., forms volume XXII. of the society's second series.

The Hispanic Society of America has in preparation a volume by Mr. Adolph F. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, which will treat both of the actual customs of the Bolivian (Aymara) Indians of the lake region and of the culture of the ancient inhabitants of the two islands.

Mr. R. R. Schuller has printed in an edition of one hundred copies a handsome volume on the bibliography of the Indian languages current in early Chile, *El Vocabulario Araucano de 1642-1643, con Notas Críticas i Algunas Adiciones á las Bibliografías de la Lengua Mapuche* (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Cervantes, 1907, pp. 286). The first part reproduces the vocabulary given by Barlaeus in his *Rerum per Octennium in Brasilia gestarum* (1647); the second lists some 284 works, with critical descriptions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. C. McLaughlin, *The Significance of Political Parties* (Atlantic Monthly, February); Lester F. Ward, *The Sociology of Political Parties* (American Journal of Sociology, January); Louis Pendleton, *The Question of State Sovereignty* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Department of State* (American Journal of International Law, October); William D. Guthrie, *The Eleventh Article of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States* (Columbia Law Review, March); Charles N. Gregory, *Federal Treaties and State Laws* (Michigan Law Review, November); Edward Cahill, *Historical Lights from Judicial Decisions* (Michigan Law Review, January); C. Dickinson Sturge, *Friends in Barbadoes* (The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, January); Agnes C. Laut, *Henry Hudson, Dreamer and Discoverer*, concluded (Appleton's Magazine, January); William H. Loyd, jr., *The Courts of Pennsylvania Prior to 1701* (American Law Register, December); H. V. Ross, *Last Letters of Wolfe and Montcalm* (Canadian Magazine, February); Captain George S. Simonds, *New Light on the Campaign in Canada under Sir Guy Carleton in 1776, and Burgoyne's Expedition from Canada in 1777* (Journal of the United States Infantry Association, November); A. W. Savary, *The Narrative of Colonel Fanning*, cont. (Canadian Magazine, January-February); Lieutenant-Commander Edward L. Beach, U. S. N., *The Court-Martial of Commodore David Porter* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, December); C. O. Paullin, *Naval Administration, 1842-1861* (*ibid.*); Edwin V. O'Hara, *Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon* (Catholic University Bulletin, February); *Narrative of Army Service in the Mexican War and on the Plains, 1846-1853*, from the journal of

Lieutenant T. W. Sweeny, edited by W. M. Sweeny (Journal of the Military Service Institution, January-February); *The Letters of General Charles S. Hamilton, written from the Seat of War in Mexico* (Metropolitan Magazine, January); A. H. Wright, *A New Light on Lincoln as an Advocate* (The Green Bag, February); G. W. Wilton, *Judah Philip Benjamin* (Juridical Review, January); E. F. Andrews, *Across the Track of Sherman's Army: Being Extracts from the War-time Journal of a Georgia Girl* (Appleton's Magazine, March).

The

American Historical Review

THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, II.

CLAUSE 61 of Magna Carta comes nearer to putting into words the principles on which the barons acted, and on which the whole Charter rested, the principles which I stated in my first article, than any other portion of the document. But clause 61 is found only in the Charter of 1215. It was dropped from all reissues after the death of John and was never afterwards restored in any form. Again, it has been recently asserted of the Charter as a whole by an acute critic of English law and history¹ that, from its reactionary character and its consecration of the past, it proved "a positive stumbling block in the path of progress". He declares that this fact began to be perceived in the reign of Henry III.; that it was then seen that the Charter was not enough; and that the barons at the Parliament of Oxford in 1258 attempted an entire break with the past. If the origin of the English constitution is to be ascribed to the introduction into history as an active influence, of the principles which were most nearly formulated in clause 61, both these objections must be met.

Far too much has been made of the dropping of clauses from Magna Carta. Clauses 12 and 14 are usually thought of in that connection, perhaps because the historical importance of clause 61 has not been fully recognized, but the case is the same for all three. A little reflection ought to make it clear that, in all that was really important, the omission of these clauses made no difference either in the law as it stood, or in the fact that the king was bound to obey it in the particulars which they stated.² With the exception

¹ Professor Edward Jenks in an article entitled "The Myth of Magna Carta" in *The Independent Review* (1904), IV. 260-273.

² The board of twenty-five barons and its method of operation of course disappeared, but as far as the future is concerned this clumsy piece of machinery was not the essential point in cl. 61. From cl. 14 there may possibly have disap-

of some minor details, which concern chiefly questions of method, the provisions of these clauses were all drawn from the feudal law; their existence there the king could not deny; and he was just as much bound to regard them before June, 1215, and after November, 1216, as during the time when they formed a part of the Charter. The Charter was not drawn up to make these provisions law. The crisis had not arisen because the law was inadequate. The whole movement against the king proceeded on quite a different theory. The Charter seemed necessary because the king persisted in violating the law and could not easily be restrained. Its main purpose was to state the points which the king had violated, not in order to make them legal, or binding on him, but to secure from that particular king, because of what he had done in the past, a clear and formal acknowledgment of their legal and binding character and then to get his agreement to machinery for enforcing them in the future.³ If John had had even as much regard for the law as had William I. in his time, the Charter would have been unnecessary, but the law which it states on these points would have been in force very much as the barons wished it to be.

This then is to be said with regard to the omission of clause 61. It appeared some new points of detail, if they were new, but I think rather that all its provisions remained in force. Cl. 14 is interesting in some minor points, but it was from the beginning an unnecessary addition to the Articles of the Barons and quite without importance, as I shall try to show elsewhere. In cl. 12 the barons seem to have been led by a difficulty of formulation into a demand in regard to scutage which custom did not warrant, and this was given up, but what they were trying to say was not given up, nor anything else in the clause.

The idea that the *curia regis*, described in cl. 14, might be made the basis of constitutional machinery to enforce the Charter, was wholly beyond the political horizon of the barons in 1215. The idea "constitutional" was an outgrowth of the fundamental law, binding the executive, then beginning its slow formation, and it would be impossible until there should be a considerable experience of enforcing that law against the king; it needed an equally slow transformation of the *curia regis* into the later Parliament, changing its relation to the other elements of the case, community and king, before it could be looked upon as the natural guardian of the fundamental law against royal encroachment. It would be the natural thought of the barons in 1215 that something new was required to meet the special need. This is what they sought to get in cl. 61, and cl. 61 was in harmony with the age and all that was possible to it. That it should be omitted in the reissue of 1216 was inevitable. However true it might be that the principle on which it rested was within the right of the barons, the method it enacted was revolutionary. No government could issue such a clause as a part of the law which it proposed to recognize without confessing its habitual disregard of its own duties and of the rights of others. Moreover, if the government could be trusted to administer affairs in harmony with the Charter, cl. 61 was unnecessary. The commission of twenty-five would have no work to do.

³ Of course I do not deny that there was some new legislation in the Charter, and some definition of doubtful points as the barons wished them defined, but these were incidental and of secondary importance.

from the Charter: the fact did away with the committee of twenty-five, but did not affect the underlying legal principle on which the clause rested. In truth, the fate of this principle, and of all that was contained in the Charter of 1216, and of the whole body of law by which the king was bound, depended upon the character of the following age, whether the government should be conducted in harmony with the spirit of the Charter and its principles developed in natural and orderly growth; or by a strong king in a spirit hostile to these principles until they should become forgotten and obsolete; or by a weak king in a spirit neither consistently hostile nor friendly, in which case all growth would seem, more clearly than in the other cases, to be determined by the stronger currents of the age and the uncertain action of revolution. As a matter of fact, the impression made by the baronial revolt against John on the next generation seems to have been as decisive an influence in its history as anything in the language of the Charter itself, and it perpetuated not merely the Charter but all the circumstances and purposes of the insurrection.

When we turn to the second objection and consider the influence of the Charter as a definite body of law, and its relation to the next step forward—the Provisions of Oxford in 1258—we approach a more difficult question and one whose definitive answer requires a more minute examination of the reign of Henry III. than is possible here. It is, however, a most important question. It must be considered in some detail, and on its answer depends our understanding of the constitutional development through this critical age.

A fair regard for the law really describes the state of things for many years after the accession of Henry III. The Charter was reissued immediately on the death of John. It was reissued again after the withdrawal of Louis. So long as William Marshal lived, it is likely, on *a priori* grounds, that government would be carried on in harmony with the spirit as well as the letter of the Charter, and we know of nothing to the contrary. The first difficulty seems to have occurred in 1223, and the incident in a way strikes the keynote of the reign. According to the account of Roger of Wendover,⁴ in January, in what seems to have been an adjourned meeting of the Christmas *curia regis*, the archbishop and others demanded the confirmation of the charters. What special reason there was for this demand at the time is not shown, but it would seem from other things that the financial difficulties of carrying on the government were beginning to be felt by those in authority.⁵ They now

⁴ Ed. Coxe, IV. 83.

⁵ See the letter of Honorius III. to Pandulph of May 26, 1220, Shirley, *Royal Letters*, I. 535: "non sine causa miramur quod nunc carissimus in Christo filius

opposed the demand of the archbishop, and William Brewer, one of them, speaking probably for them and in the name of the king, declared that the grant of liberties, having been extorted by force, ought not to be observed. This excited the anger of the archbishop and he said: "William, if you love the king, you will not disturb the peace of the kingdom." Then the king seeing how greatly the archbishop was moved, declared that the oath which had been taken "to all those liberties" must be kept.

Henry III. at the time of this occurrence was in his sixteenth year. He was probably already beginning to take an interest in public affairs and very possibly had begun to show those personal characteristics which made the financial problems of his reign unnecessarily difficult. However this may be, this, his first recorded public act of his own, is strictly typical of his whole history. The confirmation of the Charter was demanded; those responsible for the government opposed the demand; their opposition was met by a threat of force; in fear of the consequences the king yielded. The tragedy of his father's reign made no more profound impression on the mind and policy of Charles II. than the insurrection and the Charter on the conduct of Henry III.⁶ This fact has hardly been sufficiently noted among the influences which shaped the events of this reign. It is not strange that so impressionable a nature as Henry's should have received, in the especially impressionable years of boyhood, so deep a bent toward caution, or have acquired so great a dread of the power of revolted barons. Certain it is that never in his reign was he willing to carry resistance to pressure beyond a certain point, or to dare civil war, unless the odds in his favor were overwhelming. It is a special characteristic of the reign that, when the barons were united, the king yielded and what they demanded was done. It is in this sense that the incident of 1223 gives us the key-note of the reign. The only element which we cannot specify to make the case complete is the abuse which led

noster Henricus, rex Anglorum illustris, cum, ratione minoris aetatis, pauciora quam sui praedecessores expendat, tanta dicitur inopia laborare, quod vix, vel nunquam regali sufficit magnificentiae providere; quare gravis ipsi et tali regno potest imminere jactura." On May 18, 1219, Pandulph wrote to Ralph Neville to pay out none of the money coming into the exchequer, "cum, sicut bene novisti, dominus rex multis sit debitis oneratus", Shirley, I. 120. On the date of this letter see F. M. Powicke, *Engl. Hist. Rev.* (1908), XXIII. 229. Evidence of the king's poverty during the period might be multiplied. See especially the formal acknowledgment of a rather long list of debts due to Pandulph, February 18, 1221, *Pat. Rolls of Henry III.*, I. 283-284.

⁶ Roger of Wendover (ed. Coxe), IV. 269; Matth. Par., V. 137, 339, 569; and the references in note 10.

to the demand for the Charter.⁷ But these at least are typical: the demand was made; it was at first resisted; the pressure increased and developed into a threat of force; and the king yielded.

There was no confirmation in 1223, so far as we know. In 1225 the Charter was not merely confirmed; it was reissued, with only verbal changes from the reissue of 1217, unless the change in the preamble be thought more important, and in this form it became the Great Charter of English law. The case of that year is a simple one. The Great Council was asked for an extraordinary tax. The barons demanded a reissue of the Charter, as a condition of their consent, because the king had been declared of age and certain of the grants made in his name during the minority had been already annulled. The Charter does not seem to have been considered to be among the concessions affected by the minority, but it was evidently thought to be an important enough matter to justify this precaution.

⁷ It would seem as if the financial necessities of the government were the most reasonable explanation of the efforts which were made during this period to call in, earlier than strict right allowed, the castles, domains and escheats, which had been allowed to remain in the hands of those to whom John had committed them, or which had been granted anew during the minority. On these and the efforts to recover them, see G. J. Turner, *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, third series, I. 205-262. It was to aid in this process apparently that the pope was induced, in April of this year, to declare the king of age. The only reason which he gives for his act, which he seems to recognize as premature, is lest arrangements which had been intended for the king's benefit should become disadvantages. See Shirley, I. 430, and *cf.* Matth. Par., VI. 69. The point is even more clearly stated in the letter of May 26, 1220, Shirley, I. 535: "quidam eorum [the prelates] non quae regis, sed quae sua sunt illaudabili aviditate captantes, castra, maneria et villas et alia demania ejus improbe usurparunt et detinent usurpata, in evidentem ejusdem regis injuriam et jacturam, occasionem frivolam praetendendo, quod ea servare volunt usque ad plenam regis aetatem; ut sic ipsis, invito domino, rem contrectantibus alienam, et in bonis regiis debacchantibus, interim rex mendicet." Towards the end of the year 1223 the effort led to the most formidable insurrection which it excited, that of the Earl of Chester and his supporters. It is possible that the financial needs of the government may have led it to stretch the law in other directions, but this is mere conjecture. Magna Carta must anyway greatly have hampered the regency in the free expansion of the revenue which would have been possible, if the methods of John could have been continued. The omission of cl. 12 gave no freer hand. Cl. 44 of the Charter of 1217, with the interpretation which the men of the time would certainly give it under the influence of the original Charter and the insurrection, accomplished all that was intended by cl. 12. Next to the fundamental principle which the Charter transferred from feudalism to the modern constitution, its great service was to emphasize so profoundly the feudal principle of consent to extraordinary taxation that for three quarters of a century no one ventured to disregard it. But both Henry III. and Edward I., from their point of view, may be excused for not recognizing the beauties of this principle. Looked at in this way the Charter was certainly "reactionary"; it was a "stumbling block" in the way of the formation of the kind of constitution which would probably have come into existence without it.

It has been supposed that in 1227, when Henry in form took the government into his own hands, the Great Charter was annulled, and that, from this date to its next formal confirmation in 1237, it was not in force. The idea is however due to a misapprehension, as has been clearly shown by an analysis of the evidence of 1227, and as is perhaps shown also by what look like attempts on the part of the pope to annul the Charter between 1230 and 1237.⁸ In form at least, the Charter was in force throughout the entire reign, binding alike on king, courts and barons.

With 1227 the troubles of the reign began and they were continuous and consistent in character, despite some variety of detail, for nearly forty years. They were due, as is well known, to the character of the king. But Henry was not intentionally a bad king. In moral conduct, except when his financial difficulties led him to acts of meanness, he was greatly superior to his father. He intended to rule well and he thought of himself as a good and wise sovereign. He was jealous of his power. He knew there was danger to it in the air, though he did not understand the form in which the danger threatened, and he was determined to keep it in exercise himself, and to preserve it whole. Nor was his chief deficiency weakness of will, as was perhaps the case with Stephen, the king with whom he is most nearly to be compared. A more serious defect, in the crisis through which he was called to carry the royal power, was his weakness of intellect. This is seen not so much in that he did not understand his own time. Many rulers fail there. Rather he could not see the meaning or tendency of single events. He was no judge of men. He did not know what to do in difficulties. His government was continually directed by others without his knowing it, and he never had a consistent policy for any length of time except under the influence of a stronger personality. Richard of Cornwall, who was an abler man, though no political genius, exercised at intervals a strong influence over the conduct of affairs, and it might have been fortunate for the English kingship if he could have acquired permanent authority behind the throne.⁹ He was not the type of man, however, toward whom

⁸ See the careful study of what took place in 1227 by G. J. Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest*, Selden Soc., XIII., p. xcix. As to the papal intention, a comparison of the bull of February 20, 1238, Rymer, *Foedera*, I. 234, with that of January 10, 1233, Shirley, I. 551, suggests at least that the Great Charter was among the grants intended to be revoked. See Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Documents*, I. 148 (June 21, 1235), and Matth. Par., III. 382, 368. Perhaps by his denial recorded on p. 368 the king may have meant that it was not intended to include Magna Carta, and see the third letter of the pope to the legate Otto, dated February 20, 1238, Bliss, I. 167, and also pp. 224, 225 (1246).

⁹ See *Ann. Wykes*, p. 118; Matth. Par., III. 532; IV. 11; V. 73.

Henry inclined; it looks at times as if he felt some superiority in Richard and was jealous of him; at any rate during almost the whole of the reign the control of king and government was in the hands of inferior and more selfish men. It may be that Henry vaguely felt, as his father had clearly done, that his best support against his own baronage would be found in foreigners who should owe everything to him and who would naturally stand in opposition to the native aristocracy. Something could be said for such a policy if directed by a strong and able king, but in the case of Henry it meant the exploitation of England by successive sets of utterly selfish foreigners who lacked wisdom of their own to see the tendency of events, or properly to identify the king's cause with theirs. They did not hesitate to endanger England's interests in France for their own ends, and they had no defense to offer against a like abuse of the king's weakness by the pope.

Such a reign, guided by no strong will, or dominating policy, was opportunity. It was a period open to be shaped by whatever influences might prove strongest among the cross currents of the time, and whatever might be the outcome of the age, it would seem, in the absence of leadership, to be the natural end towards which all things had drifted.

Strong among the influences in such a period would be feelings due to experiences which lay not far in the background of the past. The king was not more conscious of the events in which his father's reign closed than were the barons.¹⁰ In 1237 many must have been living who had gone through the time of struggle for the Charter. Of the twenty-five, at least four still survived. Of the twenty-seven named in the preamble, at least six.¹¹ Of these ten, six witnessed the confirmation in 1237. It would be very strange indeed if it were merely the Charter which men remembered, when it became necessary to demand of John's son the reform of abuses, and not also the general conditions which produced the Charter and of which it was to be the correction. When similar conditions returned, or what seemed to the actors in events similar conditions, it is natural that it was at first thought that a renewal of the Charter which had grown out of those conditions in the past would meet the case. It was only after some years that it was seen to be necessary to go further in the direction which the Charter had pointed out.

¹⁰ Roger of Wendover (ed. Coxe), IV. 295; Matth. Par., V. 360, 729, 732.

¹¹ These were, of the twenty-five, John de Lacy, Richard de Percy, Roger de Montbegon and Richard de Montfichet; of the twenty-seven, the bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester, William earl Warenne, Hubert de Burgh and Matthew FitzHerbert.

The reign then, looked at from this point of view, leads to two results, or series of results: First, confirmations of Magna Carta, and second, experiments at further control of the sovereign which culminate in the Provisions of Oxford and the Barons' War.

Confirmations of this sort begin with that of 1237. It must be understood that the reason and purpose of this confirmation was quite different from that of 1225. That was demanded and granted on general principles merely, to make sure that the Charter was in force and not affected by the disabilities of a minor grantor. This was for a specific purpose, to hold in check a king who had proved ready to lend himself to many abuses and difficult to restrain. Already, in 1233, Richard Marshal, in a spirit worthy of his inheritance, had thought himself driven to an appeal to arms, premature and almost useless, though the king was brought by other means to an appearance of reformation. It was a reformation, however, without a change of heart, and by 1237 the abuses complained of were as bad as ever and the character of Henry was somewhat better understood.¹² Advantage was taken of the king's necessities and his request for a new tax, to demand a confirmation of the Charter which was granted in a special charter and accompanied with a solemn renewal by Archbishop Edmund of Simon Langton's earlier excommunication of all who should offend against it.¹³

The demand for the Charter, however, was clearly, neither in 1237, nor at any later date in the reign, primarily a demand for its specific provisions. The abuses which were most bitterly complained of, Henry's dependence on foreigners, his neglect of his natural counsellors, a reckless squandering of money, were not directly aimed at in any of the clauses of Magna Carta. There is no evidence in this reign of any violation of its specific provisions which passes from the character of an individual grievance to constitute a danger to the baronage as a whole.¹⁴ What was wanted

¹² The barons seem to have been easily persuaded, however, to accept the king's promises, as compared with later times, and Matthew Paris appears not to have been unconscious of the fact. See III. 383.

¹³ The charter of confirmation is given in *Ann. Tewk.*, p. 103; Stubbs, *Select Charters* (eighth edition), p. 365; and see Matth. Par., IV. 186. On the excommunication, cf. Matth. Par., III. 382; IV. 366; V. 360; *Epp. Grosseteste*, p. 231; *Ann. Wykes*, p. 83. Grosseteste, who certainly wrote very soon after the event, and who witnessed the *parvam cartam* of 1237, probably states accurately what occurred.

¹⁴ It may be thought that the denial of trial by their peers to Richard Marshal and his supporters in 1233 approaches the point of danger. See Matth. Par., III. 247, 251; *Bracton's Note Book*, case 857. Their case is, however, not wholly clear. See Vernon Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward*, pp. 276-280, with whom, however, I cannot entirely agree. It may be thought that the frequent complaints

was something different. It was to force the king to acknowledge that he was bound by certain obligations in his conduct of public affairs.¹⁵

It ought, I think, to be clear, if one reflects on the nature of the abuses, laid now and later to the king's charge, that a change was beginning which was the opening of a new era. All through the list the difference between Henry's case and John's is clear. Of wardship, marriage and the treatment of widows, it was not said that Henry was pushing royal rights beyond bounds to extort money to which he had no claim; it was said that he was using these rights to provide for foreign favorites at the expense of his own natural subjects. Of taxation it was not said that he was demanding illegal payments, but that sums, obtained properly according to the law, disappeared in a bottomless gulf without advantage to England. In matters that concern the courts, it is clear that the requirements of the Charter were in the main regarded, and complaints had shifted into a new field and affected the interests of the royal courts only indirectly. Of the miscellaneous provisions of the Charter the general fact is the same.¹⁶ The really serious complaints do not con-

by ecclesiastics of the violation of liberties supposed to be secured the church indicate dangerous infringements of the Charter; but analysis of their complaints does not show this to be the case. On the other hand the statement in Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (second edition), I. 179, must not be understood to mean more than it says. It is there said: "The pages of the chroniclers are full of complaints that the terms of the charter are not observed. These complaints, when they become specific, usually refer to the articles which gave to the churches the right to elect their prelates." No doubt that is true. But it would not be correct to infer that interest in the Charter as a practical matter was confined to ecclesiastics. It would be quite as accurate to say that it was confined to lawyers and law courts.

¹⁵ This is true also of practically all the demands for the confirmation of Magna Carta after this date. They express not so much a desire that specific provisions of the Charter should be reaffirmed, though there is evidence in plenty that many of these were treated constantly as living law, as a desire to get the king's acknowledgment in general that he was bound by the law. They constitute a definite line along which the fundamental idea of the Charter was carried through the formative age of the constitution and they ceased only in the fifteenth century, when it had come to be no longer a matter of dispute that there was a certain body of law which bound the king, or in other words when something which may be fairly called, in almost a modern sense, the constitutional monarchy, had been established. These confirmations of the Charter were certainly no mere form and they were not necessary because "it failed to do its work" (Jenks, *l. c.*, p. 271). They were necessary because the kings were constantly devising new methods of escaping their obligations, and because there were constantly arising new interests and issues in which the king must be bound to serve the nation.

¹⁶ See the Petition of the Barons of 1258, Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 382, for complaints of the violation of a number of the provisions of the Charter. It

cern them. In addition one thing of which the son is constantly accused was not alleged against the father at all—the neglect of his natural counsellors. It is a complaint typical of the transition, and involves in its brief statement cause and consequence of the crisis. It says: this king does not himself govern, the government is in the hands of his council which exercises his prerogatives for him and determines all that is done; his counsellors are now foreigners who have no regard for the interests of England or Englishmen but sacrifice both for their own selfish ends; foreigners have no right to hold such a position, the right belongs by nature to the baronage of England; if the king's natural counsellors were conducting the government, the abuses would cease and the interests of England and Englishmen would be conserved. There was no room for any such reasoning in the case of John. It would have been absurd to assert that anyone but himself was responsible for his tyranny, or to believe that a change of counsellors would bring it to an end. But this and not the violation of particular provisions of the law was the great difficulty with Henry.

The difference, however, was much deeper than a difference in personal character between father and son. It was the beginning of a difference between two ages of history, two eras of civilization. Translated into other terms this complaint meant: in the conduct of public affairs there is something which ought to be regarded besides the king, the king's interests and the king's friends; something which it is the plain duty of the king and his counsellors to regard. Over against the king's interests, stand the interests of the land and of those who have a stake in its prosperity, as something which may be different, something which the king may be tempted to sacrifice for what he selfishly desires. It is not possible to say "the nation" yet, as the modern man uses the term, but this is the idea and the fact which was really coming to birth. Such a conception was foreign to the feudal age, but feudalism, in its constitutional aspects, in the conception of the state logically involved in it, was rapidly coming to an end. The old ways of doing things, judicial, legislative, financial, military, were all giving way before the new. The emphasis which daily life placed on its own details was also changing. To the barons of 1215 the writ *Praecipe* and what it stood for seemed a vital matter. Before the close of Henry's reign, their descendants had come to care little about it, and indeed were letting slip from their hands with seeming indifference the

is evident, however, that these complaints played a very small part in producing the revolution. The real abuses which moved the barons to action were the newer ones, and it was at these that the Provisions of Oxford were aimed.

really essential elements of all private jurisdiction which were feudal proper in character, and not financial or manorial merely. Men were of course unconscious of any change. They could not have put into words in 1237 the ideas which were struggling for expression in the things they were doing. Nor could they even in 1264. When they tried they fell back upon the formulæ of ancient speculation, or upon notions embodied in the feudalism they were destroying.¹⁷ None the less they were really giving first and faint expression in their acts to modern conceptions of the balanced rights and obligations of government and nation which seem to us the common-places of politics.

If it had been possible for them to formulate their ideas clearly, they would not have been satisfied in the crises of 1237 to demand merely the confirmation of the Charter of 1225. There would have been added a more definite statement of the king's obligation to be bound in his conduct by the interests of the community. Their experience did not yet reach to such a conclusion. For us, however, as students of history, it is indispensable to understand that it was in its specific provisions only that Magna Carta did not apply. In the great principle on which it rested, its application to the crisis was perfect. There was in it a recognized body of right which the king was bound to respect. This law had for its object to protect the interests of the ruled against the selfishness and tyranny of the ruler. If the ruler could not otherwise be brought to observe it, force was a legal recourse and the temporary suspension of the king from ruling. All this was legitimately involved in Magna Carta, even as reissued in 1225. To the men of 1237, Magna Carta would stand out from all the past as the legal document giving most clear expression to this principle. This it was, vaguely realized, which was sought in it. It bound the king morally and legally and with all the sanctions of religion, in principle to conduct the government in the interest of his subjects. If he would do this, if he would be true to the spirit as well as to the letter of the Charter,

¹⁷ See the arguments of the *Song of Lewes*. In saying that in 1215 the community established a right to compel the king to regard the law, I do not mean such basis of right as the *Song of Lewes* sought to formulate. Such abstract forms of justification will necessarily vary from age to age under the influence of men's changing philosophical predispositions. What had been established was a practical right, the right of precedent; men felt themselves authorized by what had happened in the past to do something of the kind which the present seemed to require, though no doubt from time to time contemporary philosophical ideas strengthened men's opinions and gave them confidence. Nor was the specific legal principle on which the barons acted in 1215 more permanent than the feudal rights which they sought to protect in the Charter, and which form the first content of the law which the king is bound to observe.

the troubles of the kingdom would cease. Not understanding the nature of their demand, they did not perceive that they were taking the first step towards adding to the formal requirements of the Charter a new and broader one, that the government must be managed in the interests of the governed. I think they were entirely right in feeling that this was properly implied in Magna Carta, but when the time came that the character of this requirement could be understood, a whole age had passed away, and a new civilization had possession of the world.

The confirmation of the Charter did not mend matters. Some part of what the barons called abuses was inevitable. There would have been complaint of the expenses of government under the most economical of kings. But Henry had no mind to any sort of reform. He no more understood the situation than did the barons, and he firmly believed that he was quite within his rights in choosing as counsellors whom he pleased, as indeed he was according to the letter of the law.¹⁸ Within a few years the barons began to perceive that Magna Carta was insufficient. It did not enforce itself.

In saying that in the reign of Henry III. it was "seen that the Charter was not enough", Professor Jenks is quite right.¹⁹ But it does not follow that in consequence the barons were led to attempt "an entire break with the past". That is to overlook the fact that in the reign of Henry III. exactly the same problem arose as in the reign of John. It was not the problem of getting the king to acknowledge the existence of a body of law which he was bound to observe. Both kings did that, Henry repeatedly. It was the problem of how to compel the king to keep the law when he persistently refused to do so.²⁰ This problem the barons of the middle of the century met as it had been met a generation earlier. They attempted no break with the past. In the next case to be noted, in 1244, as in 1258, they copied its model and built on the lines it had established, and, though the particular thing they sought to do was slightly different, and their machinery was more developed, their

¹⁸ The peculiar glory of the English constitution is indicated in saying that precisely the same thing is true of King Edward VII. today, but that he does not exercise the right.

¹⁹ But the same thing could be said of the Charter of 1215. It would not have enforced itself. The principle that the king is bound by a definite body of law would never have led to anything without the established practice of coercion.

²⁰ "Erat videre dolorem in populo, quia nesciebant praelati vel magnates quo nodo suum Prothea, scilicet regem, tenerent, etiamsi omnia haec concederet, quia in omnibus metas transgreditur veritatis", Matth. Par., V. 494 (1255). The statement is repeated in the account of the May meeting of 1258 as explanation of the adjournment till June, with the addition of the phrase "quia arduum fuerat negotium et difficile", *ibid.*, V. 689.

purpose was identical, the suspension of the king from office in certain particulars for the protection of the community. This purpose was a little more clearly perceived; it was a little more widely applied; and the machinery by which it was to be carried out had been somewhat improved.²¹ But they found their starting point in clause 61 and they made no change which touched essentially principle or method, no change so vital that the experience of the intervening time may not easily account for it as a natural growth. Nor should it be forgotten that one of the twenty-five appointed under that clause was one of the commission of twelve chosen in 1244 to put into form the virtual suspension of the king.²² We do not know that this arrangement, which has been called a paper constitution, ever actually went into force, the king refused to accept it, but in 1258 a real constitution was formed, more or less completely in operation for many months.

Looked at as a work of the thirteenth century, the Provisions of Oxford are a great improvement on clause 61 of Magna Carta, both in the object to be accomplished and in the machinery for doing it. Such advance in purpose and character was forced on the barons by the situation. What they had to do now was not to provide for the correcting of a number of specific abuses, of a generally uniform character, which might be done by assuming a single prerogative of the king's, as in the court created by clause 61. They needed rather to provide for the whole government, to take it out of the hands of an incompetent king, who could not be reformed, and conduct it in the interests of England. A purpose so much larger compelled machinery on a larger scale and of a broader scope. But it was the same in type. Clause 61 provided for the exercise by the court of twenty-five of one of the most important of the king's

²¹ The improvement of machinery in the proposed arrangement of 1244, as compared with that of 1215, consists in the fact that the commission of the barons was not to take into its own hands a function of the king's for exercise in special cases, but that it was to appoint the great officers of the crown who were to exercise royal powers, and so provide for a more complete suspension of the king. While this arrangement is entirely in line with that of 1215, the exact suggestion of the appointment of the officers probably came from another source, perhaps from expedients of the minority, perhaps from the abuse of the great seal complained of by the barons. In stating the relationship between the experiments of 1244 and 1258, I am following what may be called the orthodox opinion. See Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (1896), II. 64; and Tout, *Polit. Hist. of Engl.*, III. 66.

²² Matth. Par., IV. 362-368. It is plain from the character of the last part of the document recorded by Matthew Paris that it is a memorandum merely, and from the reference to the *nova carta* at its beginning that it would finally have stood to the completed constitution which it was proposed to form in much the same relation as that of the Articles of the Barons to Magna Carta.

prerogatives, if he refused to use it himself to reform some definite abuse. It provided further, if this first step proved unavailing, for the temporary suspension of the king by moving war against him. To those of the barons who remained faithful to the Charter in the struggle which followed John's repudiation of it, it seemed necessary to remove him permanently and to put another sovereign in his place. This extreme step was never contemplated by the Charter. It was not quite in harmony with the spirit of the long process by which the constitution was made, or, if it cannot be denied that it was a logical inference from it, it was going to an extreme almost never called for. If we pass over the case of John, such a step proved really necessary but once, in 1688, and then not for the creation, but for the preservation, of the constitution.²³ In this particular the Provisions of Oxford were exactly in line with the intention of clause 61, with what it was hoped that clause would accomplish, but they show a great advance over it. Like the modern constitution, they would make civil war and the deposition of the sovereign impossible, if they were put fully into operation,²⁴ and the object of the machinery set up by clause 61 really was to make it possible to avoid an appeal to arms.

If one will compare carefully, as space does not here allow, in the object sought and in the intended details of operation when put into force, clause 61, the arrangement of 1244, and the Provisions of Oxford, I believe it will be found impossible to deny that they are all of one piece, all framed on one model, to solve essentially the same problem. They show only those changes which the passage

²³ Appeal to force was necessary in the case of Richard II. and of Charles I. But the earlier reign of Richard shows conclusively that the extreme step taken was not necessary against him, and the same thing is highly probable of Charles I. Edward II.'s deposition was not in reality a constitutional case at all, though it was necessary to try to make it seem so, and though it did serve as a precedent for later action in cases that were more truly in the line of constitutional development.

²⁴ No real similarity between the Provisions of Oxford and the present constitution must be supposed. The only historical connection between them is that the Provisions were one stage in the development, clarifying and enforcement of the idea that the king is bound by the law. The final constitution was built on no detail of the scheme. To say that the responsibility of the officers of the crown to the Great Council, which they established, foreshadows the ministerial responsibility of today, is to use language which is permissible rhetorically, but it is not the language of science. There is no line which runs from the earlier fact to the later. The two facts grew out of the independent conditions of two different civilizations. There was no Parliament to enforce the Provisions of Oxford, only the feudal *curia regis*; they could draw strength from no nation, only from a feudal class. One civilization was indeed beginning to give way to the other, but it was the old which still had possession of the field. In ultimate purpose the constitution of 1258 was premature; in process it was already almost obsolete.

of a generation, and the naturally changing situation required. The plan of 1244 is the intermediary, the connecting link, between Magna Carta and the Provisions of Oxford. It may be fairly called this because it stands out most prominently, and is the most complete proposal between these two so far as we know. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that there are evidences earlier that the plan of temporarily vesting in another the prerogatives, or a prerogative, of the king, as a means of holding him in check, had not been forgotten, and that between 1244 and 1258 there are numerous instances of the demand of some such scheme, or of the bringing of it forward as a suggestion or a threat.

By 1258 not merely had abuses, financial and other, grown to be intolerable, but circumstances favored decisive action as they had not before. In the first place Earl Richard, who might have stood between the monarchy and the complete carrying out of any revolutionary scheme, was out of the country. Again the great body of the higher baronage was united on one side, against the king and his foreign favorites, and had with it the strong support of the minor barons. Finally, perhaps alone sufficient to explain the result, the opposition to the king had found what it had lacked heretofore, adequate leadership. It is hardly possible to call Simon de Montfort a political genius. To me at least he seems to have mismanaged, almost grossly, what he had to do both in Gascony and in England. But he had certain qualities and elements of character peculiarly demanded in the leader of a revolution against established government. His most marked trait is the most necessary in such a leader, his immense power of will, his inflexible determination. Imperious his will was, overbearing his own judgment as well as all criticism and opposition of others, impolitic to a degree, but it was unhesitating and unyielding, it took no account of odds or danger, it saw the one result to be reached and neither heaven nor hell should block the way. To this must be added a strong sympathy with justice, vigor of action, more than the average of military skill, and, I think I am not wrong, the vaulting ambition of Macbeth. Perhaps it needed Simon de Montfort's personal grievances against the king to put him at the head of a revolution, but once there he threw into it the whole strength of a nature powerful and gifted, but not always wise, and possibly not always sincere.

It is not the place here to discuss the details of the Provisions of Oxford, nor, what stands more in need of discussion, the relation to them of the Provisions of Westminster. The scheme was an elaborate one. It sequestered the king entirely from the govern-

ment. All the operations of the state, financial, administrative, judicial, legislative, were to be carried on under a direct responsibility to the Great Council. A series of commissions and appointed officers, including a new king's council, was to conduct the government, and the Great Council vested its supervising authority in a committee, practically to be in continuous session. The king was not deposed. In form all prerogatives were still exercised by him, all writs and royal letters were issued in name by him, even when he was a helpless prisoner in the hands of the Earl of Leicester. The Provisions of Oxford set up machinery to take the government out of the hands of a king who persistently refused to administer it in the interests of the country, without the necessity of deposing him, or of bringing on civil war.²⁵ This was clause 61 of Magna Carta over again more broadly framed and more explicitly stated.

To recapitulate: the Provisions of Oxford find their origin in Magna Carta and rest directly upon it. They draw from it their underlying idea, the right to coerce the king; their form, commissions assuming prerogatives of the king and so far forth suspending him from office; and their general purpose, to secure the rights of the community against a king who persistently refused to regard them. They are connected with it by a continuous line both of confirmations of the Charter and of suggestions and experiments in the way of similar machinery.

But the Provisions show a great advance. They are more elaborate in machinery, wider in scope and logically more complete. But more important still it was much less their object to enforce specific rights of individuals which could be drawn up in an exact list than was that of the Charter. Their object was rather to enforce the general right of the community of the ruled to good government, administered by natural, as they said, that is, national officers. This is the great advance. This it is which makes the Provisions of Oxford the first and longest step in the transformation of the feudal principles of Magna Carta into the guiding principles of constitutional growth. The Provisions of Oxford do look towards the future more clearly than the Great Charter, but not because they are a break with the past, not because they are a new beginning, rather because they are building from foundation stones of the old on further into the walls of the final structure.

The Barons' War which followed was in principle the same as that which followed John's repudiation of the Charter. The *diffi-*

²⁵ War was threatened against those who should oppose themselves to the Provisions. See the king's writ in English. *Foedera*, I. 378; Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 396, and compare *Ann. Wykes*, p. 119, for the royalist view.

datio which the barons issued before beginning their campaign in 1263, with its *salva persona regis, regine, et liberorum suorum*, seems based on the text of clause 61.²⁶ Simon de Montfort's formulation of the right of insurrection, in the confirmation of the charters which were issued as one of the conditions of the release of Edward from his obligations as hostage for his father, in March, 1265, is of especial interest. The document is a peculiar one among confirmations.²⁷ It was made to suit the occasion in other ways than that which gives it its common name, but its documentary connection with Magna Carta is clear enough. In the end the barons were defeated and the Provisions overthrown, but they left as their legacy to the future the two principles on which Magna Carta rested, which might have perished without their renewed emphasis.

The reign of Edward I. saw no repetition of the experiment of 1258. Edward was a king against whom such an expedient was unnecessary, as it would have been impossible. The reign was occupied with the equally important effort to take the first steps in the constitution of Parliament. But in one particular the reign carried forward the line of development represented by the Provisions of Oxford. In 1297 Edward was forced, by means the same as those employed so many times against his father, to confirm Magna Carta, and to go a step further. The confirmation included what was really an addition to the Charter, in truth a restoration to it of clause 12 which had been dropped in 1216, so thought of and intended at the time,²⁸ and so treated in the future. It was more, however, than a restoration of clause 12. It was a restatement of it in such form as to include not merely the specific taxation of the feudal age, but so also as to affirm the broad principle of consent to all taxation, not resting on the basis of feudal property. It is clause 12, *i. e.*, the principle of the feudal law concerning extraordinary taxation, broadened out to cover, in intention at least, the new methods of taxation of the modern state. This enlargement of the law that binds the king, was the initial point of all the great increase of that law during the next century, and it was, as I have said, forced

²⁶ See *Lib. de Antt. Legg.*, p. 53.

²⁷ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 416.

²⁸ The petition of the barons which preceded the confirmation bears in the chronicle of William of Hemingburgh (ed. Hamilton), II. 152, the title *Articuli inserti in Magna Carta*, and even if we cannot be sure that these are more than the words of this contemporary and generally accurate chronicler, they indicate to some extent the feeling about the effect of what was then done. The insertion of the main point of the petition about taxation in the formal confirmation which followed makes it distinctly an addition to the Charter, *i. e.*, to the body of law which the king must observe.

from the king in the same way that similar concessions were forced from Henry III. It belongs in other words not in the line of the Parliamentary development of the constitution as that is seen later, but in the line of the origin of the constitution as that ran through the thirteenth century. This line is continued by the Lords Ordainers in 1310, but the connection of their work with the Provisions of Oxford needs no emphasis here.²⁹

It is to be said of all such schemes, however, that they are revolutionary when looked at from the point of view of the ordinary law,³⁰ the law as administered in the courts and found in the books of the law writers, so far at least as these do not touch upon questions of the constitution.³¹ In this field the king was then, as he is today, above the law. He was not subject to its processes; he was not bound by its provisions. A Henry III. might be guilty of fraud or forgery with impunity. This is the ever present contradiction of English history, but it is also the secret of the making of that unique constitution, most anomolous and inconsistent, but perhaps on that account most adaptable, of all time. It was by the working together of these two contradictory principles, the king is above the law, the king is subject to the law, that a monarchy, retained in form, preserving all that is useful in a monarchy, was transformed into a self-governing republic, politically democratic.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

²⁹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, section 251; Tout, *Polit. Hist. of Engl.*, III. 244, 248.

³⁰ Louis IX. was quite right in his decision annulling the Provisions of Oxford by the Mise of Amiens, for this was the only point of view from which he could look at the question. He did not see the inconsistency of this part of his decision with that maintaining Magna Carta in force, as the barons appear to have done, or some of their supporters at least somewhat later. *Ann. Worc.*, p. 448; *Chron. de Bellis* (ed. Halliwell), p. 17.

³¹ They nearly all do to some extent touch upon the constitution, and then this fundamental contradiction is apt to occur more or less plainly. In the case of Bracton, it has excited considerable discussion, but, except for its early date, it should occasion no more remark than in the case of Blackstone. See Maitland, *Bracton's Note Book*, I. 29-33. It should not be overlooked that the probably apocryphal passage in certain Bracton MSS., in which the right of the *curia* to hold in check the king is stated in the most extreme terms, is certainly of the thirteenth century, and probably earlier than 1290. The clearest statement of the principle that the king is bound by the law, in the great series of English constitutional documents, is in the Bill of Rights of 1689.

THE RUSSIAN EXPANSION TOWARDS ASIA AND THE ARCTIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES (TO 1500)

ON any general view of European history, there are few more interesting and suggestive chapters than that which records the expansion of the Russian people—the geographical vanguard of European Christendom and civilization—towards the Arctic Ocean on one side, towards and across Northern Asia on another. Whatever criticisms may be passed upon the Russian race, it is certainly the pioneer of our Western world in these vast regions of the North and East. And nowhere in the Old World has the primitive Roman area of Christian civilization been so widened as in the lands, from the Dnyestr to the White Sea and from the Baltic to the Sea of Japan, which have been gradually penetrated, conquered and colonized by the Slavonic-Scandinavian *Russ*.

Scarcely any part of Russian history before Peter the Great has been adequately treated and properly understood by non-Russian historians. And where in this neglected field shall we find a more neglected plot than the record of Russian expansion in the Middle Ages? Something is generally known of the early conflicts of the *Ros* with the Byzantine Empire; of the conversion of these "tall, white, and crafty barbarians"¹ by the Eastern Church; and of the destruction of Russian independence by the Mongol Tartars. But has attention often been paid to the early stages of that racial movement which has carried the Russian blood, speech and faith over so wide an area? The primitive home-land of the Russian people did not include more than a fraction, lying almost wholly in the West-Central zone, of the present Russia-in-Europe. It was the political, mercantile and adventuring ambition of Russian states, traders and freebooters, which gave in time so noteworthy an extension to the Russian name—here representative, as one faces away from Europe, of European Christianity, society and organization. In this paper I will confine myself to the Russian movements towards and into those two Siberias—European and Asiatic—which lay north and northeast of the primitive *Russ*, and which gave to this great colonizing race the earliest opportunity for displaying its aptitude in the exploitation and absorption of distant lands.

¹ As they are described by early Muslim observers.

The first discovery and conquest of the North and East, to the Polar Ocean and the modern province of Tobolsk, seems to have been primarily the work of the leading Russian city of the North-West, that Old Novgorod on the Volkhov, which in position and importance, as the chief town of the Neva or Gulf of Finland basin, roughly answers in medieval history to St. Petersburg in modern.² Probably about the time of the First Crusade (1096) and certainly before the second (1147) the men of Novgorod had already come into touch with the country of the Lower Ob, just beyond the Ural Mountains. Long ere this, perhaps as early as the closing years of the tenth century (950-1000), the Novgorodian pioneers seem to have penetrated into Lapland and the upper valley of the Northern Dvina. The latter formed a waterway conducting either towards the White Sea or towards the Ural; and following the latter direction, probably along the course of the Vychegda, the Russians in the course of the eleventh century reached the Pechora, most distant of European rivers. By the head-streams of the Pechora one naturally ascended into the heart of the Northern Ural highland, and it seems reasonable to fix in one of the North Ural passes those Iron Gates which the Novgorod pioneers vainly attempted to force in 1032, suffering a disastrous repulse at the hands of the native Finnish tribes.³

The beginning of the next century shows us Novgorod in communication with the Asiatic lands immediately beyond the dividing range. Speaking of a year which apparently answers to A. D. 1112, the *Fundamental Chronicle*, usually known as Nestor's, tells how one Guryata Rogovich of Novgorod had sent his servant to the Pechora, how the Pechora folk then paid tribute to *Novgrad*, and how from the Pechora the messenger went on to *Yugra*. We may doubt the intelligence which Guryata received, from *Yugrian*⁴ report, of the mysterious people enclosed in lofty mountains by a gulf of the sea, ever fruitlessly struggling to hew a way out of

² Mr. Robert Michell of Penzance, England, has for years been engaged upon a translation of the *Novgorodskaya Lyetopis* or *Chronicle of Novgorod*, mainly from the text published by the Russian Archaeographical Commission (St. Petersburg, 1888), which when published will be of great service to all English-speaking students of history, and perhaps to many other Western scholars.

³ The Iron Gates of this Far North-East, not to be confused with the more famous Iron Gates of Derbent in the Far South-East (of the Caucasus), perhaps lay in the valley of the river Shchugor, in about 64° N. Lat., near Mt. Toll Pos Is, the highest summit of the Ural range. Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas* (ed. of 1880), map no. 67, "Russland 966-1114", places these *Eiserne Pforten* in the valley of the Sysola, towards the easternmost part of the Dvina basin.

⁴ For modern ethnographical language, we might perhaps translate *Yugrian* by *Ostyak*. See additional notes at the end of this article.

their rocky prison, and holding intercourse with other men only by a little opening through which they screeched their unknown lingo, thrust out an iron finger, and bartered furs for iron.⁵ But there is no reason to doubt the plain historical statement which introduces this legend, or to see in Nestor's Yugra anything very different from the Yugra of later time—the region of the Northern Ural and the valley of the Lower Ob.

Now this Siberian connection, it must be noticed, is not a passing incident, like the early Russian dominion on the Azov or in the Crimea, or the early Russian raids towards and even beyond the Caucasus.⁶ On the contrary, it appears fairly persistent throughout the central and later Middle Ages; and when in the fifteenth century the Novgorod sphere-of-influence in the North is finally torn away by Moscow, the Moscovite power, without loss of time, begins to interfere in Yugra, subjugating it far more thoroughly than before to its new Russian overlord.

For the greater part of the twelfth century, it is true, Novgorod history tells only of matters nearer home, though the tribute-gathering expedition of 1169 in the *Trans-Volok* (or regions beyond Byeloe Ozero)⁷ may have been concerned with payments as far as Asia, and the foundation of Vyatka in 1174 carries Novgorod settlement far nearer to Siberia than before, along a more southerly track. But in 1187 we hear again of Yugra to some purpose; both here and in lands west of Ural the natives now rose and massacred their Russian masters or customers. The punitive expedition of 1193 failed to restore Novgorodian power; though one Yugrian town was taken, and another besieged, the whole Russian force was ultimately destroyed, save eighty men, who in 1194 made their way home to the Volkhov.⁸

How and when intercourse with Siberia was restored we are not told; but this restoration had evidently taken place by the middle of the thirteenth century, for in a celebrated agreement made in 1264 between the Novgorodians and their Prince Yaroslav, the

⁵ *Chronicle of Nestor (Chronica Nestoris textum Russo-Slovenicum)*, ed. Fr. Miklosich (Vienna, 1860), ch. 81. The title *pervonachalnaya* or *fundamental* is often applied to this chronicle by old Russian writers.

⁶ I leave for another time some brief consideration of this South-Eastern chapter of Russian expansion, hardly less curious and interesting than the North-Eastern, but of less continuous historical value.

⁷ The *Za-Voloche*, *Trans-Volok*, or Country beyond the Portage, is a term constantly used to include all the Lower Dvina basin, but is generally understood as stopping short of the Mezen.

⁸ *Novgorod Chronicle (Novgorodskaya Lyetopis)*, ed. of the Russian Archaeographical Commission (St. Petersburg, 1888), A. M. 6695, 6701, 6702 (A. D. 1187, 1193, 1194).

Yugrian country, like the Pechora, appears reckoned among the domains (or at least in the sphere-of-interest) of Novgorod.⁹ Sixty years later, in 1323 and 1329, the Novgorod Annals complain of outrages—robbery and murder—upon the citizens of the Republic on their way to Yugra.¹⁰ These outrages were the work of Russian enemies from Ustyug in the Upper Dvina basin, planted conveniently upon the flank of the trade-route from Novgorod to the North-East, and thus a constant danger to the commerce in furs and precious metals which the great Hanseatic market carried on with the forests and mountains of its sub-Arctic sphere in both the European and the Asiatic Siberia. Again, the demand of Moscow, in 1332–1333, for tribute in silver for the lands beyond the Kama—the first sign of the coming Moscovite overlordship, advanced by the founder of the earliest Moscovite power, the bursar-prince Ivan Kalita¹¹—clearly refers to the mining wealth which Novgorod had long exploited in the Northern Ural.

Lastly, in 1445, within a generation of the ruin both of the Novgorod empire and of the independence of the Republic, we hear of a last vigorous effort to assert Novgorodian rule in Siberia. Again the *Chronicle* tells of initial successes; two generals, we read, gathered a force in the Trans-Volok, attacked the Yugrians, and made many prisoners. Then, as before, victory ends in ruinous defeat. The natives, pretending to submit, drew together in force, fell suddenly upon the Russians, and stormed their chief fastness; only a part of the Novgorod army had the good fortune to get out of the country which they had so nearly mastered.¹²

In 1471–1478 Moscow crushed Novgorod and took over the Novgorodian empire. But even before this Moscovite forces had begun the conquest of that Yugrian Siberia with which Novgorod had dealt so long. A new Grand Prince had begun his reign in the White Stone City¹³—the “Re-uniter of Russian lands”, the

⁹ See Nicholas Karamzin, *History of the Russian Empire* (*Istoriya Gosudarstva Rossiiskago*), vol. IV., p. 59, in Einerling's ed. (St. Petersburg, 1842); vol. IV., p. 114, in St. Thomas and Jauffret's French version. This agreement stipulates that Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich, successor (after Andrew Yaroslavich) of Alexander Nevsky in the Grand Principality, could not, himself, his wife, or any of his nobles or gentlemen, possess any villages in the domains of Novgorod such as Volok, Torjok, etc., or in Vologda, Zavolochie, Kola, Perm, Pechora, or Yugra.

¹⁰ *Nov. Chron.* (*Novgorodsk. Lyetopis*), ed. as quoted above, A. M. 6831, 6837 (A. D. 1323, 1329).

¹¹ *Nov. Chron.*, A. M. 6840 (A. D. 1332). Ivan Kalita was Grand Prince (*Velikii Knyaz*) of Moscow from 1328 to 1340.

¹² *Nov. Chron.*, A. M. 6953 (A. D. 1445).

¹³ *Byelo-Kamennaya* (Moskva).

future conquerer of Novgorod and of the Tartars, the founder of the Moscow tsardom, Ivan III., the Great (1462-1505). The ubiquitous energy of this eastern Louis XI. made itself felt in the Urals and Asia, when, in 1465, at the very opening of his reign, Ustyug adventurers, his faithful vassals, raided Yugra and brought two Yugrian princes, with many other prisoners, to Moscow. Ivan received oaths of fidelity and promises of tribute from these "people of the Ob"; as the first Moscovite to assert dominion in Siberia, he shortly after took the style of Lord of Yugra.

In 1483, now master of Novgorod and victorious over the Golden Horde, he resumed his Asian conquests. His troops, crossing the Urals, descended by the Tavda river to its junction with the Tobol, the Tobol to its junction with the Irtysh, in that Siberian Khanate, far south of Yugra, which was not permanently subdued for another century; from where Tobolsk now stands they followed the Irtysh northward into Yugra, where it joined the Ob. The Yugrians submitted afresh; their southern neighbors the Voguls also became tributaries of Moscow; terms of peace were arranged by Philothei, bishop of Perm; and the Vogul prince Yumshan accompanied Philothei to the court of Ivan.

Yet a third expedition was undertaken by the same tsar, sixteen years later, to complete and extend the Moscovite empire in the North-East. In November and December of 1499 three of his generals, with 5000 men, after building a fortress on the Pechora, crossed the Ural on snow-shoes, in the face of a Siberian winter, and broke with fire and sword upon the Yugrians of the Lower Ob. The native princes, drawn in reindeer sledges, hurried to the invaders' camp to make their submission; the Russian leaders scoured the country in similar equipages, their soldiers following in dog-sledges. Forty townships or forts were captured; fifty princes and over 1000 other prisoners were taken; and Ivan's forces, returning to Moscow by the Easter of 1500, reported the entire and final conquest of Yugrians and Voguls.¹⁴

¹⁴ On Ivan III.'s three Siberian expeditions of 1465, 1483 and 1499, see the *Chronicle of Great Ustyug* (*Lyetopis Veliko Ustyujskaya*) under these years, pp. 35-36, 41-42, 44-45, in ed. by A. K. Trapeznikov (Moscow, 1888); also Karamzin, *History of Russia*, vol. VI., pp. 176-178, in Einerling's ed. (St. Petersburg, 1842); in St. Thomas and Jauffret's version, vol. VI., pp. 355-359. The deliberate purpose of the new Moscovite departure in 1465 is clearly expressed by the Ustyug chronicler: "the Grand Prince . . . commanded Vasilii Skryaba to conquer the Yugorian land." In 1483, the same authority, while taking the Russian army along the Tavda, makes it pass Tyumen, which lies upon the Tura, quite out of this route, to the south, and credits it with the capture of thousands of prisoners in the Sibir Khanate proper (near Tobolsk). Both by its outward route and by its victories in this Tobolsk region the raid of

These are perhaps the most prominent features of Russian medieval intercourse with Siberia-in-Asia; we may add a few words on Novgorodian and Moscovite dealings with Siberia-in-Europe and other northern regions on this side Ural during the Middle Ages.

To the connections between Novgorod and the less remote provinces of its empire¹⁵ there are abundant references. We have already noticed the expedition which the Republic sent out in 1169 to gather tribute in the Trans-Volok, the foundation of Vyatka in 1174, and the Moscovite demand for silver-payment for the Novgorodian lands beyond the Kama in 1332-1333. The Northern Dvina, the more valuable portion of the great province beyond the Volok, appears more definitely in 1337, when Ivan Kalita attacks it to enforce his Trans-Kama silver claims, but is "brought to shame there"; in 1340, when Novgorod warriors raid Ustyug; in 1342, when a riff-raff of adventurers, under the rebel Luka Valfromeyev, conquer the Dvina settlements and the whole of the Trans-Volok; in 1355-1359, when Ivan II. of Moscow corresponds with the Dvina governor and notables,¹⁶ in 1366, when Novgorodians coming from the Dvina are seized by Moscovite forces; and in the struggle of 1393, when Moscow seizes Vologda and compels Novgorod, despite her capture of Ustyug, to submit to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the metropolitan.¹⁷

1483 anticipates the late sixteenth-century conquest of Siberia. Its progress was rapid: leaving Ustyug May 2, it returned October 1 (Intercession of the Virgin). The expedition of 1499 left the Pechora November 21, and followed (like the Novgorodians of earlier time and the adventurers of 1465?) a far northern route; its first objective beyond Ural was the township of Lyapin in Berezov district, near the Ob estuary. See additional notes at the end of this article.

¹⁵ The Novgorod empire may be considered as divided into two chief parts, (1) the home-land or country of Novgorod settlement proper; (2) the regions of Novgorod trade-domination and political influence. In (1) were included, practically if not technically, a number of tributary cities, *e. g.*, Ladoga, Izborsk, Velikie Luki, Staraya Rusa, Torjok. This home-land had five traditional subdivisions (the Pyatini, or Fifths), *viz.*, I. Vodskaya in the North; II. Shelonskaya in the West; III. Derevskaya in the South; IV. Obonejskaya in the North-East; V. Byejetskaya in the East. A somewhat similar five-fold division is often assumed in (2)—the empire of conquest and trade-supremacy—*viz.*, I. the Trans-Volok or Zavoloche, including in its wider extension all the lands between the White Lake (Byeloe Ozero) and the Mezen, and comprising the Northern Dvina country; II. Ter, Tri or Tre, including Russian Lapland and much of the Novgorodian lands north of Onega and Karelia; part of this, the White Sea coast-land west of Dvina, is often called Pomoria or the seashore region; III. Permia, the Upper Kama basin; IV. Pechora; V. Yugra. Sometimes, it is worth noting, we find the Obonejskaya division of the home-land called Za-Onega, and considered as extending beyond Onega to the North-East.

¹⁶ This correspondence gives perhaps the earliest mention of Kholmogori, see *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia*, etc. (London, Hakluyt Society, 1886), vol. I., p. 23.

¹⁷ See the *Chronicle of Novgorod* (*Nov. Lyet.*), ed. of 1888 (as quoted above) under the years A. M. 6845, 6848, 6850, 6874, 6901 (A. D. 1337, 1340, 1342, 1366, 1393).

Ivan Kalita had first turned Moscovite policy towards the seizure of the Dvina basin; besides its proper wealth in furs and timber,¹⁸ he aimed at winning for the Grand Principality an outlet to the ocean. Some sixty years after his death, his schemes are momentarily realized by his fourth successor, Vasilii Dmitrievich (1389-1425). In 1397 all the Dvina people are seduced from Novgorod allegiance, and kiss the cross in fealty to Moscow. The Grand Prince issues in 1398-1399 a series of ordinances for his new subjects which are of interest as the earliest Russian laws preserved since Yaroslav the Legislator in the eleventh century (1016-1054).¹⁹ A fierce struggle now begins for the mastery of the North, resulting for the time in the defeat of Moscow over most of the field. In 1411 we find Novgorod ordering its governor in the Dvina country to operate against Norwegian raiders.²⁰ Yet in the next few years this Dvina country suffered much from freebooters on various sides. Vyatka marauders, allied with Novgorod outlaws, burnt Kholmogori in 1417 and captured several Novgorod notables; in 1419 returned the Northmen or *Murmani*, ravaging far and wide in the Trans-Volok, and sacking the Michael monastery on the site of the present city of Archangel.

Again in 1445 we hear of the Swedes making a descent on the same much-harassed Dvina-land, and being roughly handled and driven off.²¹ Finally the overmastering power of Moscow, which in 1452 chased an enemy of Vasilii the Blind through the Dvina lands, and in 1458-1459 crushed the independence of Vyatka,

¹⁸ It was also so rich in game of all sorts that before the Grand Princes of Moscow had seized this country, they sent their falconers thither every year by agreement with Novgorod; see Karamzin, *History of Russia* (ed. of 1842, as quoted above), vol. V., p. 93, and note 170; vol. V., p. 191 (St. Thomas and Jauffret).

¹⁹ See the *Chronicle of Novgorod* under A. M. 6905 (A. D. 1397); Karamzin, *History of Russia*, vol. V., pp. 136-137 (ed. 1842); vol. V., pp. 279-282 (St. Thomas and Jauffret).

²⁰ In 1398 the Republic, with a force of about 3000 men, appears to have recovered most of its Dvina territories, storming Ustyug and inflicting heavy punishment (death, fines, etc.) upon its enemies and the Moscow merchants found in this region; in 1401 the Moscovite troops again overrun the whole Dvina country, but are checked in a fight at Kholmogori. Moscow, however, seems to have retained great part of the Vologda valley. In 1435 the Grand Prince agrees to relinquish the Novgorod lands on the Vologda and in other northern regions (Lamsk Volok, the Upper Bejets, etc.), but in 1436 the Novgorod Annals complain that Moscow does not perform this treaty. See the *Chronicle of Novgorod* (ed. 1888, as quoted above), A. M. 6906, 6909, 6919, 6943, 6944 (A. D. 1398, 1401, 1411, 1435, 1436).

²¹ See the *Chronicle of Novgorod* (ed. 1888), A. M. 6925, 6927, 6953 (A. D. 1417, 1419, 1445).

achieved under Vasiliï's successor, Ivan the Great, the complete destruction of Novgorodian power on the Dvina (1471).²²

The progress of Russian influence in the regions of the Kama and Pechora is especially connected with the history of the Russian Church and its missions. About 1376 the monk Stephen, afterwards canonized as the apostle and bishop of Permia (Stephan Permskii), founded the earliest church in the Upper Kama valley. It was a daring venture, for a former missionary in this country, so Herberstein assures us, had been flayed by the natives, "while they were yet infants in the Faith".²³ Yet before his death in 1396 Stephen had not only confounded the heathen priests and sorcerers of the Kama, overthrown the idols of the *Voïpel* and the *Golden Old Woman*, and stopped the sacrifice of reindeer, but also had secured the triumph of Christianity and prepared the way for Moscovite ascendancy in a region from which, two centuries later, started the Moscovite conquest of the Siberian Khanate. Under Stephen's successors Andrew, Isaac and Pitirim, the Russian Church took root in the Pechora country (1397-1445), just as it did on the White Sea during the same period, through the foundation of the most famous monastery of the Far North, in the island of Solovki or Solovetskii (1429).²⁴

Last among these distant fields of early Russian expansion, we may briefly notice Lapland, the westernmost region of Siberia-in-Europe. Leaving out of account any alleged treaties of the tenth century or other evidence of Novgorodian power in this country before 1264, we have under this last date a clear and authentic reference to Kola as a possession of the Republic in that agreement between the citizens of Novgorod and Prince Yaroslav which has been already noticed for its inclusion of Yugra and the Pechora among the lands of Novgorodian influence.²⁵ Again, the peace

²² See the *Chronicle of Novgorod* (ed. 1888), A. M. 6979 (A. D. 1471), also Karamzin, *History of Russia* (ed. 1842), vol. V., pp. 201, 206, and notes 356, 367; vol. V., pp. 414-415, 424-425 (St. Thomas and Jauffret).

²³ Sigismund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1851), vol. II., p. 46.

²⁴ See Karamzin, *History of Russia* (ed. 1842), vol. V., pp. 64-66, 209-210, and notes 125, 126, 137, 232, 377, 378; vol. V., pp. 132-136, 431-433 (St. Thomas and Jauffret). The Solovetskii monastery began with the hermitage of the monk Savvatii in 1429; after this Zosima, with the sanction of Archbishop Jonas of Novgorod and of the government of the Republic, founded the community and the Church of the Transfiguration, which became so celebrated. On the neighboring mainland Christian enterprise appears much earlier; the St. Michael monastery, the germ of Archangel city, was established in the twelfth century by Bishop Ivan of Novgorod (*Early Travels in Russia*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1886, vol. II., p. 190), quoting Dvina MS.

²⁵ See Karamzin, *History of Russia*, vol. IV., p. 59, and notes 115, 116 (ed. of orig. text, 1842); vol. IV., p. 114 (St. Thomas and Jauffret).

concluded, after a period of bitter hostility, between Novgorod and Sweden in 1323 fixed the Varanger Fiord as the boundary between the spheres of the two powers in Lapland. As in other regions, religious control is in time added to mercantile and political; like Stephen in the Kama, and Isaac, Andrew, or Pitirim in the Pechora, Iliya of Novgorod and Theodorite of Solovetskii appear as apostles both of faith and culture to Kola and the Lapps.

It may perhaps not be impertinent to recall how the medieval expansion of the Russian people Asia-wards and Pole-wards is led, not by an absolute monarch, followed by servants drilled into military obedience, but by a fickle, half-theocratic democracy, whose chief activity is commerce, and to whom the right of insurrection is sacred. We may also recall that the free life of Old Novgorod has left traces not only widely-scattered, but also deeply and lastingly implanted in North Russia. Thus the colony which these republicans planted in the well-stocked and beautiful woodland of far-away Vyatka in 1174—though no longer governed, as for the two hundred and seventy-eight years of its independent polity, by elected civil magistrates sharing power, in Novgorod fashion, with Church dignitaries—still keeps much of the manners and customs, the domestic architecture, the head-dress, and even the dialect, of the mother-city. On the other hand, when in the fifteenth century autocratic Moscow replaces its turbulent, liberty-loving, mob-governed rival in the empire of the North, it is clear that popular government has been tried and found wanting among the Eastern Slavs. If Novgorod had not fallen under the Moscovite tsar, she would probably have submitted to the King of Poland. Ivan the Great conquers her, in the name of Orthodoxy, to save her from *Latinism*. And it was unquestionably a more definite political incorporation, a membership in a far more perfectly unified state, which Moscow substitutes for the vague and fluctuating dominion, often no more than a commercial monopoly, of the Novgorodian merchants, throughout Pechora, Yugra and Lapland, if not also through most of Zavoloche and the Dvina country.

Once more, to understand the wide and startling movements of the Russian race, the influence of rivers must not be overlooked. The history of Russia, like that of French America, is river-history in a very special sense: the progress of her conquests in the North is usually progress from one part of a river-basin to another, from one fluvial system to another. The slight elevation of the northern plains puts few obstacles in the way of the inland navigator ascending or descending Dvina and Mezen, passing by easy portages from

Kama to Pechora, from Ladoga to Ural, even (in later time) from Ural to Pacific. Where main streams flow north and south, tributaries navigable for small craft, and often for vessels of considerable size, spread out east and west so as to form a serviceable, though at times circuitous, route for the voyager seeking his "place in the sun".

If the Ural hill-country were not in some places, despite its great breadth, so insignificant a range, the Novgorodian and early Moscovite connection with Siberia-in-Asia might be thought to offer yet another disproof of the fallacy that mountain chains form an absolute barrier between states and races. It is at least remarkable that some of the Slavonic invasions of Yugra (including that of 1499, which completed the subjection of this region to Ivan III.) should have been carried over the Russian Schwarzwald in its really savage and difficult northern portion, and in winter.

And, however little we may like to press the parallel between the trans-Uralian power of Novgorod, or of Moscow, and the penetration of Alpine or Indian mountain-walls by invaders of Italy or of Hindustan, we can hardly be wrong in emphasizing another point. The empire of Novgorod is above all a commercial dominion; the discoveries and conquests of her pioneers are primarily victories of a remarkable trade-expansion. The mercantile side of history has often been treated with contempt by the annalists of the drum and trumpet, even by the students of institutions. But has anything been more efficient in aiding human progress than trade-activity? What form of men's energy has done more to link together the most distant and diverse countries, to bring about the discovery of the earth, to promote truly useful knowledge, to "clear the mind of cant", to break down the obstacles of ignorance, fear and prejudice which once hemmed in mankind and separated its lands and races from one another?²⁸

²⁸ Compare the transitory and imperfect glimpses of ancient and mediæval China gained by the European world through political diplomacy, religious missions, or scientific interest, with the full and permanent knowledge which begins with the observations of Venetian merchants (the Polos).

Additional Notes. (a). On the Novgorod expedition of 1032 to the Iron Gates, see under A. D. 1032 in the *Chronicle of Nikon* (*Russkaya Lyetopis po Nikonovu Spisku*), Imperial Academy, St. Petersburg, 1767, vol. I., p. 132, "Uleb went to the Iron Gates from Novgorod: few of them returned, but many perished there."

(b). On the Yugrian expedition of 1193-1194 from Novgorod, see also the *Chronicle of Nikon* (*Russk. Lyet. p. Nikon. Spisk.*), A. D. 1193-1194, vol. II., pp. 259-260; and the *Sophia Chronicle* (*Sophiiskaya Lyetopis*) in the *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles* (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Lyetopisei*), issued by the Russian Archaeographical Commission, vol. V., pp. 169-170.

(c). On Ivan III.'s Siberian expeditions of 1465, 1483 and 1499, see also the

Chronicle of Archangel (Arkhangelogorodskaya Lyetopis), Moscow, 1781, pp. 141, 160-161; and Oksenov, *Political Relations of Moscow with Yugra-land* (in Russian, 1891).

(d). On St. Stephen of Perm, see also *Voskresenskaya Lyetopis* in the *Polnoe Sobranie Russk. Lyet.*, vol. VII., pp. 69-70; the *Life of St. Stephen* by Epiphan, monk of the St. Sergius monastery near Moscow, in *Monuments of Ancient Russian Literature (Pamyatniki star. Russk. Lit.)*, vol. IV., p. 119; and Klyuchevskii, *Lives of the Saints as Historical Material (Jitiya Svyatikh kak Istoricheskii Istochnik)*, p. 92, etc.

(e). On Bishop Isaac, see also Stroev, *Lists of Russian Hierarchs (Spiski Ierarkhov)*.

(f). On the early history of Solovetskii Monastery, see also Klyuchevskii, *Lives of the Saints (Jitiya, etc., as above)*, pp. 198-203.

(g). On the treaty of 1264, mentioning Kola, etc., see also *The Collection of Imperial Charters and Treaties (Sobranie Gosudarstvenik Gramot i Dogovorov)*, I.

(h). On the treaty of 1323 between Novgorod and Sweden, see *Antiquités Russes* (Copenhagen, 1850-1852), vol. II., pp. 490-491. *Antiq. Russes* (II. 492-493) also gives a treaty of June 3, 1325, between Novgorod and Sweden; an undated but very early determination of limits between Norway and Russia (II. 492-494); and an account of the Norse expedition of 1222 to Biarmaland (White Sea coasts and Lower Dvina) led by Andres Svaldarband and Ivar Utvik (II. 81-82, from *Saga of Hakon Hakonson*, §§ 81, 102).

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

THE POLITICS BEHIND BRADDOCK'S EXPEDITION

THE operations of Washington on the Monongahela ending in his capitulation at Great Meadows, July, 1754, convinced at least one party in English politics that the Newcastle administration either could not or would not settle so delicate a matter as the colonial situation by diplomacy. To understand the politics which lay behind the important question of sending regular troops to the support of the colonists, it will be necessary to trace briefly the rise of the Cumberland opposition to the Duke of Newcastle—an opposition which was both personal and political, and which came in time to represent a distinct difference in policy.

The origin of this opposition lay in the years immediately subsequent to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, while Pelham was still First Lord of the Treasury, and none but Whigs guided the policies of the government. The Duke of Cumberland, the hero of Culloden, was not a member of the cabinet, but as commander-in-chief of the forces, he possessed considerable influence, as well as a large circle of personal friends,¹ including Lord Sandwich, the Duke of Bedford, and Henry Fox, the Secretary at War. During the peace negotiations of 1748 Newcastle, who was Secretary of State, had fallen out with Sandwich, England's representative at Aix-la-Chapelle.² Cumberland, who, unlike Fox,³ had supported the duke in his recent war policy,⁴ was desirous of promoting a reconciliation; but the duke proved not only obstinate but discourteous,⁵ and, as Fox expressed it, "a breach ensued".⁶

¹ The social and political rendezvous was Windsor Lodge, where the duke lived with his unmarried sister, the Princess Amelia.

² The quarrel, broadly speaking, had been the result of a split in the cabinet on the question of whether or not the peace should be concluded without waiting for Austria's participation. Sandwich, annoyed by contradictory orders from Newcastle, deferred the execution of his final instructions, basing his conduct upon the knowledge that a majority of the cabinet was for peace, almost at any cost. On receiving a letter of censure from the duke, he answered by an apology; but cool relations continued between them. Coxe, *Pelham Administration*, II. 1-4; *Bedford Papers*, I. 584.

³ Diary of Lord Marchmont, *Marchmont Papers* (ed. Rose), I. 231.

⁴ As against the Peace Party in the cabinet led by Pelham. The general quarrel on the subject of peace or war had been directly responsible for the retirement, in succession, of Harrington and Chesterfield from the co-ordinate secretaryship of State.

⁵ He seems to have written a discourteous letter to the Princess Amelia, and followed it by further affronts. Coxe, *Pelham Administration*, II. 110.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Meanwhile serious disagreement arose between Newcastle and Bedford, the co-ordinate Secretary of State.⁷ The latter had a grudge of his own against Newcastle by reason of an affront which he had received while First Lord of the Admiralty. Bedford had worked out a most elaborate scheme for expelling the French from the districts bordering on the St. Lawrence.⁸ Preparations were actually begun for the expedition; but no encouragement could be enlisted from the powerful members of the cabinet, and despite the appeals of Bedford, the project was suffered to collapse.⁹ Perhaps to conciliate the disappointed duke, it was decided to invite him to the office of Secretary of State, the supposition being that he would be content with the compliment and decline in favor of Sandwich, then a devotee of Newcastle's. But Bedford fooled his enemy and took the office himself.¹⁰ This was in June, 1748.

For three years Newcastle and Bedford quarrelled almost ceaselessly. The senior secretary was jealous of his colleague's intimacy with Cumberland¹¹ and indignant that he was not always consulted in the business of Bedford's department. Yet Pelham was unwilling to consent to his dismissal¹² until Bedford made the mistake of opposing the administration in Parliament.¹³ Meanwhile Fox coquetted with both parties, until his attack upon the Regency-Bill,¹⁴ which Cumberland regarded as a personal slight,¹⁵ awoke Pelham to the danger of the situation; and in June, 1751, both Bedford and Sandwich were forced to retire.

From the retirement of Bedford the leadership of the Cumberland faction¹⁶ devolved upon Fox; and the period from this time until the death of Pelham in March, 1754, is marked by his steady

⁷ A crisis was with difficulty averted in the spring of 1749. Walpole's *Correspondence* (ed. Toynbee), II. 365.

⁸ *Bedford Papers*, I. 65-69.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 199-200.

¹⁰ Coxe, *Pelham Administration*, I. 390-391.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 356.

¹² The correspondence of these years are full of complaints against Bedford and plans for his dismissal.

¹³ On the Bill for Naturalizing Foreign Protestants. Fox opposed it for a time, but changed his tactics later. Walpole, *Memoirs of George II.*, I. 47-48, 53.

¹⁴ Fox gained the approval of the king afterward, whose affection for the duke was the chief cause of the Secretary at War's favor in the Closet.

¹⁵ He told Fox that it "marked him a bad man to posterity". Fox to Williams, December 15, 1751. Hanbury Papers in the Coxe Collection, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 9191.

¹⁶ Notable among the members of the faction, besides Fox, Bedford and Sandwich, were Lord Gower, Sir Hanbury Williams, the Duke of Marlborough, and later the Duke of Devonshire and his son, the Marquis of Hartington.

rise in prominence.¹⁷ Generally he remained loyal to Pelham, for he was too ambitious to become the latter's successor to follow Bedford into open opposition; yet his conduct was frequently a cause of anxiety,¹⁸ and his violent assaults¹⁹ upon the Hardwicke Marriage Act incurred the undying hatred of the Chancellor. Thus when Fox seemed on the point of winning the post left vacant by Pelham's death, the clever intriguing of Hardwicke²⁰ secured it for his friend, the Duke of Newcastle.

Having thwarted a man so prominent as Fox, the new First Lord felt compelled to offer him the secretaryship of State, but he failed to measure correctly the character of his opponent, and when the duke broke his word respecting the terms of the bargain,²¹ Fox declined to impair his political value by unworthy subservience to a man he despised. Sir Thomas Robinson was then made Secretary of State and the ministry was reconstructed with a view of making Newcastle's power absolute in the cabinet. During the next month the duke was chiefly occupied with the election of a new Parliament, and neither at home nor abroad were dangers as yet manifest.

But neither Fox nor Pitt,²² the Paymaster-General, was willing to forget his disappointments, and the Cumberland faction was tireless in its intrigues during the summer of 1754.²³ In August Cumberland gained the assistance of Pitt (through Fox's agency) in solving a relief for out-pensioners,²⁴ and the paymaster's interest in

¹⁷ As clearly shown, for example, by Lord Hillsborough's conversation with Doddington. *Diary of Lord Melcombe*, November 27, 1752. "It is prodigious", said Hillsborough, "how many friends Fox has."

¹⁸ See for example: *Diary of Lord Melcombe*, October 4, 1752, and March 7, 1754; Waldegrave, *Memoirs*, p. 24.

¹⁹ Actuated chiefly by hatred of the Chancellor. It was scarcely a stroke of faction, although Hardwicke so regarded it.

²⁰ Interestingly shown in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Harris, *Life of Hardwicke*, II. 511-515.

²¹ Fox was to have had the management of the Commons, a disposal of some of the offices, and full intelligence regarding the expenditure of secret-service money. Digby to Digby, March 14, 1754. MSS. of G. W. Digby, *Report of Royal Commission on Hist. MSS.*, VIII.

²² Pitt had likewise been a candidate to succeed Pelham.

²³ Legge, Fox, and the Duke of Devonshire seem to have been chiefly concerned, but Fox was the centre of them. The letters in the Newcastle and Hardwicke collections (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32735, 32736, 35414) during that season are full of plots and intrigues, exaggerated often, no doubt, by the duke's imagination. The most important fact to be noted in this connection was Devonshire's suggestion that Fox should be admitted to the cabinet (*ibid.*, 35414, f. 173); but just what was Fox's object is difficult to decide. We know that he half regretted his dignified attitude in March (when Newcastle broke his word), and it is possible that he was aiming for a cabinet seat plus the management of the Commons, with or without limitations.

²⁴ *Chatham Correspondence*, I. 110-111.

colonial affairs served to strengthen the alliance. In his management of the War Office Fox was energetic and painstaking. If he humored Newcastle's habit of overseeing all departments, he was nevertheless insistent upon resenting any unwarrantable encroachment; and a recent quarrel with Secretary Holdernessee over War Office business had resulted in a victory for Fox in the Closet.²⁵ It was only too evident where lay the danger to Newcastle's political power.

Such was the situation in politics when the news of Washington's capitulation forced the cabinet to embark upon a departure in policy. Neglect of the colonies by the home government had long been notorious; and little or nothing had been done in the way of settling the endless disputes²⁶ or preparing for a possible enforcement of British pretensions. Almost the only one, since Bedford's fall,²⁷ who realized the importance of the colonial problem, was the somewhat impetuous Lord Halifax, President of the Board of Trade; and it was probably at his instigation that a cabinet meeting had been finally called on June 13. The efforts of Governor Shirley to resist French encroachments on the Kennebec²⁸ were there discussed, and it was decided to send immediate directions for promoting a general plan of concert between the colonies.²⁹ Such a scheme had already been set on foot, resulting in the abortive Congress of Albany, and though the Board of Trade drafted a new plan in August,³⁰ nothing effectual resulted.

Of the cabinet meeting, which first discussed the proposal of sending strength to the colonies,³¹ no evidence has, unfortunately,

²⁵ Fox claimed that he had not been consulted with regard to some army orders sent to the West Indies, and carried his complaint to the king, who supported his case. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32736, ff. 336, 395.

²⁶ Chief reliance was placed in a boundary commission, which resulted in a deadlock.

²⁷ Bancroft (ed. 1884), II. 368, remarks, "No energetic system of colonial administration could be adopted without the aid of the friends of Bedford." Bedford's schemes for colonizing Nova Scotia are shown in a letter to Cumberland in *Bedford Papers*, I. 572-573.

²⁸ Shirley had written Secretary Holdernessee on the subject of his fears, but they do not seem to have been justified by his own investigations later. Palfrey, *History of New England*, V. 128.

²⁹ Members of the cabinet present: Granville, Hardwicke, Newcastle, Anson, and Secretaries Holdernessee and Robinson. Lord Halifax also attended the meeting. Minute, Newcastle House. Newcastle Papers, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32995, f. 266.

³⁰ *New York Colonial Documents* (ed. O'Callaghan), VI. 903-906.

³¹ Orders were issued September 30 for the regiments to be embarked at Cork (Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, II. 268). We may therefore presume that the meeting took place some time late in September. On the 29th Fox refers

come down to us. The problem was by no means a simple one; for the sending of an expedition by the home government would imply an official recognition of a struggle which was war in all but name. Nominally, of course, the measure would be for defensive purposes solely, but whether France would so regard it was at best a debatable question, and the diplomatic chaos surrounding England's relations with the great powers³² enforced upon Newcastle a realization of the risk which such a step would entail.

It was perhaps inevitable that the prominent figures interested in the question should disagree on many points. Granville, the Lord President, had long felt that the colonists were strong enough without re-enforcement from England.³³ Newcastle doubted the truth of this,³⁴ but being in his infancy as a financier, he dreaded to consider anything which might entail great expenditure; and Hardwicke, while he acknowledged that the check on the Ohio had shown the helplessness of the colonists, was even more anxious than Newcastle on the subject of the expense, and warned him specifically against too extensive a campaign.³⁵ Granville's suggestion of putting the colonists in a position to help themselves—a policy which required the sending of officers, clothing, and money in plenty—was certain to demand more of Parliament than Newcastle had as yet dared to contemplate.³⁶

But it soon became evident that the Duke of Cumberland would be the determining factor in the question; and that he and his following were resolved upon a vigorous policy. Late in September—probably as a result of a cabinet meeting—preparations were commenced for despatching two regiments on the Irish establishment, each to number 500 men, with 200 additional to be supplied by the colonists. Since, moreover, the two regiments in question were not up to their full quota of men, it was decided to draft a sufficient number from other regiments to replenish the ranks.³⁷

to the raising of the colonial regiments in a letter to Newcastle (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32736, f. 603), and on the 21st the calling of a prospective meeting is mentioned (*ibid.*, f. 554).

³² On both Austria and Holland the English hold was precarious. Mr. Corbett (*England in the Seven Years War*, I. 23) gives an able summary of the diplomatic situation and its chief dangers. In event of a rupture with France, it was important that England should not appear the aggressor.

³³ Newcastle to Hardwicke, September 4, 1754. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32736, f. 428.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, ff. 436, 583.

³⁶ Torrens, *History of British Cabinets*, II. 192. On the other hand Newcastle was mortally afraid that his enemies would make party capital from the reverses on the Ohio (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32736, f. 554). It was probably this fear which enjoined upon him the necessity of taking some active step.

³⁷ Winthrop Sargent, *History of Braddock's Expedition*, p. 134.

To this extent the cabinet was no doubt unanimous;³⁸ but it was further determined that two additional regiments should be raised in the colonies and commanded by Shirley³⁹ and Pepperrell for service in another part of the country, *the expense being borne by the king*.⁴⁰ This was in accordance with Granville's idea⁴¹ and must have been accepted with considerable reluctance by the First Lord of the Treasury. Meanwhile the chief command of the two Irish regiments was given to General Edward Braddock, a friend and nominee of the Duke of Cumberland.⁴²

But the question now arose—should the Shirley-Pepperrell contingent be fitted out at the same time as that of Braddock, or should preparations be postponed until some future time? Newcastle was strongly in favor of separating the two expeditions;⁴³ and Hardwicke as usual concurred, believing—besides his tendency to procrastination—that the English ambassador at Paris would have his hands full enough, explaining away Braddock's expedition to France's satisfaction, let alone any further demonstrations.⁴⁴

Cumberland was, however, of a different mind. Besides detesting the First Lord personally, he despised his methods and his policy; and both he and his friend Fox were determined to push the two expeditions simultaneously.⁴⁵ On October 6 Fox sent Newcastle a full list of the requirements of the War Office,⁴⁶ and a similar notification appeared in the *Gazette* of that date. On the following day the energetic secretary appeared before the king and secured the royal signature to all orders he had framed, including warrants to raise the two colonial regiments as well as the appointment of a selected list of officers to be despatched for duty under Shirley's command.⁴⁷ The same day the Board of Ordnance held

³⁸ See above, note 36.

³⁹ Gov. Shirley to take the chief command.

⁴⁰ Sargent, p. 132.

⁴¹ It seems to have been Granville, rather than Halifax (as Mr. Sargent assumes, p. 129), who chiefly advocated the policy of equipping the colonists rather than that of sending regular troops from England. Cumberland, who had no confidence in any but regular troops (Walpole, *Memoirs*, I. 390), was the champion of the alternative policy.

⁴² Sargent, p. 131.

⁴³ Newcastle to Hardwicke, October 12, 1754. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 107. The duke was also worried by the proposed plan of an expedition against Crown Point.

⁴⁴ "Depend upon it", he writes, in opposing the idea of an extensive campaign, "there will be a good deal of difference . . . both in point of expense, and in respect of general consequences." Hardwicke to Newcastle, September 27, 1754. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32736, f. 583.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 32737, f. 107.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 51.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 63. Fox was evidently acting without authorization from the cabinet, as will shortly appear.

a meeting to consider expense, and perhaps to allay the parsimonious fears of the First Lord, Fox told the Secretary of the Treasury that everything in his office had been "considered in the most economical manner".⁴⁸

Secretary Robinson was not a little disturbed by all this haste, and whereas he dared not obstruct Cumberland on his own initiative, he took the precaution of sending a special messenger to Newcastle with the news that the king had signed the warrants and that the Board of Ordnance would advertise for ships on the morrow.⁴⁹

The perplexity of Newcastle can well be imagined. He had already found that Pitt and Anson, the First Lord of the Admiralty, favored the more expensive and recently adopted schemes of Granville;⁵⁰ and it now appeared that Cumberland and Fox were going further. Politically his danger was more acute than appeared on the surface.⁵¹ It was only recently that Hardwicke had expressed his fear that Fox's intrigues would force them to make him sole leader of the Commons,⁵² and "when that is attained", wrote the Chancellor to his friend, "there will be in my apprehension an end of your Grace's chief power as minister of this country."⁵³ Nor was Fox the only one of the faction involved in these intrigues. It was well known that the Duke of Marlborough was aiming to supplant Dorset⁵⁴ as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that an effort was being made to restore Bedford to office, and that Legge, the ever-provoking Chancellor of the Exchequer, was both working in Fox's interest and seeking a pension for the Earl of Sandwich.⁵⁵ Pitt's

⁴⁸ West to Newcastle, October 7, 1754. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 73.

⁴⁹ Robinson to Newcastle, October 7, 1754. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 61. The Chancellor later pointed to this advertisement for transports as the limit, in the matter of publicity, which should have been allowed. *Ibid.*, f. 147.

⁵⁰ Newcastle to Hardwicke, October 2, 1754. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 24. Pitt was not, of course, a member of the cabinet, but was sometimes consulted by the duke. He was in favor of both plans (the raising of colonial regiments and the sending of regular troops from England). It is interesting to note that he had also suggested the raising of Highlanders for service in America—a proposal which Cumberland rejected through fear of Jacobitism.

⁵¹ Walpole gives an example of the duke's fear and jealousy of Cumberland. *Memoirs*, I. 382.

⁵² This was the ostensible object of Legge's persistent intrigues. The creation of a minister in the Commons directly responsible to the king ("Legge's old idea", as it came to be called) is constantly discussed in the correspondence of this year. Naturally Newcastle preferred to have the management in the hands of Robinson, who would be duly subservient; but whom Fox and Legge were justified in believing incompetent. "Legge's idea" was destined, as we know, to become the basis of Pitt's political creed and that of his son.

⁵³ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32736, f. 583.

⁵⁴ The Duke of Dorset had already proved his incompetence in the governing of Ireland.

⁵⁵ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32736, ff. 583, 592.

hostility was not even veiled;⁵⁶ and the martial policy of Cumberland served to focus all the elements of resistance.

Meanwhile Fox was tireless in the pursuit of his programme. If his friend Bedford had felt the mortification of seeing an unvetoed project fade into oblivion in the office of a colleague, Fox determined that no office under his direction should wait for the beck and call of the shiftier Newcastle. Not being a member of the cabinet, he was probably obliged to depend upon Granville to represent him there, but there was possibly some advantage to be derived from that very lack of participation in its transactions. For the present, the idea that Deputy-Commissary Pitcher should have his departure delayed for a quartermaster-general whose whereabouts was unknown,⁵⁷ evidently struck him as wholly unnecessary, and on October 8 he published an order in the *Gazette* that "the officers appointed to command the regiments to be raised in America should repair forthwith to their posts".⁵⁸

For Newcastle and Hardwicke the climax was now reached. The Chancellor indignantly complained that such an act was contrary to the secrecy agreed upon by the cabinet, and regarded it as a "fresh proof how fond some persons were of power and what use they would make of it if they were in".⁵⁹ At the same time the news of a three-hour conference between Fox and Pitt worried both the duke and his friend with a consciousness of their minority.⁶⁰ When the paymaster had given his support to Granville's colonial policy, the Chancellor had expressed the hope that at least he would support it in Parliament⁶¹ (the centre always of Newcastle's fears), and he now perceived that Pitt was determined to keep firmly on the side of Cumberland.⁶²

Newcastle, in the meantime, saw that there was but one way of

⁵⁶ It was probably about this time that Pitt gave Newcastle the well-known rebuff with its stinging sarcasm: "Your Grace knows that I have no capacity for these things and therefore I do not desire to be informed about them (colonial affairs)." *Diary of Lord Melcombe*, October 8, 1754.

⁵⁷ It was supposed that Lieut.-Col. St. Clair was somewhere in Flanders, but it was not known with certainty. Anson believed it would be nearly a fortnight before he could present himself for duty. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 105. Fox intended that Pitcher should sail on the 14th, and supposed, probably, that he could force the appointment of another quartermaster. *Ibid.*, f. 63.

⁵⁸ *London Gazette*, October 8, 1754, quoted by Torrens, who gives a rather disconnected account of this controversy, II. 197-198.

⁵⁹ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 147.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 109, 147. "I suppose in time", Hardwicke remarked dryly, "fire and water may agree."

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, f. 27.

⁶² *Ibid.*, f. 147.

checking his enemies and that was to lay his case before the king. It was true that George the Second had long bestowed his favor upon Fox,⁶³ but he was a man, who, while governable through a judicious use of tact, was ever sensitive to the least sign of coercion, and it was in this fact that the duke could place his hopes. So on the same day on which Fox had blown his latest blast the duke hurried to the royal Closet and prevailed upon the king to suspend all orders until a meeting should be held and they "had talked things over with Mr. Secretary at War. The King told me", continued Newcastle in relating the episode afterward, "that he was surprised when Fox brought the orders to sign for raising Shirley's and Pepperrell's regiments *now*. 'But', says the King, '*Mr. Fox told me it was to be so and what could I do?*' I did not presume to say 'Not sign them'; but was very happy to have procured his Majesty's orders that everything should be suspended; which accordingly was done."⁶⁴

For the moment Newcastle had triumphed, and it is possible that the duke's feelings are reflected in a cabinet meeting which took place the following day. Fox, though not of the cabinet, was present at the conference, and it was probably his proposal that the two regiments of Braddock should be augmented. At all events a majority of the cabinet decided in the negative.⁶⁵ It would appear also that the secretary's recent haste had been too much for Anson, since the latter made a special effort to restrain him from dabbling in West Indian affairs, and it was insisted that Mr. Pitcher should wait for the missing quartermaster-general. The most Fox could do was to put off a second meeting of the cabinet until he should have consulted the Duke of Cumberland.⁶⁶ In connection with the meeting of October 9, we simply know that he was "civil", and

⁶³ This was one of Newcastle's chief anxieties, as shown by his correspondence of this year.

⁶⁴ Newcastle to Hardwicke, October 12, 1754. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 107.

⁶⁵ It was also decided to send two representatives to the Indians (one to the northern tribes, the other to the southern) in order to solicit their participation in the prospective expeditions. As in the case of the meeting of June 13 only a small proportion of the cabinet attended, the "inner committee" consisting on this occasion of Newcastle, Robinson, Holderness, Anson and Ligonier, lieutenant-general of the Ordnance. Fox appears to have been unaware of the suspension of his orders, as he notified Newcastle the same day as the meeting (October 9) that the warrants had been signed by the king. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 63.

The Minute of the above meeting (Whitehall, October 9, 1754) is in Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32995, f. 328.

⁶⁶ Robinson to Newcastle, October 11, 1754. *Ibid.*, 32737, f. 105.

carefully kept dark almost all of his measures. One order, which leaked out, had not been ratified by the king, and was consequently suspended by his Majesty—doubtless at Newcastle's instance.⁶⁷

In all of these efforts to commit the administration to a vigorous policy, it was probably Cumberland who directed the military programme and Fox who managed cleverly the politics. That they should succeed in the end, when neither of them possessed a vote in the cabinet, is assuredly a tribute to their energy and skill. On Tuesday the 15th Fox was to consult the Duke of Cumberland;⁶⁸ but what plans were concerted between them are not known. We may presume that the cabinet met on the 16th⁶⁹—the day fixed out of deference to Fox—but just what decision was taken we can only conjecture. Judging from a letter of Newcastle's somewhat later, we may infer that the entire scheme of Cumberland and Fox received endorsement and that all differences between Newcastle and Fox on the subject of expense⁷⁰ were decided in favor of the latter.⁷¹ All the First Lord had been actually able to accomplish was to put effective clogs in the way of the secretary's haste, and when Fox attempted once more to hurry Pitcher, his colleagues insisted upon thwarting what they considered to be an effort to trick them.⁷²

⁶⁷ Newcastle to Hardwicke, October 12, 1754. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 107. Nothing daunted, Fox hired some transports two days later without waiting for authorization from the Treasury, stating frankly that the time would not "admit of it". Fox to West, October 11, 1754. *Ibid.*, f. 133.

⁶⁸ Anson to Newcastle, October 12, 1754. *Ibid.*, f. 129.

⁶⁹ Newcastle sent Robinson to consult Cumberland, who was accordingly invited to attend the meeting; and the whole policy of the administration was probably discussed. Newcastle to Walpole, October 26, 1754. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 207.

⁷⁰ Fox, for example, wished six months' pay in advance to be sent to the colonial regiments, and that it should be due from September 24. Newcastle would have waited until it was certain that the regiments could be actually raised. This was an acknowledgment of the difficulty in raising troops, which had probably been the reason for Fox's proposition. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, ff. 51, 107.

⁷¹ "I have differed a little", writes Newcastle later, in relating the controversy, "as to some preparatory steps, which, I thought, might be more frugally and effectually done another way. But as the Duke (Cumberland) persisted in thinking otherwise, I have, in great measure, acquiesced." Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 207.

⁷² Pitcher came in great astonishment to Robinson and showed him a letter from Fox ordering him (Pitcher) to arrange for his departure at once. Robinson, who was an obedient follower of Newcastle's politics, ventured now to act on his own initiative, and detained the deputy-commissary while he consulted the Chancellor. Hardwicke expressed his belief that it was a scheme to get Pitcher to America long before Braddock should arrive, thus giving the colonists the impression that the government was still unprepared, and, in consequence, to discredit the ministry. Fox's letter was accordingly remodelled and Pitcher's departure deferred. Robinson to Newcastle, October 26, 1754. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 201.

It was not, in fact, until January that the two regiments of Braddock's ill-fated expedition embarked for America.⁷³

The temporary stir which took place in Paris as a result of these preparations certainly justified the fears of Newcastle and the Chancellor;⁷⁴ and, after all the trouble and contention attending both expeditions, as we know, ended in failure, Braddock's being cut to pieces in the forests of Pennsylvania, and Shirley's abandoned after numerous hardships.⁷⁵

But the political aspects of the controversy were scarcely less important than the military. It was in November that Fox and Pitt united to humiliate Newcastle⁷⁶ in Parliament, and it was in December that the duke was compelled to admit Fox to the cabinet.⁷⁷ The faction which forced the duke's hand in the autumn of 1754 might be called the germ of the War Party, which precipitated the rupture with France in 1755.⁷⁸

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⁷³ The general himself embarked toward the end of December.

⁷⁴ See Corbett, *England in the Seven Years War*, I. 10, 30.

⁷⁵ It had apparently been originally planned to send Shirley against the French settlements on the St. John (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 32737, f. 107) but he was eventually sent against Fort Niagara, which he promised Braddock to reach toward the end of June (Sargent, p. 306). The expedition against Crown Point was also unsuccessful; only the one against Ft. Beauséjour accomplished its object.

⁷⁶ Pitt attacked Newcastle directly; both Pitt and Fox humbled the duke's representative, Robinson; and Pitt also attacked Murray, the duke's leading debater.

⁷⁷ Waldegrave, *Memoirs*, p. 34.

⁷⁸ The ultimate triumph of the War Party is briefly summarized in Dr. von Ruville's *Life of Chatham* (Eng. trans.), I. 355, 364-365.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE POLITY OF NAPOLEON I.¹

It is somewhat remarkable that while Napoleon Bonaparte has always been recognized as the chief architect of the modern French state, his plans and specifications, so to speak, and the actual process of his direction of the construction, have been as yet but slightly studied. The general effect has been closely examined and variously appraised, and certain phases, such as the church, education, finance and industry, have been subjected to expert scrutiny; but I am not aware of any thorough and comprehensive inquiry into the principles and practices of general administration from the point of view of the shaping of the new institutions. Yet such an inquiry must be admitted to be essential to the comprehension both of the man and of his work.

I am not unmindful of the careful attention that has frequently been given to the fundamental documents of the new régime. But here, as so often in the study of the history of institutions, it seems necessary to call attention to the importance of closely following the daily executive interpretation of such documents, the daily course of their application in connection with the problems of civil government. Institutions are after all manipulated by men and for men, and when we lose sight of this flesh-and-blood element, we deal only with dry bones. It is through the constant contact of these bones with flesh and blood that the body's habit and action, the organic life, is determined. From this point of view I have entered on the study of the aims and methods of Napoleon Bonaparte in the administration of the government of France and of their working out in civil institutions.

Napoleon is one of the great administrators of all time, and his

¹ The material made use of in this paper is drawn from the authorized *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier* (Paris, 1858-1870, 32 vols.), with the supplements of Lecestre, *Napoléon Ier, Lettres Inédites, an VIII-1815* (Paris, 1897, 2 vols.), and De Brotonne, *Lettres Inédites de Napoléon I.* (Paris, 1898) and *Dernières Lettres Inédites de Napoléon I.* (Paris, 1903, 2 vols.), from the Rondonneau Collection of *imprimés* in the Archives Nationales, from the *cartons* of the Arch. Nat. entitled "Journaux du Cabinet de l'Empereur, an VIII-1815" (AF IV. 909), and "Dictées de l'Empereur au Ministre Sec. d'État, an XII-1815" (AF IV. 910), and from the *registres* containing the "Procès-verbaux des Séances des Consuls, 1800-1804" (AF* IV. 3-15). The authorized *Correspondance* will be referred to as *Corr.*, the supplements under the names of the editors.

work crystallizes the results of the most striking period of transition in modern history; a close study of the progress of that work seems to me the most effective way of dealing with the problems of the meaning and results of the French Revolution, and of the relations to it and to the Old Régime of modern France and modern Europe. The present brief paper aims to do little more than set forth certain preliminaries to such a study; it is concerned with principles and purposes rather than achievements, and deals with only certain phases of the spirit and tendencies of the Napoleonic government. For the most part, I have left Napoleon to speak for himself, and have neglected, as often open to suspicion, most of his public utterances, and all statements and explanations made apart from the course of normal civil administration. I have therefore confined myself to such more or less confidential communications as can hardly be supposed to have been affected by the idea of publicity, present or future; for lack of space I have left aside for the present all legislative work. The confidential communications used are, it will be noticed, for the most part such as present administrative decisions; they represent therefore not only what Napoleon said but what he did. In grouping them I have aimed to confine myself to two general aspects: (1) the enunciation or indication by Napoleon of political principles or administrative methods; (2) the legality or constitutionality of his régime. And I should be the first to concede that the material presented is quite fragmentary, that for the most part it raises questions without furnishing those conclusive answers that can rest alone on more extended work.

I.

It is not possible, I think, to present any comprehensive view of society or politics from the utterances of Napoleon; but the student will hardly doubt that he not only had the born ruler's intuition, but had reflected deeply on the general problems of government. Both intuition and reflection doubtless lie behind a couple of interesting remarks on the Art of Ruling that belong to the year 1804. They are made to Fouché, to whom on September 9 he writes with respect to a recent production by Barère entitled *Lettre à l'Armée*; he says that he has not read it as it was both improper and futile, and that Barère, "dont les déclamations et les sophismes ne sont pas en harmonie avec sa colossale réputation", is to be warned not to meddle with such matters. "Il croit toujours", adds Napoleon, "qu'il faut animer les masses; il faut, au contraire, les diriger sans qu'elles s'en aperçoivent."²

² *Correspondance*, IX. 511.

A few weeks later he remarks, à propos of the "amnistiés" (probably the returned *émigrés*), "Dans les gouvernements, il faut de la conséquence; du moment qu'on admet un individu à faire partie de l'ordre politique, il doit en posséder tous les droits. . . . L'art des gouvernements est de punir les méchants, mais de récompenser les honnêtes gens. . . . Le principe général est de tenir tout en surveillance, et de faire des exceptions en faveur de ceux qui se comportent bien."³ This observation has a collateral interest, and suggests the remark that Napoleon was not always able to display that "conséquence" which he recognized as a prime virtue of the ruler; in regard to the *émigrés*, for example, he might seem to have spoiled his own work in large degree by failing to follow up his early generous and statesmanlike policy. But instead of causing us simply to view Napoleon's professions with suspicion, this should perhaps lead us to recognize what is often ignored: that the conciliatory advances of the new government were for the most part futile, that it was forced constantly to regard itself as surrounded by irreconcilable enemies, and that from this and other causes the administrative conditions never became entirely normal.

The memoirs and other personal fragments of this period frequently represent Napoleon as discoursing freely on revolutionary questions and on his own position in France. Such records unfortunately are open to much suspicion from the uncertainty both as to Napoleon's immediate object or dramatic instinct, and as to the narrator's good faith or good memory. It is but rarely that direct reference is made to such fundamental matters in the administrative correspondence. The first instance is perhaps in 1802, when he begins the life consulship with the declaration to the Senate that "Le suffrage du peuple m'a investi de la suprême magistrature. Je ne me croirais pas assuré de sa confiance, si l'acte qui m'y retiendrait n'était encore sanctionné par son suffrage."⁴ When his dignity was made imperial and hereditary, his public language shows the change, and he declares to the Senate, April 25, 1804, "Nous avons été constamment guidés par cette grande vérité: que la souveraineté réside dans le Peuple français, en ce sens que tout, tout sans exception, doit être fait pour son intérêt, pour son bonheur et pour sa gloire."⁵ It is evident that this guarded statement may mean no more than the motto of Frederick the Great's despotism, "I am the first servant of the State", and the purport of it will be the more evident when it is remembered that it occurs in the response to that

³ *Corr.*, X. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII. 460.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IX. 341.

address in which the Senate had declared that "Il faut que la liberté et l'égalité soient sacrés, que le pacte social ne puisse pas être violé, que la souveraineté du peuple ne soit jamais méconnue, et que la nation ne soit jamais forcé de ressaisir sa puissance et venger sa majesté outragée."⁶ By 1812 the Emperor seems to have reached the point of open hostility to the idea of popular sovereignty, or perhaps rather to any expression of that idea, for on December 20 he breaks out in his reply to an address of the Council of State:

C'est à l'idéologie, à cette ténébreuse métaphysique qui, en recherchant avec subtilité les causes premières, veut sur ces bases fonder la législation des peuples, au lieu d'appropriier les lois à la connaissance du cœur humain et aux leçons de l'histoire, qu'il faut attribuer tous les malheurs qu'a éprouvés notre belle France. Ces erreurs devaient et ont effectivement amené le régime des hommes de sang. En effet, qui a proclamé le principe d'insurrection comme un devoir? qui a adulé le peuple en le proclamant à une souveraineté qu'il était incapable d'exercer? qui a détruit le respect et la sainteté des lois, en les faisant dépendre, non des principes sacrés de la justice, de la nature des choses et de la justice civile, mais seulement de la volonté d'une assemblée composée d'hommes étrangers à la connaissance des lois civiles, criminelles, administratives, politiques et militaires?⁷

It is not necessary for me to delay upon the character and history of the representative bodies of the Napoleonic period; it is probably just enough to regard them as innocuous if not farcical. The Emperor's real attitude with respect to parliamentary representation is probably accurately expressed in a note for Cambacérès, October 28, 1809, by the remark with reference to the Corps Législatif, "Aucun corps ne peut se dire représentant de la nation. Toutes les autorités la représentent également."⁸ We can hardly doubt that Napoleon dreaded the institution and resented its claims, and we cannot be surprised that he should have both dreaded and resented claims so closely identified with ten years of excess and disaster. And in judging his attitude toward alike the theory of popular sovereignty and its expression in parliamentary institutions, we must remember (as Napoleon III. urged) that government in his brief reign can hardly be looked at as ever reaching normal conditions, and that he might well have continued to believe throughout the most of it that the task of establishing order and winning men from the revolutionary temper and from the dangerous brooding on revolutionary ideas and activities, would be fatally hampered by freedom of political association and agitation. We have evidence that Napoleon as an observer of the revolutionary popular move-

⁶ March 27, 1804.

⁷ *Corr.*, XXIV. 343.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XX. 16.

ments had received impressions that left him somewhat nervous with respect to such movements. Some peculiarities in his treatment of Paris were largely the result of this sentiment, and its existence probably had much to do with his constant vigilance as to Parisian and provincial public spirit and with his unrelenting efforts to repress all mediums of the interchange of ideas on public affairs.

But whether or not he were permanently or only temporarily hostile to representative government, he recognized the necessity of keeping constantly in touch with public opinion and of remaining the exponent of national feeling. In this way he represents clearly one of the great changes that had come about, the larger place taken by public opinion and national sentiment. He undoubtedly looked upon himself as receiving his power from or with the approval of the nation, and as remaining dependent upon that approval; that he ever felt himself to be in the position of the hated tyrant, to be estranged in spirit from and physically set over against his people, I do not believe. In this connection one might quote some sentences in a note for Cambacérès of August 2, 1809. After speaking of the inadvisability of "*les choses masquées*" in administration, he goes on to sweep away the artificial construction of the "*imperial domain*" as composed of "*contributions levées sur l'ennemi*" with the remark that "*cette affectation si positive d'une chose appartenant à l'Empereur et non à la nation était un peu trop tranchante, car l'Empereur ne fait la guerre qu'avec les moyens et l'argent de la nation.*" And he adds:

Toutes les fois que dans une loi ou sénatus-consulte on voudra donner à l'Empereur des propriétés autres que sa liste civile et ses acquisitions, on trouvera des embarras et des contrariétés. Mais toutes les fois qu'on le chargera d'administrer ou de réglementer telle partie, on sera d'accord. . . . L'Empereur ne peut donner un seul arpent du domaine national, ni même du domaine de sa liste civile. Établir le contraire ce serait aller contre tous les principes.⁹

This recognition of the identity of crown and people should be viewed in the light of his efforts in various ways to get into and keep in touch with the nation. He was determined to retain control as well as initiative, and to crush every effort at popular agitation; but he was also sincerely anxious to get such information and advice as would enable him to act in the general interest. This is, I think, the predominant idea in the institution of the *senatoreries*, through which a number of the senators (who were constitutionally excluded from open political or administrative activity) were peri-

⁹ *Corr.*, XIX. 295.

odically employed in secret investigations of conditions in specific territories; as explained by Regnaud in 1803 to the Corps Législatif, this institution was intended to aid in bringing the Senate closer to the nation, in placing before the government the public needs and ideas, and in enabling the public to know "la véritable pensée du gouvernement".¹⁰ The same purpose was claimed in the institution of the Legion of Honor, which is referred to in the Minutes of the Council of State of the 25 Floréal an X as "une institution politique qui place dans la société des intermédiaires par lesquels les actes du pouvoir sont traduits à l'opinion avec fidélité et bienveillance, et par lesquels l'opinion peut remonter jusqu'au pouvoir."¹¹

These facts should be kept in mind when we reflect upon the well-known process of the purging of the Tribune and Senate and the final suppression of the former. The Corps Législatif was not so much interfered with; that Napoleon, however, cannot justly be accused of holding out false hopes to it may be seen from the expressions used when, on the 24 Frimaire an XII, the Senate decreed new regulations for its organization and operation. One of these was that the First Consul should appoint the annual president (formerly elected monthly) from candidates nominated to him by the assembly; in stating the reasons for this change Regnaud declared that the government encouraged all communications from the Corps Législatif, and aimed to assure to it "la liberté d'une discussion éclairée . . . la faculté d'adresser au Gouvernement l'expression de ses sentiments, le résultat de ses pensées, de manière à éclairer, encourager sa marche, sans pouvoir la retarder et l'arrêter jamais; et il lui laisse tout entière l'obligation de se soumettre au régulateur souverain qui commande à toutes les autorités et balance tous les pouvoirs, à l'opinion publique."¹²

It seems clear from all this that Napoleon looked upon the central representative institutions as proper (in at least the conditions then confronting government in France) only to furnish light to an all-powerful and responsible executive. It is not to be expected that he would view otherwise the functions of the representative bodies that acted locally. In considering these we perhaps need not stop to distinguish between the advisory councils of the communes, *arrondissements* and departments, occupied with questions of local administration, and the electoral colleges in the *arrondissements* and departments that took the place of the original "lists

¹⁰ Archives Nationales, AD XVIII^B, 314.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VI. 80.

¹² *Ibid.*, XVIII^B, 314.

of notabilities"; there is little difference with respect to popular election (practically excluded after 1802), and all, as composed of residents, are alike representative of local public opinion and interests. None of these local organs appears to us as dangerous, but yet we find Napoleon exercising constant vigilance in their regard. September 17, 1801, he comments upon the unsatisfactory character of the recent sessions of the departmental councils, as wholly occupied with local and personal matters, and declares that in the next session it will be necessary "de leur indiquer, par une instruction, les objets principaux sur lesquels doivent porter leurs délibérations".¹³

If it is natural to suspect that he is simply seeking a pretext for increasing the subjection of these bodies, we must at least concede that he drew a line with regard to the kind of control, for on May 24, 1804, he expresses strongly his disapproval of the intimidating action of one of the military commanders in regard to an electoral college, and especially "qu'une assemblée toute civile ait été environnée de troupes". He informs the Minister of the Interior, to whom he is writing, that "Les maximes du Gouvernement sont entièrement contraires à cette mesure; il ne désire régner que par la confiance, et il n'a jamais voulu qu'on pût mettre des bornes à la libre expression des citoyens appelés aux fonctions électorales."¹⁴ In March, 1805, after the institution of the Legion of Honor and the provision for the *ex-officio* sitting of legionaries in the electoral colleges, he writes to confine to one-tenth the proportion of such members.¹⁵ His constant care to prevent the development of a dangerous public spirit through these assemblies is shown, March 27, 1805, in his directions to the Minister of the Interior with respect to the convocation of the cantonal ones. Contiguous departments are not to be allowed to hold such meetings at the same time; "Le ministre fera un rapport sur l'esprit qui a animé l'année dernière les collèges qui viennent d'être convoqués, afin que l'on puisse, en usant de la prérogative qui appartient à l'Empereur, rétablir l'équilibre."¹⁶ In the following year there were issued new "Instructions pour Messieurs les Présidents des Collèges Électoraux", in which it is directed that "le collège ne peut directement ni indirectement sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, correspondre avec un autre collège, sous peine de dissolution."¹⁷

¹³ *Corr.*, VII. 254.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IX. 370.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, X. 203.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, X. 265.

¹⁷ *Arch. Nat.*, AD I. 73.

This is, of course, only a part of a general policy of repression with respect to public movements or expressions of public spirit that has been frequently dwelt upon. It is true that June 7, 1800, Napoleon wrote from Italy to the other consuls in disapproval of the suppression of a journal for reflections on the Institute, and remarks, "il doit régner la plus grande liberté";¹⁸ but this temper did not last long and all that remained of journalism was placed soon under a reign of terror. Official displeasure was constantly visited on any sign of appealing to the public through the press in regard to public affairs. March 26, 1806, the Emperor requests the Minister to inform the Chambers of Commerce that "la voie la plus inconvenante et la plus inefficace de faire parvenir à Sa Majesté ou des vues, ou des représentations, est celle de l'impression. Une chose imprimée, par cela même qu'elle est un appel à l'opinion, n'en est plus un à l'autorité."¹⁹ In a letter to Champagny, Minister of the Interior, April 26, 1806, with respect to a municipal official whom the prefect had charged with insubordination, he declares that the charge could be regarded as serious only if the accused had published his remonstrance, in which act would lie "son tort le plus réel".²⁰ About the same time he announces limitations on the access to the government of deputations, declaring that they could be sent only by the electoral colleges or by the municipal and departmental councils, acting in a prescribed way. In June of the same year he writes to Eugene Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, "Mon fils, il faut imprimer peu. . . . En général, le moins que vous ferez imprimer sera le mieux."²¹

The subject of local representative institutions suggests the large topic of local autonomy *vs.* centralization. This issue can hardly be said to be raised directly in official communications, and, as we should expect, the whole trend was toward a centralization which at that time might well have appeared the only promising line of development. But yet we have some evidence that Napoleon was not wholly responsible for the excess of this development or blind to its dangers. If we can rely on a note dictated by him to Lucien Bonaparte when appointed Minister of the Interior at the beginning of the consulate, Napoleon began his administration strongly convinced of the evils of excessive centralization and anxious to maintain considerable local autonomy. The note²² refers with approval

¹⁸ *Corr.*, VI. 343.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XII. 218.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XII. 311.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XII. 478.

²² *Ibid.*, VI. 50. The document is published in the official *Correspondance* as an extract from the *École des Communes*; no treatise of this title appears elsewhere.

to the early revolutionary policy in regard to the communes, says that since 1790 the commune that before had belonged to the seigneur and the priest had been "une véritable *personne*, ayant droit de posséder, d'acquérir", but adds that since 1790 also these 36,000 communes had been pillaged by the government, that in ten years more they would be reduced to beggary, and that it is the duty of the minister to avert an evil "qui porterait la gangrène dans ces trente-six mille membres du grand corps social". An inventory is therefore to be made with special reference to communal conditions, and every official effort is to be given to preserving the *biens communaux* and to general improvement; ten years of such a régime would, it is predicted, leave in France only "communes ayant des ressources disponibles", and the general movement of prosperity given to the country by the activity of thirty-six million individuals would be multiplied "par la puissance amélioratrice de trente-six mille individualités communales agissant toutes sous la haute direction du Gouvernement".

This last clause, it will be noticed, is somewhat ominous; the extent and the exact method of the exercise of "la haute direction" were probably not easily determined, for there followed a good deal of experimentation with respect to the supervision of the communes. The constitutional changes of 1802 and 1804 greatly advanced the process of stifling local initiative and freedom of action; it is hence rather surprising to find on October 27, 1804, a doubt addressed by Napoleon to the Council of State with reference to the project of making *maires* and their adjoints a part of the municipal councils. "Comment", he asks, "accorde-t-on cette mesure avec le droit de surveillance du conseil sur l'administration de la municipalité?"²³ And it was not until June 4, 1806, that it was declared by decree that for the future the *maire* should sit in and preside over the council.²⁴

The treatment of the communal properties in the later years of the Empire was no doubt in large degree the natural or inevitable result of Napoleon's financial difficulties; for the policy outlined with such enthusiasm in 1800, there is substituted an effort to shift public burdens from the central to the local administrations, and to appropriate for the state the resources of the communal lands. A note for the Minister of the Interior, September 17, 1810, dwells on the desirability of thus increasing the communal obligations, declares that the communes "sont, en général, trop riches" and are extrav-

²³ *Corr.*, X. 36.

²⁴ These councils it will be remembered were nominated by the prefects.

agantly managed, the *maires* (who ought not to be paid at all) sometimes receiving more than the prefects; the minister is therefore directed to prepare a project for a law under which the communes should abandon to the state one-half of the *octrois* in order that direct taxation might be reduced. We find Napoleon carried on in this direction even beyond the docility of the Council of State; for June 26, 1813, he writes from Dresden to the imperial arch-chancellor, Cambacérès,²⁵ that if the council continues to retard by a "foule de questions contentieuses" the sale of the communal properties the matter is to be removed from it altogether and managed by the Arch-Chancellor, the Minister of Justice and the Grand Judge. He declares that the communes are to be left only "les objets d'agrément". That this, however, was an exceptional war-measure is indicated by the remark: "Il importe, dans la situation actuelle des affaires, de soutenir le Trésor; tout le reste est indifférent." This step is further pushed on in a letter to Gaudin, Minister of Finance, of the following July;²⁶ he asks for the names of the departments in which communal properties have not already been taken possession of, and adds that, as the new financial arrangements will now enable these also to be sold, the process is to be extended to them.²⁷

This summary of Napoleon's treatment of the principle and practice of popular sovereignty will show how far he had wandered from the rationalistic positions of the men of the eighteenth century and of the Revolution, and may seem to justify Taine's remark that he entertained only disgust for the revolutionary ideas and principles. But a very little investigation shows that this is distinctly something less than a half-truth. Without going fully into the question of how far Napoleon really shared the revolutionary ideas or how far he consciously carried on or opposed the revolutionary work, I will point out some evidence of a consistent effort on his part to identify himself and his régime with the previous epoch. It is, of course, advisable to formulate a general caution as to the degree in which he may be suspected of simply echoing the current or lately prevailing cant; it is probably true that he was slow in emancipating himself from the idea that it was advisable to use it. But with the fullest allowance of this kind it must still, I think, be concluded that Napoleon Bonaparte so far continued to share the

²⁵ Lecestre, II. 253.

²⁶ *Corr.*, XXV. 477.

²⁷ The large question of the *biens communaux* is only touched on in the above remarks. Many other elements were involved; but an adequate discussion of them is at present impossible.

revolutionary attitude and uphold the revolutionary work as to set him and his government at a long distance from the Old Régime.

The revolutionary abolition of feudal obstacles to the well-being of the masses and to the effective use by the state of the national resources, is frequently referred to by Napoleon with the most emphatic approval; in this, however, both he and the revolutionists were only in line with the policy of the eighteenth-century enlightened absolutism. July 18, 1801, the consuls issued a proclamation "aux habitants des quatre départements de la rive gauche du Rhin", in which the newly incorporated Alsatians and Lorrainers are forcibly reminded of all they had won.

Des privilèges odieux n'enchaînent plus l'industrie des ouvriers; le gibier ne ravage plus les champs du cultivateur, ne dévore plus les fruits de son travail; pour tous ont cessé d'âvillissantes corvées; pour tous a cessé la dégradation des servitudes féodales.

La dime est abolie; les contributions de tous genres sont adoucies; les perceptions sont également réparties entre les terres du seigneur ou de l'ecclésiastique ci-devant exempts de charges, et celles du particulier qui les supportait seul; les douanes intérieures qui se rencontraient au passage d'une contrée à une autre, ou empêchaient de remonter les rivières, sont supprimées.

Une justice impartiale, des administrations régulières sont substituées à l'autorité arbitraire des baillis.²⁸

On January 19, 1803, Napoleon questions the Minister of Justice with respect to the full abolition of feudal conditions in these departments and in the Netherlands.²⁹ It has been frequently pointed out that the extension of his power was always marked by these changes, and it is not now necessary for me to delay on the fact that the application of such measures was apparently in course of modification at one time in the later years of the Empire in the interests of the revenue.³⁰ For at the end of 1811 we find adherence to the

²⁸ *Corr.*, VII. 198.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII. 183.

³⁰ I refer here to a phase of this matter on which my material is as yet incomplete and which is not represented at all, I think, in the published documents. The carton of the National Archives entitled "Journaux du Cabinet de l'Empereur, an VIII-1815" (AF IV. 909) contains the following "Note dictée par l'Empereur au Prince Cambacérès du 9 novembre 1810":

"Sa Majesté desire que le Prince Cambacérès fasse venir près de lui MM. les Comtes Treilhaut et Merlin, confère avec eux sur les objets ci-après et présente à S. M. les idées sur les mesures qu'on peut être dans le cas d'adopter.

"Le système féodal a été aboli en France. Il ne peut être question de revenir sur cette partie de notre législation pour ce qui concerne l'ancienne France et les pays anciennement réunis. Doit-elle être appliquée aux Départemens de hollande? à ceux des États romains? à ceux de la Toscane? et ne peut-on pas aussi en excepter Ceux de Piémont, si l'état des choses le permet encore? Cet objet est tres digne d'attention. le resultat de la Suppression des Droits féodaux

revolutionary principles sufficiently set forth anew in the decree for the abolition of the feudal régime in the newly-incorporated North-west Germany.³¹

An emphatic general approval of the nationalizing effects of the revolutionary measures is contained in a letter of the First Consul to Cambacérès, November 3, 1802. It is written from Rouen and dwells on the good conditions prevailing in the town.

Sa prospérité s'est accrue d'un tiers depuis 1788. Il y a dans tout ce département un attachement au Gouvernement, franc et dégagé de toute autre pensée. On y retrouve les avantages de ce système de 1789 qui avait armé la nation entière et l'avait réunie dans le même mouvement. Depuis le négociant ou le fabricant le plus riche, et qui, pendant la révolution, ont eu le plus la réputation d'aristocratie, jusqu'au dernier homme du peuple, ils sont tous réunis.³²

In 1803 we find the First Consul vigorously denouncing a book that had defamed the Revolution and being led by the incident to increase the stringency of the press censorship.³³ In 1807 he writes to the president of the Section of the Interior of the Council of State to condemn an order against the civilian bearing of arms issued by a military commander engaged in suppressing brigandage; he points out the lack of authority of either a military commander or a prefect to so restrict the rights of the citizen, and concludes with language that under more public conditions would be open to suspicion: "Tout noble était autrefois en possession de ce droit; aujourd'hui tout Français domicilié, tout citoyen qui, dans son ex-

dans ces pays serait en meme tems, une perte considerable pour l'Etat et la ruine de beaucoup de Particuliers, Sans aucune autre motif et sans aucune autre avantage que de depouiller Ceux qui jouissent pour libérer les debiteurs des obligations qui leur ont été imposées de tout tems. Un rapport est necessaire pour concilier avec le Code napoleon les modifications qu'il convient de faire de nos lois dans ces differents pays. Deja le Conseil d'Etat, en délibérant sur les lois à publier dans les Departemens de la Hollande s'est refusé à comprendre dans la Nomenclature proposée les lois sur la suppression des Droits féodaux. Il y a sur cet objet essentiel un travail très utile à faire. En interprétant les Decrets de l'assemblee constituante de manière à déclarer féodales propriétés qui n'étaient pas, mais qui étaient seulement frappées d'un Cens, on a obéi à la Politique et le Trésor a perdu une centaine de Millions. Il n'y a aucun Raison pour le soumettre à cette perte dans les nouveaux Departemens."

On the same date a similar but more extended communication was dictated for the Secretary of State, going more fully into the ways in which the treasury had suffered, and repeating almost verbatim the above sentences. It is not, however, probable that further research into this matter would reveal any other than financial motives. And it is, of course, entirely true that both the state and the legitimate rights of private property had been largely and unnecessarily injured in the too hasty and sweeping measures of the Revolution.

³¹ *Corr.*, XXIII. 62.

³² *Ibid.*, VIII. 88.

³³ *Ibid.*, VIII. 374.

istence privée, donne à la société une caution de sa conduite, est noble.”³⁴ The acts and utterances of the Hundred Days are, of course, untrustworthy, but in this connection it may yet be worth while pointing out how constantly he appeals to the Revolution and to his own administration as confirming its benefits; with his earlier acts in mind we can scarcely deny that he might well have made these appeals with sincerity and good conscience. At least he uses no immoderate language when in his proclamation “Aux Habitants des Hautes et Basses-Alpes”, March 6, 1815, he claims that his return “garantit la conservation de toutes les propriétés”, and appeals for their support on the ground that “L’égalité entre toutes les classes, et les droits dont vous jouissez depuis vingt-cinq ans, et après lesquels nos pères ont tant soupiré, forment aujourd’hui une partie de votre existence.”³⁵

The revolutionary breaking-down of the Régime of Privilege that is here referred to, was undoubtedly a change that Napoleon had much at heart, and with which he identified himself to the fullest degree. But it was not in the extreme spirit of rationalistic democracy that he regarded this social revolution, and his attitude was probably not any more adapted to please the *sans-culotte* than the aristocrat of the Old Régime. He belongs in spirit emphatically to the bourgeois revolution, and on various occasions dwells with great emphasis and approval upon the leadership thus secured to the middle classes. In March, 1805, he writes to the Minister of Finance with respect to the formation of those lists of the largest tax-payers that were to be the basis of official life. In forming these lists, special attention is to be given, he directs, to such as have more than one-half of their fortunes in *biens nationaux*.

L’intention de l’Empereur est de ne comprendre parmi les 30 plus imposés que des personnes appartenant aux familles les plus considérables par leur existence antérieure et présente, par l’étendue de leurs liaisons de parenté dans le département, par leurs bonnes mœurs et leurs vertus publiques et privées. Quand on dit les familles les plus considérables, on n’entend pas celles qui jouissaient de plus de considération dans l’ancien ordre de choses, à raison de leur extraction, quoique l’on n’entende pas non plus que ces circonstances antérieures doivent les exclure; mais on entend spécialement les bonnes familles qui appartenaient à ce que l’on appelait autrefois le tiers état, partie la plus saine de la population, et que les liens les plus étroits et les plus nombreux attachent au Gouvernement.

Not more than one-sixth of those included should be persons “ayant autrefois joui d’une existence particulière à raison de leur

³⁴ *Corr.*, XIV. 401.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVIII. 6.

naissance". How much the Emperor had this policy at heart is shown by the concluding injunction: "La plupart de ces idées devront rester très-secrètes; c'est la pensée tout entière de l'Empereur sur cette matière: aucun acte public, aucune circulaire ne doit la laisser pénétrer."³⁶ These views are again strongly enunciated in a letter to Jerome Bonaparte of November 15, 1807, accompanying a new constitution for Westphalia. In this the new king is directed to see to it that the Council of State should be mainly non-noble,

toutefois sans que personne s'aperçoive de cette habituelle surveillance à maintenir en majorité le tiers état dans tous les emplois. J'en excepte quelques places de cour, auxquelles . . . il faut appeler les plus grands noms. Mais que . . . dans vos administrations, la plus grande partie des personnes que vous emploierez ne soit pas noble. Cette conduite ira au cœur de la Germanie et affligera peut-être l'autre classe; n'y faites point attention. Il suffit de ne porter aucune affectation dans cette conduite, et surtout de ne jamais entamer de discussions ni faire comprendre que vous attachez tant d'importance à relever le tiers état. Le principe avoué est de choisir les talents partout où il y en a.³⁷

This subject leads logically to a study of Napoleon's attitude to the aristocracy, old and new, but manifestly this cannot be attempted here with any thoroughness. There is considerable obscurity and some appearance of inconsistency in Napoleon's acts and expressions in this matter; this probably testifies to long-continued uncertainty in his own mind (perhaps I might even venture to say, to conflict between principle and policy), and also in all likelihood to the forcing of his hand by events. I shall at present confine myself to quoting some sentences which show that in founding a new nobility or in conceding their distinctions to the old, Napoleon never forgot his fundamental system. March 30, 1807, he writes to Louis of Holland of his astonishment at the news that Louis was re-establishing the old Dutch nobility in its titles and privileges. "Comment", he asks, "serait-il possible que vous ayez eu assez peu de discernement pour ne pas sentir que rien n'était plus funeste à vous, à vos peuples, à la France et à moi? Prince français, comment auriez-vous pu violer vos premiers serments, qui sont de maintenir l'égalité parmi vos peuples?" He adds that Louis will lose the love of the Dutch; "Car, si une noblesse est soutenable dans un pays militaire, elle est insoutenable dans un pays de commerçants. J'estime mieux le dernier boutiquier d'Amsterdam que le premier noble de Hollande."³⁸ But it is only in August of the same year

³⁶ *Corr.*, X. 205.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XVI. 173.

³⁸ *Lecestre*, I. 90.

that Napoleon writes to Cambacérès with respect to a decree-project for the conferring of titles on the most important members of the electoral colleges; it is pointed out that "l'exécution de ce système est le seul moyen de déraciner entièrement l'ancienne noblesse. On s'appelle encore duc, marquis, baron; on a repris ses armes et ses livrées. Il était facile de prévoir que, si l'on ne remplaçait pas ces habitudes anciennes par des institutions nouvelles, elles ne tarderaient pas à renaître." Accordingly the decree, in the desire "effacer jusqu'au souvenir des anciennes distinctions et des anciens privilèges qui ont été réprouvés par nos constitutions et par nos lois", proceeds to the establishment of the hereditary titles of duke, count and baron.³⁹ After this step the Emperor was obliged to relax his opposition to the policy of Louis in Holland, though he repeats to him, May 6, 1808, that his measures are "fort inutile" and that he must draw the line at the creation of princes.⁴⁰ In 1810 in a note for the Imperial Arch-Chancellor he dwells on the advisability of the rapid development of the institution of hereditary titles in order that the new nobility may be really national, and repeats that the whole aim of the imperial policy in this matter was "donner des appuis à la dynastie présente, faire oublier l'ancienne noblesse".⁴¹

Only a few months later we find steps apparently taken to modify the work of Louis in Holland and to reconstruct the Dutch nobility on an imperial basis;⁴² there are other indications of a new aim of developing an imperial nobility as distinct from national aristocracies, and it is probable that the difficulties and uncertainties of this policy largely account for inconsistencies in the later years. In a letter to Murat of November 20, 1809, Napoleon approves of a step recently taken by the Neapolitan government as likely to be "utile à votre royaume en régénérant sa noblesse et en entourant le trône de familles qui lui devront les distinctions dont elles seront revêtues".⁴³ But a year later he writes that Murat's idea of reconstructing the Neapolitan *noblesse* is ridiculous and that he is to keep it as it is.

J'ai dû reconstituer en France la noblesse, parce qu'il s'était élevé beaucoup d'hommes qui se sont illustrés dans toutes les carrières, civiles et militaires, soit au milieu des dissensions et factions, soit au milieu des camps. Ce que j'ai fait en France, et ce que l'Europe a approuvé, ce serait à Naples une singerie mal appliquée; laissez dormir cela. Quelque chose que vous fassiez, il n'est pas en votre pouvoir, avant que de grands événements illustrent votre pays, de faire oublier le passé et de faire dater les choses de l'époque actuelle.⁴⁴

³⁹ *Corr.*, XV. 487.

⁴⁰ Lecestre, I. 190.

⁴¹ *Corr.*, XX. 410.

⁴² *Ibid.*, XXI. 265, 354.

⁴³ De Brotonne, *Dern. Lett.*, I. 447.

⁴⁴ *Corr.*, XXI. 333.

It is clear from these citations that the policy of Napoleon in regard to a titled aristocracy can be accurately weighed only after fuller examination. At present I am concerned only to point out that there is apparently nothing in this policy that casts doubt on the sincerity of his identification of himself and his régime with that uplifting of the non-noble classes that had been so manifest a result of the Revolution.

II.

The other side of my subject is that of the legality or constitutionality of government in France in the Napoleonic epoch. The incompleteness with which the Napoleonic system and methods have as yet been presented is shown clearly by the haziness of our ideas on the exact treatment by Napoleon of the laws and the constitution. The ordinary assumption is, I think, that as this constitution and these laws were practically dictated by him, and as he had arrived at this position of dictatorship by a violent seizure of power, he continued to cast aside legal and constitutional restraints whenever it seemed desirable, and allowed the forms to have validity only when they did not trammel him. At the best, he is represented as being restrained only by the statesman's sense of the necessity of recognized limits and methods, and by the impulse to establish a government of order in contrast to the anarchy and arbitrariness of the preceding period.

Views of this sort are based largely upon the misrepresentations of his enemies after his fall; they find expression in the language in which the Senate that had been his chief tool demanded his abdication in 1814, or in the words of the pamphleteer who in 1815 charged him with substituting "*ta volonté aux lois*".⁴⁵ It is indeed easy to give to such a charge a large appearance of truth, and I have no intention of denying that Napoleon acted throughout in the conviction that the national sovereignty was deposited with him, and that its exercise could at any moment be extended by him to the constitutional documents themselves. Further there can be no question that through the police individuals were frequently arbitrarily deprived of the benefit of the law. But it will, I think, be found that most of these instances of arbitrary treatment of individuals or of classes (as in his taking the sons of leading families in France and in conquered countries as hostages), are in connection with the exceptional situations created by conspiracy or civil war, or are concerned with those whom, as officials, Napoleon regarded as having

⁴⁵ "*Le cri de la France, par un propriétaire de domaines nationaux.*" Arch. Nat., AD X. 21.

come into special relations with the administration or who were in a sense enjoying only a probationary citizenship (*e. g.*, the *émigrés*). The power given to the Senate to annul judgments of the courts when they were dangerous to the security of the state was very infrequently used; such a power, however, implies no more than the claim as to royal prerogative made and exercised by Charles I., and in neither the one case nor the other does it necessarily indicate any large degree of illegality or unconstitutionality in administration.

As a matter of fact, the student of the Napoleonic administration will, I think, be surprised at the tenderness shown by Napoleon for the constitution, at the vigor and consistency with which he lays stress upon strict adherence to the laws and the legal conditions of their application. He may be said indeed to pose as a champion of legality. We can credit him, I think, with acting on the conviction that while it was essential that he should have in reserve an unquestioned sovereign authority, this authority should remain in abeyance as far as possible, and government should normally be administered with rigid legality. It was in this temper that he wrote to Fouché, September 29, 1809: "Je reconnais toujours dans vos actes la même marche; vous n'avez pas assez de légalité dans la tête."⁴⁶ We find him frequently raising the question of the exact interpretation of the constitution, ordinarily to be sure on points of comparative unimportance. In a decision of August 15, 1804, he declines to use fully his constitutional opportunities to further administrative ends, and remarks, "L'Empereur ne désire faire usage de la faculté de sa prérogative que dans les circonstances d'une plus haute importance."⁴⁷ In the same year he brings forward a constitutional objection to a development he is usually represented as having much at heart. It is in the note to the Council of State quoted above on the project of making *maires* and their adjoints *ex-officio* part of the municipal councils. "Comment", he asks, "accorde-t-on cette mesure avec le droit de surveillance du conseil sur l'administration de la municipalité?"⁴⁸ A little later he shows that he is ready to push on centralization as far as the constitution will allow; a note of May 2, 1805, to the Minister of the Interior on the matter of making presentations for vacancies in a departmental council declares that "L'Empereur n'est restreint par aucune clause constitutionnelle lorsque le conseil n'est pas complet."⁴⁹ In 1806 he requests a report on the justice of the peace of a certain

⁴⁶ *Corr.*, XIX. 535.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, IX. 471.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, X. 36.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, X. 364.

commune and asks to be informed "si j'ai le droit de le destituer".⁵⁰ That at times he was willing to recognize limits even to the imperial prerogative would seem to be indicated by the remark in a "Note dictée par l'Empereur pour le Ministre de la Police, du 13 Juin, 1810", with regard to Frenchmen who had served foreign powers against France, that "la loi est tellement précise et puissante qu'une décision même de l'Empereur ne pourrait les soustraire à son application."⁵¹

The rights of the subject are frequently upheld by the Emperor against official tendencies to ignore or diminish them. He writes to Fouché, March 5, 1807, with respect to an alleged illegal tax by a prefect: "Faites un rapport au Conseil d'État, pour qu'il soit pris des mesures sur cet objet, car enfin aucune taxation ne doit être faite sur les citoyens que par une loi."⁵² In 1809 there came to a head the very important and long-undetermined question of the conditions of the expropriation by the state of private property; the vigor with which the Emperor defends private right against administrative encroachment is quite remarkable. August 21, 1809, he writes to Régnier, Grand Judge, that he had received many complaints about administrative abuse in this matter, and wished the subject investigated in the interests of the security of private property; "il est indispensable", he says, "que les tribunaux puissent informer, empêcher l'expropriation et enfin recueillir les plaintes et garantir le droit des propriétaires contre les entreprises de nos préfets, des conseils de préfecture et autres de nos agents, sous quelque dénomination."⁵³

Two weeks later, on receiving the report from Régnier, he writes to Cambacérès to protest against Régnier's declaration that, while "expropriation forcée" without indemnity was a violation of the Code Napoleon, there was under the law no means of punishing officials for such a procedure, and demands that such punishment be

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XIV. 19.

⁵¹ Arch. Nat., AD IV. 909.

⁵² *Corr.*, XIV. 372.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, XIX. 376. It would seem as if this matter of expropriation had been long in an unsettled condition. At first the tendency seems to be to put it fully under administrative control, for the "Procès-verbal des Séances du Conseil d'État" of the 8 Floréal an X. (Arch. Nat. AF* IV. 6) contains the following entry: "Le Ministre de l'Intérieur présente un Rapport sur la question de savoir si le droit d'expropriation forcée peut être donné aux Préfets par une autorisation du Gouvernement, sans qu'il soit besoin d'une loi." The report was recommitted. It would seem consequently that notwithstanding the advance of the power and absoluteness of the new régime there is to be remarked here a decided gain in legality; in 1809 the question is not whether the prefect can act without law, but whether he can be trusted to apply the law.

provided for. He declares that expropriation, as the acquisition of property, can be accomplished only through judicial channels, and that "je ne voudrais faire aucune différence pour l'administration." "Nos lois", he adds, "me paraissent un assemblage de plans mal assortis, inégaux, irréguliers, laissant entre eux de fréquentes lacunes, et j'attache une grande importance à joindre ces différents éléments, à n'en faire qu'un tout, afin de réprimer les abus de l'administration, qui, dans un si grand empire, peuvent être plus fréquents."⁵⁴ Nearly a month later he returns to the subject and informs Cambacérès that he is not satisfied with his memoir on the subject, that the interests of expeditious administration is not a valid objection to the leaving of the process to the courts, and that the legislative section of the Council of State is to prepare a project of law on this principle.

The consciousness shown by Napoleon in this matter as to the dangers of bureaucratic tyranny is frequently evident; especially does he seem to have been apprehensive of the power of the prefect. In 1801 the Minister of the Interior is informed that as some prefects "se croient autorisés à interpréter les actes du Gouvernement", as by extending the provisions of *arrêtés*, a general order is to be issued that when not given special latitude they must conform literally.⁵⁵ In 1806 a difficulty occurred between the *maire* of Dijon and the prefect of the department, and the Emperor writes to Champagny that the prefect has acted without tact or judgment.

La subordination civile n'est point aveugle et absolue; elle admet des raisonnements et des observations, quelle que puisse être la hiérarchie des autorités. . . . Les préfets ne sont que trop enclins à un gouvernement tranchant, contraire à mes principes et à l'esprit de l'organisation administrative. . . . L'autorité des préfets est trop considérable; il y a à en craindre l'abus plus que le relâchement; et, à cette occasion, vous ferez une circulaire aux préfets, pour leur faire connaître que je n'entends pas qu'ils impriment aucun arrêté contre les officiers municipaux et leurs subordonnés. C'est vous qui êtes juge des faits d'administration, et non la ville ou le département.⁵⁶

March 7 of the following year, he writes to the president of the Section of the Interior of the Council of State with regard to an order by a military commander against citizens bearing arms (an order which is disapproved as beyond the official's power) that it is the aggressions of the prefects that have encouraged the military officials to such steps, and that such power could not be given even to the prefects since it would be to entrust them with such an au-

⁵⁴ *Corr.*, XIX. 438.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, VII. 29.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, XII. 311.

thority that "Le repos et la liberté des citoyens dépendront donc de l'exagération ou de l'arbitraire d'un simple administrateur." And, he adds, "Un intendant de département n'est point un vice-empereur; il n'a qu'une portion de l'administration générale; il n'a d'autre devoir que celui de procurer l'exécution des lois et des règlements."⁵⁷ On another occasion he points out that the prefects were not judicial officials as were the old intendants.⁵⁸

It is, of course, undeniable that a good deal of the jealous watchfulness that Napoleon directs toward his officials springs from the instinct of the organizer, the good business administrator, from a sense of the necessity of maintaining the division of labor and of seeing that the different parts of the machine are occupied with the functions appropriate to them. It is perhaps primarily this point of view that he has when in 1806 he roughly admonishes his brother Louis of the necessity of keeping civil and military administration distinct. Louis had presumed in his capacity of Grand Constable to give orders in France; "Vous n'entendez rien", the Emperor tells him, "à l'administration civile, et la France ne marche pas ainsi. . . . L'administration militaire n'a rien à démêler avec l'administration civile. Si vous gouvernez ainsi votre royaume sans aucune division d'autorité, ce sera un vrai chaos."⁵⁹

But, ordinarily, much more than this was in the Emperor's mind, and it is worth pointing out that he constantly enforced upon the military profession a respect for civil life and interests that in that age were only too easily forgotten. While on one occasion he writes to Fouché that the butcher who had insulted a soldier must be severely punished, as "L'excès auquel il s'est porté est le plus grand crime que puisse commettre un citoyen",⁶⁰ almost all his references to these relations show his solicitude in the other direction. I have pointed out above his defense of the civil right to bear arms against military prohibition, as also his strong disapproval in 1804 of the intimidating attitude of a military commander in regard to an electoral college. The superiority under normal conditions of the civil authority is consistently enforced, as when he writes to Maréchal Moncey that the *gendarmérie* must be "à la disposition des préfets, comme supérieurement chargés de la police des départements", that for it to be under military control would prevent unity and order.⁶¹ In 1808 he writes to Fouché with refer-

⁵⁷ *Corr.*, XIV. 401.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, XIX. 438.

⁵⁹ *Lecestre*, I. 79.

⁶⁰ *Corr.*, XI. 10.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, X. 279.

ence to some outbreaks on the part of the cadets of the military academy at Metz that "le premier devoir de ces jeunes gens est le respect à l'autorité civile."⁶²

The question of the legality of Napoleon's temper and administration is not to be completely or satisfactorily dealt with without following in some degree his relations with the judiciary, his conduct with respect to the application of the law in individual cases. If he had the courts sufficiently in his power he could afford to frown upon administrative disregard of the law; if he interfered with the application of the law by the courts it would evidence an even more illegal and dangerous attitude than any degree of support to administrative independence of the law. An intelligent government, we may suppose, is led into arbitrary courses only when the courts (as well as the legislature) are inconveniently independent, and it cannot rely on being able to secure judicial modifications and exceptions. Possession of the power of securing such judicial exceptions and modifications is further manifestly a relative matter; every executive is vested with more or less pardoning or commuting power and is thus regularly possessed of a large measure of judicial authority.⁶³

The temptation for the executive power to interfere with the courts will depend further on the degree in which the executive is vested with legislative control and with means of pressure on judges; a government that monopolizes legislative initiative and can pass the laws it wants, or which can intimidate the judges through the power of dismissal, manifestly can afford to allow a more or less free course to the ostensible operations of the courts.⁶⁴ But these

⁶² *Corr.*, XVII, 119.

⁶³ That this ordinary executive power was recognized in the Napoleonic régime as being under restraint is shown by the following entry from the "Procès-verbal de la Séance Extraordinaire des Consuls, du 10 Nivose an VIII": "il est fait lecture d'un mémoire relatif aux individus déportés et condamnés pour opinions politiques. Renvoyé à la section de législation du Conseil d'État, pour examiner si pour appliquer à ces individus l'amnistie ou le pardon individuel le gouvernement a besoin de l'autorité de la loi." *Arch. Nat.*, AF IV, 911.

⁶⁴ The Napoleonic judges were appointed for life, though after 1807 a probationary period of five years was required. How far the early government was from assuming a complete control of the judiciary is indicated by some extracts from the "Procès-verbaux des Séances des Consuls" of 1801. On the 2 Frimaire we read: "on renvoya au Conseil d'État, section de la législation, l'examen de la question suivante: dans un pays mis hors de la constitution par une loi, le Gouvernement peut-il interdire les juges et en nommer d'autres?" On the 9 Frimaire the Secretary General of the Conseil d'État presented "une décision du Conseil d'État portant que dans les lieux où l'empire de la constitution est suspendu le Gouvernement peut suspendre, mais non destituer les juges." *Arch. Nat.*, AF IV, 911.

distinctions do not perhaps carry us very far, especially in the case of a government with indefinite prerogative; the present question is as to whether Napoleon were an arbitrary or a legal despot, whether he did or did not recognize the Reign of Law as well as a division of powers, to what degree he conceded rights to the subject and left unimpeded the enforcement of these rights by the courts. The foregoing pages have shown that he did recognize such rights and did attempt to prevent administrative encroachment on them; it will be found that he did also repel any interferences with the judiciary on the part of administrative officials, and was but rarely guilty of such interferences himself.⁶⁵

In scrutinizing this part of the Napoleonic régime it must be conceded that in an even greater degree than with respect to other parts, the right to make general assertions depends upon an exhaustive tracing of the course of justice. Such an examination is perhaps impossible and certainly is not claimed here; a large amount of material, however, has been used, and, as it extends over the whole period, it seems reasonable to treat it as representative. The instances of references or appeals by Napoleon to his constitutional relations to the courts are numerous, and, while they show him at times anxious to make the most of his powers, they rarely indicate an effort to overstep them.

I will take up the most significant of these instances chronologically. In 1800 he requests from the Minister of Justice "un rapport sur la manière dont on pourrait faire casser le jugement qui condamne seulement à six ans de fers les trois assassins du courrier de Nantes, pris en flagrant délit".⁶⁶ The government was at this time desperately contending with brigandage, and interference with the judgment might well have seemed essential. A still more exceptional situation was presented by the conspiracies so frequently discovered or suspected, and the method in which exceptional measures were taken in regard to them is indicated by the following extract from the deliberations of the Conseil d'État of the 11 Nivose an IX. The Minister of Police had demanded exceptional measures against certain conspirators; in reply, the council

⁶⁵ One side of the relations between the judicial and administrative officials is dealt with in the "Avis du Conseil d'État sur la Correspondance des Magistrats . . . avec le Maires et les Commissaires de Police", of August 26, 1806; this contains the statement that the interference of the prefects is "très-contraire à l'ordre public", and that "si les municipaux comme administrateurs ne sont comptables de leurs faits qu'à l'administration supérieure, il sont comme officiers de police, sous la surveillance et l'autorité immédiate des magistrats des cours de justice criminelle." Arch. Nat., AD I. 86.

⁶⁶ *Corr.*, VI. 480.

considers whether such a step should be "un acte de haute police du Gouvernement ou être convertie en projet de loi", and resolves that the council

est d'avis que l'acte de haute police dont il s'agit, n'est pas de nature d'être l'objet d'une loi. Néanmoins, le conseil, considérant que cet acte étant un acte extraordinaire et ayant pour objet le maintien de la constitution et de la liberté publique, est, pour cela même, de la compétence spéciale d'un corps qui, par l'esprit de son instruction, doit veiller à tout ce qui intéresse la conservation du pacte social; que d'ailleurs, dans un cas comme celui-ci le référé du Gouvernement au Sénat conservateur, pour provoquer sur ses propres actes l'examen et la décision de ce corps tutélaire, devient, par la force de l'exemple, une sauve-garde capable de rassurer, pour la suite, la nation, et de prémunir le gouvernement lui-même contre toute acte dangereux à la liberté publique, est d'avis que cet acte du Gouvernement. . . doit devenir la matière d'un Sénatus-consulte prononçant sur la question de savoir si cette mesure est conservatrice de la constitution.⁶⁷

The act in question was the transportation of 131 accused. This procedure, of course, brings forward the question of the degree in which the Senate, by virtue of its discretionary power of annulling judgments in the interests of the public security, was manipulated as a means of setting aside judicial restraints. It can, I think, be confidently asserted that the Senate was used in this way only under the most exceptional conditions and when there was at least some color for the idea that the safety of the state was involved.⁶⁸

In 1801 we find Napoleon directing the Minister of the Interior to make a report as to whether the justices of the peace must be residents of their districts;⁶⁹ he was strongly opposed to such a restriction but apparently does not think of overriding it. To this institution (which remained elective till 1802), he shows himself hostile from the first, and he soon proceeds to modify it by law. April 7, 1802, he writes to the Minister of Justice that, as the nominations of the justices have been very bad, and, as the constitution says that they should be elected by the people, "il convient, pour y remédier, de prendre des mesures qui paraissent efficaces, et qui seraient de les réduire à leurs fonctions de conciliation et de ne pas les payer."⁷⁰ But as late as the end of 1806 he was still evidently scrupulously respecting the institution, for December 2 we find him requesting from the Minister of Justice a report on the justice of

⁶⁷ Arch. Nat., AD I. 86.

⁶⁸ It will be remembered that a prominent place was given to a senatorial commission appointed to safeguard the liberty of the subject. Of its work I have as yet no records.

⁶⁹ *Corr.*, VII. 321.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, VII. 431.

a certain commune, and "que vous me fassiez connaître si j'ai le droit de le destituer".⁷¹ Napoleon, doubtless, mainly disliked the direct popular nomination of these officials, and he soon did away with it; on the other hand, we find him constantly upholding trial by jury. There were occasional suspensions of the jury in localities where public sentiment was suspect and political issues likely to appear; but, as late as June 24, 1808, he writes with respect to the Westphalian constitution: "On peut supprimer le jury d'accusation, mais il faut maintenir le jury de jugement dans son intégrité; il le sera en France, parce que c'est une bonne chose et que la nation le désire."⁷² He remarks at the same time that while the Italians are now "trop passionnés" for the institution, "aussitôt que le nouveau système français sera conçu, je l'adapterai de même à l'Italie", and adds with respect to the opponents of the institution, "Ceux qui veulent la publicité sans jury et sans appel disposent légèrement de la vie des hommes."

We have above seen Napoleon seeking in 1800 means of setting aside a too moderate judgment; in July, 1803, he responds to the request of a prefect for the punishment of an individual wrongfully acquitted, that "La déportation ne peut point être ordonnée, cet individu ayant été acquitté."⁷³ In 1805 the Minister of Justice is informed that the Emperor is very dissatisfied with the tribunals and with the *procureurs généraux*; and it is intimated that steps may be taken against one of the latter, for "si je ne suis point maître des tribunaux, je le suis de la nomination de mes procureurs généraux."⁷⁴ In 1809 Régnier is directed to express the imperial satisfaction with the officials of the criminal court of Rouen for resisting pressure to show favor to criminals of distinguished family; "La loi", Napoleon says, "est une pour les citoyens, et la considération de la naissance et de la fortune ne peut jamais être, pour Sa Majesté et les magistrats, un motif pour faire fléchir la justice et même pour faire grâce; au contraire, elle rend ceux qui les commettent d'autant plus coupables qu'ils ont un rang distingué dans la société."⁷⁵

There are indeed indications that toward the end Napoleon was tending to assume a higher hand with reference to the judiciary. A *sénatus-consulte* of October 12, 1807, makes provision for a period of probation for judges before life-appointment, and for an examination of the lists of existing judges to eliminate the unworthy. By

⁷¹ *Corr.*, XIV. 19.

⁷² *Ibid.*, XVII. 328.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, VIII. 407.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, XI. 27.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 204.

this it was reserved to the Emperor "de prononcer définitivement sur le maintien ou la révocation des juges désignés dans le rapport de la commission".⁷⁶ In November, 1810, the Emperor sends to Cambacérès a proposition that "les ministres d'État, qui sont les vétérans de l'administration . . . fussent conseillers honoraires des cours impériales";⁷⁷ that their participation was to be more than honorary is shown by the remark that the presence of such men as Treilhard and Regnaud would be very advantageous in an important impending case. But it is evident that this idea, if at all definite, had a limited and political bearing, and can scarcely be supposed to indicate any intention of tampering with the ordinary administration of justice in France.⁷⁸

The only instance of direct interference with the courts disclosed by the material used⁷⁹ is with regard to an imperial court at Antwerp in 1813, in a case in which the city (or rather the departmental administration) had failed in a prosecution of alleged corrupt *octroi* officials. Napoleon writes, August 5, to Cambacérès that the affair is "un scandale public", and, August 14, says that "Aux circonstances extraordinaires il faut des mesures extraordinaires; nos constitutions y ont pourvu." On the same day he writes to the Minister of Justice of the shameful corruption shown by the jurors, and proceeds, "Dans cette circonstance, quoiqu'il soit dans nos principes et dans notre volonté que nos tribunaux administrent la justice avec la plus grande indépendance, cependant, comme ils l'administrent en notre nom et à la décharge de notre conscience, nous ne pouvons pas ignorer et tolérer un pareil scandale, ni permettre que la corruption triomphe et marche tête levée dans nos bonnes villes de Bruxelles et d'Anvers." The Minister is, therefore, to order proceedings

⁷⁶ Arch. Nat., AD I. 44.

⁷⁷ *Corr.*, XXI. 269. The *cours impériales* were the courts of appeal.

⁷⁸ In a "Note dictée par l'Empereur pour le Grand Juge, Ministre de la Justice" of December 11, 1810 (Arch. Nat., AF IV. 909), we find the following order: "Le Grand Juge fera mettre en accusation sur les nouvelles charges l'homme qui ayant blessé un gendarme qui en perdu la jambe a été acquitté par le tribunal de Namur. Aussitot que le Directeur du jury aura décerné le mandat, le Grand Juge ordonnera que la procédure soit envoyé à Paris, et en rendant compte de le Renvoi il proposera de traduire le prévenu devant une commission militaire, attendu que le gendarme blessé était connu pour gendarme par son assassin, que le jury est soupçonné de corruption, et qu'il s'agit d'un pays nouvellement français." This procedure seems unquestionably arbitrary; and it will be remembered that earlier Napoleon had seemed solicitous to keep the police free of military authority. But there is some doubt as to whether this order were really dispatched. It does not appear either in the *Correspondance* or in the *Supplements*.

⁷⁹ It is rather noticeable that the official publication of the *Correspondance* makes no reference to this affair; the letters to Régnier and Cambacérès are to be found in Lecestre, II. 277-283.

against the jurors, the suspension of the judgment and the re-arrest of the accused; then "en vertu du paragraphe 4 de l'article 55 du titre V des Constitutions de l'Empire, en date du 4 août 1802", he is to present to the Council of State "un projet de sénatus-consulte, pour annuler le jugement . . . et renvoyer cette affaire à notre Cour de cassation, qui désignera une cour impériale par-devant laquelle la procédure sera recommencée et jugée, les chambres réunies et sans jury." It will be noticed that though the Senate had power to issue a *sénatus-consulte* of this nature, the Emperor was straining his prerogative in imposing on it and on the courts a definite course of procedure, involving suspension of jury-trial. This incident, however, was in every way exceptional, and involved peculiar features of the French administration in Belgium; the Emperor's indignation was based upon police-reports, and seems to be aroused mainly in the interests of the people of Antwerp. The case was referred to the court of appeal of Douai, but the Empire had fallen before a decision was rendered.⁸⁰

I shall not attempt to add any further reflections to the foregoing recital of evidence. More extended investigation will very probably modify the preliminary conclusions indicated above; but it does not seem premature to maintain that Napoleon Bonaparte recognized his government to be based upon the Revolution, that he administered France for the most part in harmony with revolutionary principles and results, and that as compared with both the Revolution and the Old Régime his administration was distinguished by a respect for law. He claimed to be invested by the popular will with absolute but responsible power for the organization of the state, for the using of its resources in the general welfare, and for its defense against its enemies; but he respected his own organization, normally treated the law and the constitution as inviolable, and protected the well-defined liberties and opportunities of the citizen. These liberties and opportunities were in truth subject to such far-reaching restrictions as were involved in the strict censorship of the press and the prohibition of political agitation; but it might not be easy to meet adequately the defense that we may suppose Napoleon would make in pointing out that the effects of the previous license demanded at least a period of restraint.

VICTOR COFFIN.

⁸⁰ See *Revue des Questions Historiques*, LVI. 248-271, "Un Préfet Indépendant sous Napoleon. Voyer d'Argenson à Anvers."

SOME PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN ECONOMIC HISTORY¹

THERE are four primary factors in Southern economic history—the institution of slavery, the negro, the white man and physiography. Within the limits of this paper I shall only attempt to suggest certain lines of thought which have occurred to me in connection with a study of the relative influence of these factors in the economic life of the Southern States.

The time has come when we must study slavery as an economic institution without regard to its ethical or political aspects. I do not mean at all that the latter are to be ignored, but simply that the different phases must be considered separately, if we are ever to ascertain the actual effect of slavery upon the purely industrial side of Southern history. It must be studied as dispassionately as the history of the tariff is studied. Looked at from its economic side, we find at present certain fairly definite attitudes assumed by historians toward the institution. These views have become crystallized into traditions, and are accepted as mere matters of course by nearly all modern writers on ante bellum conditions.

Under this traditional treatment slavery is held responsible for everything in Southern economic life and development which in any way differed from the economic life and development of the non-slaveholding states. For example: it is traditionally responsible for the fact that foreign immigration did not seek the South; for the fact that Southern manufacturing enterprise lagged behind that of the rest of the country; to it was attributed an alleged contempt for manual labor on the part of white people, which brought labor into disrepute and prevented white people from doing their share of such work; the difference between the respective values of Northern and Southern farm-lands, and the wasting of the latter, were charged to slavery; the use of crude and heavy farming implements was considered an inevitable incident of slave labor, hence also the backwardness of the South in adopting improved farm machinery.

¹In condensed form this paper was read at the Madison meeting of the American Historical Association, December, 1907. It is an outgrowth of the writer's work as a collaborator of the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution. For many courtesies I am indebted to Mr. C. S. Sloane, of the Bureau of the Census, and to Miss E. L. Yeomans for the tabulation and verification of figures.

The catalogue could be almost indefinitely extended. All these things were the result of slave labor, ergo, if slavery were abolished such conditions would disappear and under the stimulus of free labor we should see the South approximate the economic life of the North. Slavery was abolished, the South has made tremendous progress, and the predictions of ante bellum writers and travellers have been fulfilled.

My position is that in the first place we do not yet know enough about the internal economic conditions of the ante bellum South to say just what the exact status of such development was at a given period. One of the problems which confronts the student is to lay the foundation of a real knowledge of Southern ante bellum economic life. In the second place, I question the validity of the proof that the economic progress of the South since the war has been more rapid than it would have been had slavery not been abolished. I also question the accuracy of the popularly accepted idea that there has been an economic revolution in the altered relative status of the South and the rest of the country since the Civil War. The common practice in considering the progress of the South is to lose sight of the even greater progress of the rest of the country. If the abolition of slavery caused the progress of the South, what caused the progress of the sections which had not felt "the economic blight of slavery"? The increased cotton production of the South since 1860 is no more attributable to the abolition of slavery than is the increased wheat production of the Northwest during the same period.

Again, if we find that there was a condition of relatively great economic backwardness in the South, to what is it to be attributed? The greatest problem in Southern economic history is that of determining the relative responsibility for its economic condition of the factors of race and of racial status. Was slavery primarily responsible, or was the fact that the slave was of a race of a normally low economic status?

Here we are confronted with the necessity of realizing the fact of a difference between slave labor and the slavery system. The economics of slave labor, *i. e.*, the labor per se, as controlled by a certain recognized system, has to do with the primary question of the adaptability of such labor to certain industrial pursuits, and with the secondary question of the purely productive efficiency of such labor in the fields to which it was adapted. The economics of slavery, *i. e.*, of the economic system developed for the control of a certain class of labor, has to do not only with the elementary

questions just stated but also with such further considerations as the ultimate and larger effect on the economic life of the community of the locking up of capital in controlled labor, the other avenues of employment which such capital might have found or developed, and the relative potential wealth-producing capacity of capital thus differently employed.

It is only after we have determined these questions that we can measure the relative importance in Southern economic development of the racial and institutional elements in Southern negro slavery. It is only then that we can even approximately determine the part played by slavery as an institution in the economic history of the South and of the nation.

I shall not attempt to answer these questions. I merely advance them as suggesting proper fields of inquiry for such students of Southern economic history as may not be willing longer to follow in the beaten path of those, however eminent, who have interpreted everything in Southern life in terms of a single economic institution.

But while I am not yet willing definitely to commit myself to certain tentative conclusions of my own, I recognize the propriety of suggesting some of the grounds upon which I venture to question the validity and accuracy of the accepted conclusions of others.

A stock argument of those who attack slavery on its economic side is the difference between the value of farm-lands in the slave and in the free states. Page 170 of the *Compendium of the Census of 1850* is a reference which is almost as sacred to some writers on slavery as the doctrine of predestination is to an old-school Presbyterian. Apparently, investigation stopped right there. We seem to have accepted as a matter of course that the contrary condition which was to follow abolition has been accomplished. As a matter of fact, the greatest decennial increase in Southern farm-land values which has occurred since 1850 was reached under slavery in 1860. In the latter year the average value per acre of farm-land and improvements was \$10.19 in the Southern States, \$23.68 in the New England States, and \$20.04 in the Central States.² After the expiration of forty years the value of Southern farm-lands had fallen in 1900 to \$8.96 per acre, while the New England States had increased to \$25.71, and the Central to \$37.52.

² Throughout this paper the states which are designated Southern are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, including Indian Territory, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia. The Central are Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio and Wisconsin. The New England are Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont.

One of the severest economic indictments drawn against the entire Southern industrial system by ante bellum writers, and one constantly repeated by present-day economists and historians, was that it retarded the development of manufacturing industry. In the growth of Southern manufactures in recent years, the Northern writer finds proof conclusive of the soundness of the ante bellum contention, while the Southern man concedes that in this respect at least the argument was incontrovertible. But here again for more than forty years we seem to have been content to accept surface indications as established proof.

If we concede the fact as to the ante bellum condition, where does responsibility for the condition properly fall, on slave labor or on the slavery system? If on the former, we are confronted with the fact that the abolition of slave labor did not alter the occupation of the slave. There were relatively no more negroes employed in manufacturing after emancipation than before. In fact the negro lost ground in some branches of manufacturing industry. At least a few cotton mills were operated with negro labor before the war, whereas no negroes are so employed today. With reference to slave labor, then, the class which were slaves have not been associated with the development of the one branch of manufacturing in which the South has made its greatest progress, while with reference to the slavery system neither responsibility nor absence of responsibility is clear. The history of ante bellum Southern manufacturing has not been written yet. When it is, evidence may be found to indicate that if its progress had not been checked by the war its development might easily have been as great under the continued existence of slavery as after its abolition. It was not a question of slavery, *per se*, but simply one of overcoming economic inertia, common to all long-established business conditions, and of accomplishing a diversion of capital into other channels. But even as the matter stood, the Southern States in 1860 contributed 12.5 per cent. of the total value of the manufactured products of the country.

As with manufactures, so with the important basic product of pig iron. We are still being told how impossible it was for the iron industry of the South to be developed with slave labor, while the growth of recent years is a matter of common knowledge. Yet we have the authority of Mr. Edwin C. Eckel, late of the United States Geological Survey, for the statement that the South today contributes a smaller percentage of the total American pig iron output than it did in 1854. In that year the Southern States con-

tributed 12 per cent. of the total. After numerous fluctuations during the intervening fifty-three years this had fallen in the first half of 1907 to 10.5 per cent.³

Here again we cross an apparently fixed tradition as to the economics of slavery, namely that this particular system of industrial organization was inherently limited to agricultural operations, and even to one specific type of such operations. Because mining was not a highly developed industry in the slave states, notwithstanding the existence of abundant mineral resources, the crude conclusion was that slavery was the cause behind the fact. There is no greater fallacy than this. Negro slave labor was originally transferred from Spain and gained its first foothold in America for the sole purpose of working the mines of Hispaniola. There is no warrant in fact for the opinion that mining would not have remained the chief occupation of such labor had the mines themselves not become exhausted. It is a feature of the natural economy of the earth that through the restricted distribution of minerals agriculture is a much more widely diffused, a much more general, industry than mining. It is a gratuitous assumption that slave labor is not as well adapted to the one as to the other. In so far as negro slave labor per se is concerned, we can still study it as applied to mining operations in the use of convicts in the coal-producing territory of Alabama and Tennessee. The mines of those states could have been developed as efficiently with the purchased and controlled labor of negro slaves in 1850 as with the purchased and controlled labor of negro convicts in 1900. The per capita production of one class would have equalled the production of the other, and this is the prime feature as far as the labor itself is concerned. As to whether the ton cost and profit of production would be greater or less under one system of control than under the other, or greater under a free labor system than either, is a question which concerns the relative ultimate advantages of the combined features of the respective systems, and should not be confused with the potential producing capacity of the labor itself.

Probably the greatest economic argument against slavery was that it caused immigrants to shun the Southern States. Thorold Rogers declared in 1888 that European immigration was worth £100,000,000 a year to the United States, and that slavery had deprived the ante bellum South of its share of this tremendously valuable importation. I know of no writer on the economic aspects

³ *Manufacturers' Record*, August 22, 1907, p. 145. The figures for the second half of the year were not available when Mr. Eckel wrote.

of Southern slavery, from Cairnes to Rhodes, who has not insisted upon the same explanation of the course of the tide of foreign immigration, which set away from the South. Yet in 1860 the Southern States contained 9.0 per cent. of the total foreign-born population of the country, while in 1900, thirty-five years after the removal of the commonly accepted ante bellum cause, the percentage had fallen to 5.2. In 1860, of the total population of the South 3.4 per cent. were of foreign birth, while in 1900 only 2.2 per cent. were foreign born. In 1860 the New England States contained 11.3 per cent. of the total foreign born of the country, and 14.0 per cent. in 1900. The Central group contained 36.8 per cent. of the total in 1860 and 35.3 per cent. in 1900. Of the total population of New England in 1860, 15 per cent. were foreign born, and in 1900, 25.8 per cent. Of the total population of the Central States 17.0 per cent. were of foreign birth in 1860, and 15.8 per cent. in 1900.

It is, however, more interesting to examine the respective numbers and rates of increase of the Southern foreign-born population, before and since the abolition of slavery, without reference to what existed or took place along the same line in other parts of the country. The actual number of foreign born in these states in 1850 was 231,494, and in 1860 it was 370,783. This represented an increase of slightly more than 60.0 per cent. of foreign born during the last decade of slavery. In 1900, forty years after 1860, the foreign-born population of the South was 539,756. This represented a gain during the thirty-five years succeeding the war only 29,684 in excess of the gain during the ten years which had preceded it. It represented an increase of only 45.5 per cent. during the post bellum generation, as against the 60.0 per cent. just stated for the ante bellum decade.

It is also worthy of consideration that the states of Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee contained a smaller foreign-born population in 1900 than in 1860. In these five Southern states the aggregate number of people of foreign birth was 46,137 greater five years before slavery was abolished than it was thirty-five years after. It is significant that during the period of this decline in the actual number of foreign-born white persons in these states, there was an increase of 1,386,421 negroes.

As between the economic condition of the South and other sections of the country, I believe that practically all, certainly the far greater part, of such differences as once existed and do now exist, aside from such as are inherent in soil and climate, were and are embraced in differences of population.

It is population which creates the artificial differences between a prairie-dog village on a barren waste in 1800 and a city of two millions on the same spot a century later. In less extreme illustration, but no less true, it is population which lies at the foundation of the artificial differences of economic and social condition between a Southern state with a density of 10.5 persons per square mile and a New England state with a density of 21. It is physically impracticable to develop a successful rural public-school system in a thinly settled country district in which the children are few and scattered, whereas it is entirely feasible in a section thickly populated. Yet how much easier and simpler it was for the traveller in the South in 1859 to charge the absence of rural schools to slavery, as the most obvious and novel feature of the landscape to the stranger, than to go to the real root of the matter and ascertain what were the actual controlling differentiating factors between the sections or the countries which he was contrasting. Charles Dickens sinned as greatly against the light and against common sense in criticizing and ridiculing America in contrast with England in 1842.

In 1830, a generation before the Civil War, the aggregate population of the Southern States was 6.4 persons to the square mile. At that time the density of the Central States was much less than the Southern, being but 3.6. In the same year New England averaged 31.5 persons to every square mile of its area. The Central group gained so rapidly on the Southern that at the end of the next decade, in 1840, their density was only .3 less than the latter, being 7.5 and 7.8 respectively. At no time since have the two been as close together. The New England States in 1840 had a density of 36.1. In 1860, New England had increased to 50.6 per square mile, the Central States to 20 and the Southern, Texas having been annexed, to 12.5. The density in the South at the outbreak of the Civil War was 19 per square mile less than that of New England thirty years before. Yet men wrote, and still write, as if all the ante bellum differences of development and growth between these two sections were solely attributable to the existence of slavery, per se, in one of them, and its non-existence in the other.

The census of 1900 showed a density of 90.2 persons in New England, 51.5 in the Central group and 27.4 in the Southern group. In other words, the aggregate population of the territory embraced within the Southern States in 1900 averaged 4.1 fewer persons per square mile than the population of New England averaged in 1830, seventy years before. The excess of density of New England over the South had increased in this seventy years from 25.1 persons in

1830 to 62.8 in 1900. The excess of the Southern over the Central group of 2.8 in 1830 was converted in 1900 to an excess of 24.1 in the Central over the Southern, and these figures are for the aggregate population of these groups. The differences are greatly increased if we consider their respective white populations alone. A statement of the respective densities by races also sharply emphasizes the numerical insignificance of the negro population in the New England and Central groups. With an aggregate density of 31.5 in 1830, New England's white density was 31.2. The aggregate and the white in the Central States was 3.6 and 3.5 respectively. In the South the total was 6.4, which fell to 3.9 with the negro eliminated. In 1860, New England's total of 50.6 remained 50.2 for the white; the Central's total of 20 was 19.6 for the white; the South's aggregate of 12.5 fell to 7.8 for the white. In 1900, the total negro and white densities, respectively, were for New England, 90.2 and 89.2; for the Central States 51.5 and 50.5; for the Southern 27.4 and 18.4.

This difference of density, both total and for whites only, suggests another important though wholly ignored consideration as between the South and other parts of the country, and one with which slavery was not concerned. We must go below the surface of mere figures of population, and even beyond the analysis of distribution and density, if we would grasp the true significance of the figures themselves in their relation to economic conditions.

In 1874 Dr. Edward Jarvis, of Massachusetts, delivered a suggestive address on the "Political Economy of Health".⁴ He stated the truism that "the effective force of the nation is not represented by the total number of the people, but by the number in the effective or producing age, and this is again qualified by the burden of supporting the dependent classes." He declared the strength of the state to be the sum of all its effective people, the strongest state being the one with the largest proportion of its people in "the sustaining period" of life, which he placed between the ages of twenty and seventy. He showed that in all the United States 49 per cent. of the white population were in the sustaining period of life, with 51 per cent. in the dependent class, while 44.78 per cent. of the colored population were supporters, against 55.22 per cent. of consumers. He found a wide difference between the Northern and Southern states in this vital respect. In Vermont the sustaining class was 53 per cent. and in Massachusetts, owing, he said, to im-

⁴ Edward Jarvis, "Political Economy of Health", pp. 335-338. (Reprinted from the *Fifth Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health*, Boston, 1874.)

migration in part, this class was 56.8 per cent. On the other hand, the sustaining classes in North and South Carolina were only 46 per cent., and but 47 per cent. in Georgia. He said that the proportion of the sustaining class in Massachusetts exceeded that of the white population of the Carolinas and Georgia by 38 per cent., while a comparison of the sustaining power with the burden laid upon it, showed the demand to be 50 per cent. greater on the whites of the Carolinas, and 60 per cent. greater on those of Georgia, than it was on the white population of Massachusetts.

There was probably no more eminent authority in the United States in his time than Dr. Jarvis, and I should hesitate to attempt to add anything to the value of his figures. But familiarity with the conditions of industrial organization in the South justifies me, in my own calculations, in changing the basis of comparison which he adopted. It seems to me fairer, and preferable, to make the inquiry on a basis of "wealth-creating", or "contributing", periods, rather than on an assumed self-sustaining period. Dr. Jarvis's maximum age limit of seventy years is sufficiently high for either purpose, but his minimum of twenty is not low enough for my inquiry. The necessity for agitation for child-labor legislation suggests that twenty years is too high a figure to adopt in such a calculation even in manufacturing states. In agricultural states it is certainly too high. This was peculiarly true of agriculture under the slave-labor system, a feature of which was that it provided some form of employment for nearly all ages. To be on safe ground, in studying the figures for 1860 and 1900, I have reduced Dr. Jarvis's minimum age to 15 years, and have considered such wealth-creating period as from 15 to 69 inclusive. For purposes of comparison only, as between different parts of the country, the net results suggest that his conclusions would hold as well with fifteen as with twenty.

In 1860, of the total population of the United States, 57.9 per cent. were within this contributing period; of the white population, 58.6 per cent. fell within it; of the negro, 54.0 per cent. In the Southern States 55.1 per cent. of the white population were in this period, as against 64.3 per cent. of the white population of New England. Of Southern negroes 53.7 per cent. were within these ages, as against 65.1 per cent. of the negroes of New England. In New England 64.3 per cent. of the total population were in this group, the same percentage as for the white population alone; in the South it contained 54.6 per cent. of the total population.

In 1900, of the total population of the country, 63.0 per cent.

were within the potential producing period of life; in the New England States 68.8 per cent. were within that period; in the South only 57.8 per cent. Thus the percentage in New England had increased from 64.3 per cent. to 68.8 per cent. while in the South it had increased from 54.6 per cent. to 57.8 per cent. Of the white population of the United States in 1900, 63.7 per cent. were within this period; with 68.7 per cent. of the whites of New England, and 58.6 per cent. of the Southern whites. Of the total negro population of the country, 60.6 per cent. fell within these ages, while the percentages of the total negro in New England and the South, respectively, were 81.9 and 56.7.

We see here the effect of the immigration of both foreign whites and native negroes to the New England States. The former gave to these states a large population of men and women in the wealth-creating and sustaining period of life. The immigrant who left Europe was neither the dependent child nor the helpless old man. And therein lies the greatest potential economic value of that class of population. It secures to a state, a section or a country a people within the ages of greatest productive activity. The contrast between the negro population of New England and of the South is even more marked. It suggests the effect of the immigration from the South of negroes who probably were in the self-supporting ages, and who left behind both the old and the young as burdens upon the negroes who remained. And the difference was more pronounced in 1900 than in 1860.

But the true significance of such figures in a study of the economic life and development of the Southern States relative to that of New England, to continue to use these two groups in comparison, can only be appreciated when we adopt Dr. Jarvis's mode of expressing the burden which the dependent classes were upon the contributing. This was done with his figures by ascertaining the number of persons in the dependent age for each 1000 persons within the sustaining ages. These dependent persons constitute the dead load which the sustaining class has to carry. He did not compare the sections as wholes, but, writing in 1874, he showed, for illustration, that the "burden" on the white population of Georgia was 60.0 per cent. greater than on the white population of Massachusetts.

Using our own figures, and comparing the dependents with the partly-sustaining or contributing group, we find that in the United States in 1860, for the total population, there were 728 dependent persons to each 1000 of contributing age. In the New England

States the number of dependents was 554, or 174 less than the number for the entire country; in the South the number was 832, or 104 more than for the entire country. In comparing the white population of the country and of the two sections, the contrast is emphasized. In the United States in 1860 there were 707 white dependents per 1000 of contributing age; in New England 554; in the Southern States 815. This difference becomes even more marked in the case of the negro population. The number of dependents in this class was 851 for the United States, 539 for New England, and 862 for the South.

By 1900 there was a reduction in the proportion of dependents of both races, in all sections of the country. But the decrease was greater for other sections than for the South, and the difference of burden as between the total population of the New England and the Southern States, was slightly greater than in 1860. The proportion of dependents to 1000 contributing, for the entire population in 1900, was 587; for New England it was 454; for the South it was 729. For the white population the number was 571 for the whole country, 456 for New England and 706 for the South. For the negro population there were 649 in the entire country, 223 in New England and 762 in the South.

Adopting Dr. Jarvis's method of expressing this difference of economic burden in percentages, we find that for the entire Southern population in 1860 the burden upon the wealth-producing portion was 50.2 per cent. greater than the burden upon the same portion of the population of the New England States. Comparing the white population of the two sections the burden was 46.8 per cent. greater in the South than in New England, while it was 59.9 per cent. greater upon the Southern negro population than upon the negroes of New England. The difference between the relative weights of this load, if I may so express it, had still further increased in 1900. For the total population it was 60.6 per cent. greater in the South than in New England, and 54.8 per cent. greater as between the respective white populations. The greatest increase, however, was on the negro population of the South, their burden of dependency being 241.7 per cent. greater than that upon the New England negro.

The significance of these figures, in comparing the economic condition of the South with that of any other section, or with the country as a whole, it seems to me, can hardly be ignored if we would attach its true value to each factor which contributes to regional or sectional differences. It is apparent that immigration

is partly responsible for the disparities which these figures indicate. How far climatic and health conditions are also responsible is simply another question which has to be answered, another problem for the student to solve.

For purposes of discussion we may admit the relative economic backwardness of the Southern States as compared with the Northern. There need be no debate over the matter of fact. The problem before us is that of locating the cause. This challenges consideration of another question which we shall some day have to answer, no matter how long it may be obscured and postponed. This is: Was the fundamental difference between the economic development and history of the Northern and Southern States, respectively, down to 1861, a difference between two *systems* of labor, plus the natural differences of physiography, or was it a difference between two *classes* of labor, plus the factor of physiography? In shorter terms: Was it a difference between free and slave labor, or was it a difference between white and negro labor? How much of that difference was due to slavery, and hence was of institutional responsibility, and how much was due to the negro, and hence was racial?

No writer on ante bellum Southern conditions, in so far as I now recall, whether considering their concrete manifestations only, or discussing the abstract cause of such manifestations, ever took account in specific terms of the factor of race. From De Tocqueville to Olmsted and Cairnes and the post bellum school, they constantly confuse racial status with race, and thus fail to differentiate between negro slave labor and white free labor. In its last analysis the economic argument of these writers was an attempt to establish the hypothetical dictum of Adam Smith, that the physical productivity of a man or group of men must necessarily be greater under a system of voluntary labor than under a system of controlled labor. In doing this they entirely ignored the economic force of racial differences. Their arguments and methods were probably justifiable as part of a social and political propaganda. But we can neither follow the one nor adopt the other in treating the question forty years after their object has been accomplished, and with an entirely different purpose in view. When these writers ignored the factor of race, and all but disregarded that of natural physical conditions, they ignored the only permanent elements in the Southern economic situation—the only factors sufficiently persistent to constitute an element of continuity in Southern economic history.

The negro was a negro before he was a slave and he remained a negro after he became free. I recall no sound economic argument against slave negro labor per se (aside from the system of slavery) which is not today equally as sound against free negro labor per se. There is scarcely a passage in the writings on the economics of slave labor which would not be rendered more accurate by substituting the word "negro" for the word "slave". Hinton Rowan Helper is one of the mainstays of anti-slavery economists and historians. Yet I have never known one to quote the post bellum statements which indicated the main purpose of his opposition to slavery to have been his desire to see the South rid of the retarding presence of the negro.

I believe that the only economic indictment which will hold against what is popularly called "slavery" will finally lie against the slavery system and not against slave labor. Though apparently hopelessly confused, the two are economically easily distinguishable. This distinction I suggested in the opening of this paper. Convict labor in 1907 is as much controlled labor as slave labor was in 1860. Convict labor may or may not be efficient in the manufacture of shoes in Massachusetts or in the growing of cotton in Mississippi. That is a question of fact. But however it may be decided, we do not have as a necessary corollary any valid conclusion whatever as to the effect upon the general economic welfare of either state of such a system of convict employment. The primary productive efficiency of a given class of labor under a given system of control is one thing; the larger economic results to the community or commonwealth of a general adoption of such a system is quite another and one in which the question of the original cost of the controlled labor is an element of first importance. The difference between the two is the difference between "slave labor" and the "slavery system". The slavery system was a temporary expedient for controlling and directing a certain class of labor. The system has disappeared, but the labor remains, and must be taken account of in the economic life of the South and of the country.

Second only to the erroneous conclusions into which we have been led through the confusing of slave labor with negro labor, and the failure to recognize the continuity of the influence of the latter factor in Southern economic history, are the fallacies arising from the failure of historians and economists to recognize the importance of the white factor. "Slavery" has loomed so large upon the horizon of Southern history that apparently it has obscured our view of both the negro and the white man. Cairnes laid down the propo-

sition that the existence of slave and free labor in the same community was "a moral impossibility . . . precluded by a cardinal feature in the structure of slave societies".⁵ He therefore disposed of five million white laboring people in the Southern States by consigning them to "a condition little removed from savage life", to use his own language. Yet what was theoretically a "moral impossibility" to the closet philosopher in Dublin, was a stubborn fact of every-day experience in the states which constituted the field of his over-sea speculations.

One of the chief problems before the student of Southern history is that of determining this question—the part played by white labor in Southern economic life. The evidence is clear enough that the white laborer's share in that life was far greater than was once supposed, but investigation has thus far barely touched the surface of the field. As yet we know only enough to know that white labor furnished a considerable percentage of the Southern cotton crop before 1861, just as we know that it is producing a heavy percentage of the same crop today—now probably more than one-half. We do know that the Southern industry which has made the greatest advance since 1870, the manufacture of cotton, is wholly dependent upon white labor for its development. We also know that the state which has exhibited the most remarkable increase in the production of raw cotton is the state which, above all others in the South, is dependent upon white labor for its growth. This is Texas, in which most of the cotton is grown by white labor, which contains the smallest percentage of negro population of any of the cotton states, which in fact calls itself a "white state", and which in 1906 produced more cotton than was produced by all the Southern States combined in 1860.

I have suggested that in discussions of slave labor per se, we might substitute the word negro and make a sounder argument. It is strikingly true that in pointing out the great economic advantages of free labor over slave labor, ante bellum writers were simply contrasting white labor with negro labor. Their arguments are good today if we only substitute the word "white" for the word "free". In 1861 Mr. Edward Atkinson wrote a pamphlet to demonstrate that cotton could be grown to better advantage by free than by slave labor.⁶ His entire argument is based upon the superior results accomplished throughout the South, chiefly in Texas, by white labor as against the labor of negroes. He thought he was

⁵ *The Slave Power* (third edition, 1863), p. 53.

⁶ *Cheap Cotton by Free Labor, by a Cotton Manufacturer* (Boston, 1861).

making an anti-slavery argument, while in fact he was simply giving unconscious recognition to the white factor, actual and potential, in Southern economic life. The title of his pamphlet was *Cheap Cotton by Free Labor*, which was misleading. It should have been "Cheap Cotton by White Labor".

But in riveting our attention upon slavery to the exclusion of all other factors in the South, we not only have failed to give credit to the Southern white laboring man, but we have also shifted wholly to an institution a responsibility which, if it is to be placed at all, should rest in large part upon the shoulders of another class of Southern white men.

If the white capitalist class devoted itself more to agricultural than to manufacturing or mining industries, slave labor should not be held to account. If larger use was not made of such labor, this was due either to individual judgment or to the fact that slave labor was negro labor, or to the slavery system, or to all combined. It cannot successfully be charged to the mere status of the laborer. Again, if the white planter did not require his slave labor to keep up his property, it was his fault and not that of either the labor or the system. Probably the most untenable argument ever urged against slave labor or against the slavery system was the popular one that it was responsible for the wasting of the soil. That was a common charge against all pioneer agriculture. Professor J. F. W. Johnston, probably the most scientific English student of agricultural economics who ever visited America, made precisely this charge against the wheat farming methods of New England and New York in 1849, which he described as "scourging the earth". He also declared that the white farmers in that section were growing corn after the same methods followed by the Indians two centuries before.⁷ Edmund Ruffin exposed the fallacy of the argument of the responsibility of slave labor for soil exhaustion in 1852. The two were related only in the respect that slave labor, being under control, could be handled with greater facility in all agricultural operations. It could as easily have been used in building up the soil as in wasting it, as was demonstrated time and again in localities throughout the South, and particularly in the agricultural revival in lower and middle Virginia.⁸ The "run down", impoverished and generally dilapidated appearance of most Southern plantations today, under free negro cultivation, should suggest that

⁷ *Notes on North America* (London, 1851), I. 355 ff.

⁸ Edmund Ruffin, *Address before the South Carolina Institute*, Charleston, S. C., November 18, 1852.

slave labor was not responsible for similar conditions fifty years ago.

I have suggested that in the matter of the course of immigration away from the South, the presence of the free negro since 1865 is as much entitled to consideration as a contributing cause as was the presence of slavery before 1861. But it has often occurred to me to question how far the South really desired foreign immigration before the Civil War. It is not possible to sustain the contention that the tide of immigration could have been turned positively to the South, or that the immigration which entered America through Southern ports could have been induced to settle permanently on Southern soil. It is none the less true, however, that the attitude of Southern white people toward the question of encouraging immigration, as a matter of public policy, is still an undetermined factor in its influence upon an economic condition heretofore ascribed wholly to the existence of slavery. This is equally true of the situation today. It may be answered that after all slavery was responsible, in that it influenced Southern public opinion on the matter of state or local aid to immigration. Certainly this is true of the presence of the negro in influencing the attitude of many Southern people today. Here again we have the persistence of the racial, the negro, factor in Southern economic conditions long after the passing of slavery. Many thoughtful people in the South are unwilling to run the risk of complicating their existing racial difficulties through the addition of a foreign element to the population. Indeed, it is safe to say that the only positive opposition to immigration which exists in the South is based upon this fear.

Finally, much might be said of the factor of physiography. Though too prominent to be wholly ignored, it is seldom given its proper weight. In the chapter on the Colonists and the Inferior Races in his last volume on *The English Colonies in America* (p. 243), Doyle says: "There is no feature of Colonial history with which moral and sentimental considerations have so closely combined themselves as the question of slavery. Yet there is hardly any which has been so largely determined by physical causes . . . so little by the deliberate volition of men."

The importance of such physiographical considerations in influencing the course of political and social history is nowhere better illustrated than in the economic history of Virginia. That state was dismembered and the state of West Virginia created purely as a political measure. But the economic aspect of that transaction lies far deeper and beyond the political events of 1861-1865. The

foundation for the latter is grounded in the facts of Virginia economic sectionalism—the barriers created by nature in the western part of the state against the slavery system as it was organized at the time. All the artificial conditions within the state—laws, dominant policy, political considerations—necessarily applied to the state as a whole, at least in so far as they could override physical obstructions. Yet in the counties of western Virginia the negro population decreased 1.8 per cent. in number between 1840 and 1860, while it increased 10.6 per cent. in the rest of the state. During the same period the white population of the West Virginia counties increased 75.1 per cent., while that of the other counties of the state increased but 28.6 per cent.

Thus were natural laws operating to divide slave labor from free, black population from white, and laying the foundation for the white state which was carved out of a black state in 1862. And thus Virginia in 1861, within the limits of her own economic sectionalism, epitomized and typified the larger economic sectionalism of the country as a whole, which had made possible the political sectionalism which in turn probably rendered inevitable a civil conflict at some period in our national development, whether it came through slavery or the tariff. As a result of the play of purely economic forces there was created in a Southern slave state a state just as thoroughly dedicated to "free labor", just as truly "free", as was any in New England. The same forces which made the North a white labor country had by 1861 cut the Southern States in part with a chain of white counties, which extended from the Pennsylvania line practically unbroken to the Mississippi River in Tennessee, to the Gulf of Mexico in Alabama, and to the Atlantic Ocean in Georgia. These same forces operate today, and in their processes we may read an explanation of much which we have formerly attributed to purely human or artificial agencies, rather than to natural laws.

In trying to reach the real causes which underlie the relative movements of negroes and foreign born—I mean the fundamental, persisting causes—we must be impressed with the force of conditions for which slavery was and is in no wise responsible. Here the study of the influence of comparative physiography assumes more than local importance. Though not within the province of this paper, I venture the suggestion that one of the most important studies yet to be made in the field of American economic history is that of the significance of the relative similarity of American and European physiographic conditions in affecting the course and final habi-

tation of the millions which Europe has contributed to the upbuilding of various regions in America, outside the South. In this connection, we may glance at the relative physical situations of our negro and foreign-born populations forty years after the passing of the institution which was once supposed to exercise almost absolute control over their respective movements.

How far racial antipathy and the presence of the negro were responsible, I shall not consider here, but certainly it was not chance and it was not slavery which in 1900 so distributed our population that while but little more than one-fifth of the total and less than one-sixth of the foreign born lived between 100 and 500 feet above sea-level, nearly one-half of the negro population lived between those altitudes. The percentages were 21.8 per cent. of the total, 15.5 per cent. of the foreign born, and 48.2 per cent. of the negroes. These percentages, furthermore, decreased between 1880 and 1900 for both the total and foreign born, while that of the negro showed an increase. And it should be borne in mind that differences of altitude are not dependent on sectional or geographical lines. Some of the highest peaks east of the Rockies are found in the Southern States.

So also with the movement when tested by distribution according to technical physiographic regions. The distribution of negroes shows an almost complete reversal of that of the foreign born. Of the latter 28.2 per cent. live in the New England hills region, which contains but 1.5 per cent. of the total negro population. On the other hand, 41.1 per cent. of the negro population lives in the coastal plain region, which contains but 1.7 per cent. of the foreign born.

In measuring the influence of temperature and rainfall, we find still further confirmation of the other results. In 1900, more than three-fourths (76 per cent.) of the foreign born lived in regions in which the mean annual temperature was between 45 and 55 degrees, more than seven-eighths between 40 and 55 degrees, and more than one-half between 45 and 50 degrees. Negroes, on the contrary, are found to be most numerous between 60 and 65 degrees (37 per cent.), while 83.7 per cent. of the total negro population lived between 55 and 70 degrees. Between 1880 and 1900 the foreign-born drift was toward lower temperatures, while that of the negro was toward higher.

The distribution according to mean annual rainfall showed that 82.6 per cent. of foreign born lived in regions with a rainfall of from 30 to 50 inches, while 90.8 per cent. of the negroes were found where it lay between 40 and 60. Only 1.6 per cent. of foreign born

lived where the rainfall was from 50 to 60 inches, and this proportion showed a declining tendency. Between the same limits of rainfall there lived 60.1 per cent. of the negro population, and this proportion had steadily increased since 1880.⁹

I submit these considerations with this reflection: It seems to me that a final recognition of the far-reaching influence of the play of natural economic forces suggests a broader view of Southern history. In this larger view we may see in the phenomena of Southern economic life the operation of a human nature common to the white population of the entire country, acted upon by economic conditions largely of nature's own creating, rather than a mere manifestation of peculiarities incident to an artificial and a perverted economic growth. I do not mean to insist that any one factor which I have suggested is entitled to the weight which I, individually, might attach to it. I do believe that, taken in their entirety, they constitute a group of influencing causes which cannot properly be disregarded in any comprehensive study of Southern economic history.

ALFRED HOLT STONE.

⁹ *Geographical Distribution of Population*, bulletin 1, Twelfth Census, Washington, 1903.

DOCUMENTS

Papers of Zebulon M. Pike, 1806-1807.

THE accompanying papers are some of those taken in 1807 from Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike by the Spanish authorities at Chihuahua while Pike, who had been arrested during his exploring expedition up the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, was in captivity in that city. The originals are preserved at the City of Mexico in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations. They are filed in *caxa* 1817-1824 of "Asuntos Internacionales" in a bundle marked "Boundaries. Concerning the search for, and delivery to the boundary Commission of, the documents which were taken from the traveller Paiké."¹ This bundle, in turn, is enclosed within the *carpeta* of an *expediente* marked "1824. The United States. Treaties. Concerning the fixing of the boundaries between Mexico and the United States in conformity with the third article of the treaties of Washington dated February 22, 1819."²

From the correspondence filed with his papers we learn that when Pike was taken before Don Nemecio Salcedo, commandant-general of the Internal Provinces, the small chest in which he carried his papers was opened and all of those which related to his expedition were confiscated, a list of the documents being made and the documents themselves numbered to correspond with it.³ We learn also the circumstances under which the papers found their way to Mexico. These were as follows: On September 21, 1827, Don Miguel Ramos Arispe, Minister of the Department of Justice of the federal government, and president of the commission appointed to determine the boundary between the United States and Mexico, wrote to the Minister of Relations that he thought it probable that the papers taken from "the traveller Paiké" might be at Chihuahua in the archive of the old commandancy-general, and asked that they be searched for, and, if found, put at the disposal of the boundary

¹ "Límites. Sobre busca y entrega á la Comisión de límites de los documentos q. se tomaron al viajero Paiké."

² "1824. Estados Unidos. Tratados. Sobre que se fijen los límites entre Mexico y los Estados Unidos con arreglo al Artículo 3º de los tratados de Washington de Febrero de 1819."

³ See the affidavit of Francisco Velasco and Juan Pedro Walker to the list, given below, page 810.

commission.⁴ The request was at once referred to Simon Elías, governor of Chihuahua,⁵ and by him, in turn, to José de Zuloaga, *comisario* of that state, and custodian of the archive of the commandancy-general.⁶ After some delay the papers were found in the archive designated, and, on October 20, they were transmitted by Zuloaga to the governor,⁷ who, three days later, despatched them to Mexico, together with the original list made when the papers had been confiscated.⁸ On November 21 a receipt for all of the papers was signed by the Minister of Relations.⁹ A copy of the list was at once made, and the original list returned to Chihuahua. On the same day, November 21, the papers were sent to Arispe,¹⁰ who returned them, in their entirety, clearly, on January 24, 1828.¹¹

The list of papers confiscated, which is printed below, is identical with that which Pike printed in his classical narrative.¹² Of the twenty-one pieces named in the list, the first eighteen, still bearing the numbers given them in 1807, were found in the bundle cited above. No. 21 was found in another part of the same archive, and has been placed with the others. Where nos. 19 and 20 are—the most important of all, evidently—there is nothing to show, but it is not improbable that some day they may be found in another archive, or, possibly, in private hands. No. 21 is a valuable document, but its form renders it unsuitable for printing here. One of its titles—it has one at each end—is “Book, Containing Meteorological Observations, Courses and Chart of part of the Mississippi, Missouri and Osage Rivers, with the route by land from the Osage Nation, taken by Lt. Z. M. Pike in the years 1805 and 06, being part of a complete survey which he made of the Mississippi river from St. Louis Louisiana to its Source.” The other title is “Book, Containing Traverse Table and Chart of part of the Mississippi, Missouri and Osage Rivers, with the route by Land from the Osage Towns, taken by Lieut Z. M. Pike in the year 1805 and 06, being part of a Complete Survey which he made of the Mississippi River

⁴ Arispe to the Minister of Relations, September 21, 1827.

⁵ Minister of Relations to the governor of Chihuahua, September 22, 1827. Minute.

⁶ Governor Simon Elías to the Minister of Relations, October 8, 1827.

⁷ Zuloaga to Governor Elías, October 20, 1827.

⁸ Elías to the Minister of Relations, October 23, 1827.

⁹ Minute of this date.

¹⁰ The Minister of Relations to Arispe, November 21.

¹¹ Arispe to the Minister of Relations, January 24, 1828.

¹² *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and through the Western Parts of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1810), appendix to part III., pp. 80-82.

from St. Louis to its Source." The contents of this book may be summarized as follows:

1. Eleven quarto pages of meteorological observations covering the period from August, 1805, to March 2, 1807, the date of Pike's arrival at Santa Fé. From these tables we learn that in October, 1805, Pike was on the "Mississippi above the falls of St. Anthony". On August 20, 1806, he was "Between the Osage Towns", on September 27, at the "Panis Republic", and on November 30, at the "Foot of the Mexican Mountains".

2. Twenty-eight pages of traverse tables, covering the period stated above. In these tables there are separate columns for date, course, distance, shores, rivers, islands, rapids, and for remarks on mines, quarries, timber, bars, creeks, shoals, etc.

3. Twenty-five section maps, covering fifteen pages, of the Mississippi River above St. Louis, and about an equal number, covering thirty-two pages, of Pike's route from St. Louis to Santa Fé. The first set is in ink, with the addition of colors, the second in black ink only. They are executed with considerable care, and are well preserved. They contain, besides information concerning Pike's route, valuable data in regard to geographical names and to settlements of both whites and Indians. Whoever undertakes a new edition of Pike's narrative will probably wish to incorporate reproductions of all the maps in this book.

Some of the papers bear numbers other than those given them by the authorities at Chihuahua to correspond with the list. These numbers may be Pike's or those of some archive series.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

THREE of the papers discovered by Professor Bolton were printed by Pike from other copies. No. 1, General Wilkinson's instructions of June 24, 1806 (supplemented by additional instructions of July 12), appeared in Pike's book, *An Account*, etc., pp. 107-109 (Coues, p. 562), and is also printed in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 564 and 943. Nevertheless, it is here printed again, from the manuscript found in Mexico, for convenience of reference in connection with the other documents here presented. No. 4, Wilkinson to Pike, August 6, 1806, warning him of Manuel de Lisa's commercial projects, and telling him how to correct his watch by the quadrant, is in the appendix to part II. of Pike, pp. 38-40 (Coues, pp. 573-576). No. 7, Pike to General Wilkinson, July 22, 1806, telling him of the first days' events of the expedition, and discussing what he should do if he found himself near the

Spaniards of Santa Fé, is in the same appendix, pp. 33-35 (Coues, pp. 568-572). It has not been thought needful to repeat nos. 4 and 7. No. 12 is a very rough pencilled sketch, extending to the Grand Osage and Little Osage villages. It is quite superseded by the finished chart which Pike inserted in his book. No. 18 is still rougher, though in ink, and is drawn on a still smaller scale, so that though it extends to Santa Fé, no useful conclusions can be drawn from it.

The chronological order of the papers herein printed is: Nos. 9, 1, 10, 17, 2, 3, 14, 15, 16, 13, 8, 5, 6, 18, 11.

Interesting as the newly discovered papers are to the student of Pike's expedition and of the history of Western exploration, it is natural to feel at first sight some disappointment that they advance so little toward its solution the problem of the real destination of Pike. Did Wilkinson send him out with the definite intention that he should stray into Spanish territory, should be seized by the Spanish authorities, should see all that he could of their provinces, and report his observations of those forbidden lands to his commanding officer, as an aid to the ulterior designs of that commander or of the government of the United States? It was not to be expected that, if such were Wilkinson's plans, he should leave documentary evidences of them in his agent's possession, to be captured with him. Nevertheless it is impossible to resist the temptation, to profit by the occasion of the discovery of these papers to review once more the evidences of indirection, or at any rate to bring forward such new evidences regarding the government's supposed complicity as may be found in the archives of Washington despite the enthusiastic researches of Coues.

The chief reasons which have been advanced for suspecting Wilkinson and Pike of duplicity in connection with the expedition are the following: The relations of the United States to Spain were strained; it is apparent from Wilkinson's letter of November 26, 1805 (Coues, p. 564, note), that he deemed war probable, and in case of war looked forward to a campaign against New Mexico. In the second place, we have the affidavit of Judge Timothy Kibby of the district of St. Charles in Upper Louisiana, sworn to by him July 6, 1807, in which he says:¹³

¹³ This affidavit went the rounds of the newspapers of the time (Colonel Meline quotes a part of it from the *Mississippi Herald* of September 15, 1807), and was several times mentioned in Burr's trial as a well-known document. On that occasion Wilkinson characterized it as "replete with falsehoods"; *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 548. Dr. Isaac J. Cox of the University of Cincinnati has found an original copy of Kibby's affidavit in the collections of the

I also had a conversation with Genl. Wilkinson concerning Lt. Pikes Expedition to the westward which was nearly as follows. a few Days previous to the departure of Lt. Pike I asked the Genl what was the object of the expedition and where Mr Pike was going. he smiled and said it was of a *secret nature*, but if I would give him my word and honour to keep it a secret, he would give me some information on the subject which he had done only to one person in the Territory. I assented to the proposition and the Genl. observed that Lt. Pike was yet ignorant of the nature of his journey, that his object [*a few words or a line omitted*] that his rout would be by Land from the Osage Towns in order to treat with several Nations of Indians by which he would pass. I asked the Genl. if Mr. Pike was sent by the Government of the United States. he replied no that it was his own (the Genl.) Plan and if Mr. Pike suckseeded he the Genl. would be placed out of the reach of his enemies and that in the course of eighteen months he would be in a situation (if the plan suckseeded) to call his Damnd foes to an a/c [account] for their Deeds. I asked the Genl. if he did not apprehend danger from the Spaniards, knowing their jealous disposition, on Mr. Pikes account with a party of American Soldiers at Santa fee. he answered that Mr. Pike and his party would have documents to shew which would make them as safe as at Philadelphia.

Thirdly, Pike in his letter of July 22 (*Account*, app. to part II., p. 35; Coues, p. 572), discusses with some freedom the chance of his meeting the Spaniards, and admits the possibility of his being taken into Santa Fé as a prisoner of war; and in his letter of October 2 (Coues, p. 588), he discusses with similar freedom the military approaches to New Mexico. Fourthly, even though he mistook the upper waters of the Rio Grande for those of the Red River, as he maintained that he did, the stockade which the Spaniards found him occupying was on the west or Spanish side of the river. Fifthly, it is unlikely that Dr. Robinson would have been allowed so quietly to leave the stockade and set out for Santa Fé alone, if so little were known of the party's position with respect to that town; and the claims which he went ostensibly to prosecute are admitted by Pike to have been "in some degree spurious *in his hands*". Why had they been brought all the way from St. Louis

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Gano Papers, III. 49, and, with Miss L. Belle Hamlin, librarian of the society, has kindly supplied the transcript from which the above extract is taken.

They have also called my attention to the statement of Joseph H. Daveiss, in his *View of the President's Conduct* (Frankfort, Ky., 1807), p. 21. In St. Louis, in May, 1806, he says, he and Wilkinson were talking of Pike's exploring expedition up the Mississippi. "After which, he [Wilkinson] took out a map of the country of New Mexico, which I think was in manuscript; and after some conversation about it, tapping it with his finger, told me in a low and very significant tone and manner, that had Burr been president, we would have had all this country before now." Similar intimations are to be found in Major Bruff's testimony in Burr's trial; *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 573, 575.

if there were not from the first a thought of going to Santa Fé? Sixthly, there is Pike's chicanery about his baggage and papers, after his arrest. Finally, we may reasonably pay some attention to the testimony given before the committee of the House of Representatives by Colonel John Ballenger, brother of the Sergeant Joseph Ballenger of the expedition and of document no. 13. In a conversation between the two brothers, so the committee report,¹⁴

The said Joseph informed him that he was in company with Captain Pike in his last exploring tour; that, having left Captain Pike somewhere on the head waters of the Arkansas, he returned to Louisiana; that very shortly after his return, he went into the Spanish provinces; that during all this time he was employed in furtherance of a Spanish project, but did not intimate that Captain Pike had any knowledge, or was at all privy to the said project, or to *his* being engaged therein, and spoke in high terms of Captain Pike. The nature of the project in which the said Joseph was employed, or by whom he was employed, is foreign, (as your committee believe), from the subject consigned to them, and, of course, its detail is omitted in this report.

In the debate in the House, Rowan of Kentucky disclosed more fully the nature of the testimony, which was to the effect that Sergeant Ballenger, a friend of Burr, had engaged two or three Indian tribes to join the latter in his famous expedition.¹⁵

On the other hand, before looking at further evidence, we may remember that, leaving out of account Wilkinson's instructions, which may have been intended to be captured, his letter of August 6, not so intended, contains nothing to warrant the suspicion; and in Pike's letter of October 24, sent down the Arkansas by the hand of Lieutenant Wilkinson,¹⁶ he speaks simply of pressing forward to the head of the Red River, "where we shall be detained some time, after which nothing shall cause a halt until my arrival at Natchitoches".

What grounds for suspicion the Spaniards perceived is made plain by a variety of letters. Governor Alencaster of New Mexico, in his report of April 1, 1807, to Don Nemesio Salcedo, commandant-general of the Internal Provinces,¹⁷ contents himself with declaring his conviction that the Americans intend, "this year or the next, to establish forts or settlements on all these rivers [the Canadian and the other affluents of the Mississippi], in order to monopolize all the trade" with the Indians. But in a letter of April 15, of which

¹⁴ *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 719; *Annals of Congress*, 10 Cong., 1 sess., 1767.

¹⁵ *Annals, ibid.*, 1659.

¹⁶ Pike, app. to part II., pp. 39, 51; Coues, pp. 575, 592.

¹⁷ In Colonel James F. Meline's *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback* (New York, 1867), pp. 241-245.

Professor Bolton has lately found a copy in the City of Mexico,¹⁸ Alencaster, after reporting his expectation of an American search-party looking for Pike, and his preparations to meet it, proceeds to tell of suspicious facts which he has learned from "an Anglo-American soldier, who is sick", *i. e.*, one of the privates whose feet and hands had been frozen in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and who had remained at Santa Fé while Pike and others were taken on to Chihuahua. When this American, says Alencaster, learned of the sending out of these reconnoitring parties, he told the interpreter that when the Pike expedition set out from St. Louis Wilkinson told Pike "that if Christmas Eve should pass without his return, he should consider him a prisoner of the Spaniards, and should send to look for him. That he should not be concerned although he might be a prisoner for three months. That such were Paiké's orders, and that he heard him speak of this at different times with Rovinson, and that the parties which would be sent out to look for him would be four, of three or four thousand men each."¹⁹ Alencaster had the American brought to his presence to verify this statement.

In "Spanish Notes, vol. II.", in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State, are several letters to Secretary Madison from Don Valentin de Foronda, Spanish chargé d'affaires, in which the Spanish suspicions are fully expressed. In a letter of August 22 he says,

It is true the officer declared that he had lost his way. This might be true, but it might equally well be a pretext. The probability is against it. You know, sir, that if such excuses were to suffice, never would a spy be condemned. You should know, sir, that Pike contradicted himself in his declaration: since first he said that Doctor Robinson did not belong to his party, and afterward he declared that he did. The suspicions against this officer were increased by finding in a torn paper a small sketch of the regions between the Missouri and Santa Fe, with information acquired in the said town concerning its population, commerce, etc.

He also comments on the fraudulent character of Dr. Robinson's agency as a collector of debts. In a later note, March 22, 1808, he dilates, in terms that recall the suspicions of Sergeant Buzfuz respecting "chops and tomato sauce", on the fact

That in one of the documents found upon Pike [no. 1], there is talk of Jupiter, of telescopes, of sextants, etc.; that in another [no. 4] there is renewed mention of the said planet and of its satellites, and that

¹⁸ In Secretaría de Guerra, Archivo General, Sección Varios Asuntos, leg. 1787-1806, ff. 158-160.

¹⁹ The whole army of the United States then consisted of 3200 men; Private Dougherty was thawing out.

there is repeated mention of Miranda; all which causes me to believe that it is a cipher, and that the apprehensions of Don Nemesio Salcedo were justly aroused by the astronomy which Wilkinson displays in his instructions to Pike, since one cannot fail to have this dilemma: either Pike knows how to make astronomical observations or he does not: if he does, Wilkinson's lesson is useless to him; if he does not, so brief an instruction could do him no good.²⁰

He further recounts, from a declaration made by one of the soldiers of the party, that when some of them "asked Pike where they were going, since they were already in Spanish territory, he replied that they should go ahead".

But it is time to turn to the other side, and to seek the statements of Jefferson and Dearborn. We have seen Judge Kibby's report of Wilkinson's statement, that the plan was the general's own, not emanating from the government, but assented to; but distrust of Wilkinson's statements has become canonical. Secretary Dearborn, in his letter to Pike of February 24, 1808,²¹ declares that,

although the two exploring expeditions you have performed were not previously ordered by the President of the United States, there were frequent communications on the subject of each, between General Wilkinson and this Department, of which the President of the United States was, from time to time, acquainted.

In his letter of December 7, 1808, to the chairman of a committee of the House of Representatives,²² he says,

You will perceive that the instructions were given by General Wilkinson; the object, however, of each party, together with the instructions, were communicated to, and approved by, the President of the United States.

Doubtless more value should be attached to statements of the administration not intended for publication. Jefferson writes to Madison, May 24, 1808,²³

I think too that the truth as to Pike's mission might be so simply stated as to need no argument to shew that (even during the suspen-

²⁰ "Que en uno de los documentos que se encontraren á Pike, se habla de Jupiter, de telescopios, de sextantes, etc.: que en otro buelve á hablar de dho. Planeta y de sus satelites, y que de repetite cæe sobre Miranda; lo que me hace creer que es una cifra, que debia haber excitado los temores de Dⁿ Nemesio Salcedo la Astronomia que despliega Wilkinson en sus instrucciones á Pike; pues no podía menos de hacer este dilema: ó Pike sabe hacer observaciones astronomicas ó nó: si sabe, no le es util la leccion de Wilkinson; sino, de nada le servia una instruccion tan somera."

²¹ Pike, app. to part III., p. 67 (Coues, p. 844); *American States Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 944.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 64 (p. 842); I. 942.

²³ Madison Papers, Library of Congress. Ford, IX. 195. A previous letter of August 30, 1807 (*ibid.*, 24), found in both the Jefferson and the Madison Papers, containing statements intended to be sent to Foronda, has not the same force.

sion of our claims to the Eastern border of the rio Norte) his getting on it was mere error, which ought to have called for the setting him right, instead of forcing him through the interior country.

Fuller private statements were made some years later, upon occasion of the posthumous publication of the last volume of Alexander Wilson's *American Ornithology*. That volume contained a biographical sketch of Wilson by George Ord. In the course of it Ord printed a letter of Wilson to Jefferson, February 6, 1806, in which the ornithologist, on hearing "that your Excellency had it in contemplation to send travellers this ensuing summer up the Red River, the Arkansaw and other tributary streams of the Mississippi", offered his services as a man of science. Ord added in a foot-note, "Mr. Wilson was particularly anxious to accompany Pike"; and he commented with much asperity on Jefferson's failure to reply to Wilson's application.²⁴ Upon seeing this statement, in 1818, Jefferson wrote to Wilkinson the following significant letter:²⁵

MONTICELLO June 25. 18.

Dear General

A life so much employed in public as yours has been, must subject you often to be appealed to for facts by those whom they concern—an occasion occurs to myself of asking this kind of aid from your memory and documents. The posthumous volume of Wilson's *Ornithology*, altho' published some time since, never happened to be seen by me until a few days ago. in the account of his life, prefixed to that volume his biographer indulges himself in a bitter invective against me, as having refused to employ Wilson on Pike's expedition to the Arkansa, on which particularly he wished to have been employed. on turning to my papers I have not a scrip of a pen on the subject of that expedition; which convinces me that it was not one of those which emanated from myself: and if a decaying memory does not decieve me I think that it was ordered by yourself from St. Louis, while Governor and military commander there; that it was an expedition for reconnoitring the Indian and Spanish positions which might be within striking distance; that so far from being an expedition admitting a leisurely and scientific examination of the natural history of the country, it's movements were to be on the alert, and too rapid to be accomodated to the pursuits of scientific men; that if previously communicated to the Executive, it was not in time for them, from so great a distance, to have joined scientific men to it; nor is it probable it could be known at all to mr Wilson and to have excited his wishes and expectations to join it. if you will have the goodness to consult your memory and papers on this subject, and to write me the result you will greatly oblige me. . . .

Wilkinson replied as follows:²⁶

August 4th. 1818

Dear Sir

Residing as I do on the right Bank of the Mississippi seven leagues

²⁴ Wilson, *American Ornithology*, vol. IX. (Philadelphia, 1814), pp. 31, 32.

²⁵ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

below N. Orleans, it is no matter of surprize that your letter, of the 25th. of June, was not received before the 1st. Inst.

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter merely to assure you, that I shall fulfil your desire respecting the explorations of Capt. Pike under my orders, so soon as indispensable daily labour may allow me time, to scrutinize my voluminous correspondence; in the mean time memory authorizes me to declare, that, under a verbal permission from you, before my departure from the seat of government for St. Louis in the spring of 1805, *generally* to explore the borders of the Territory of Louisiana, I did project the expeditions of Capt. Z. M. Pike to the Head of the Mississippi; and after his return from that excursion, to restore to their nation a number of Osage Indians, who had been ransomed under my authority, from the hostile Tribes by whom they had been captured; to make peace between certain Belligerous nations, and if practicable to effect an interview with and conciliate the powerful Bands of I,etaus or Commanchees²⁷ to the United States. He was also instructed by me, to ascertain the extent, direction and navigableness of the Arkansa and Red Rivers, which discharge their waters into the Mississippi.

I recollect to have seen Mr. Wilson, the ornithologist, at Washington in the autumn 1808, and at Charleston S. C. the winter following; I admired his enterprize, perseverance and capacity, and had several conversations with Him concerning the work he had undertaken, which I was desirous to promote with my humble means; He made various enquiries respecting the feathered creation of this region, and instructed me how to preserve in dead Birds their living appearance; But I do not remember that Capt Pike or his expeditions were alluded to, and the details of that unfortunate meritorius young soldiers Western Tour, published by Himself, will best explain its utter inaptitude to the deliberate investigations of the naturalist. . . .

It might possibly be suspected that Jefferson's letter to Wilkinson was an adroit manoeuvre to secure exculpatory evidence from one with whom manoeuvres were necessary, and that anxiety over Ord's statement was but a pretext. Any such suspicion, however, is dispelled by the following correspondence with General Dearborn,²⁸ the first letter being Jefferson's, the second the reply.

MONTICELLO Oct. 27. 18.

Dear General

I never saw till lately the IXth. vol. of Wilson's Ornithology. to this a life of the author is prefixed, by a mr. Ord, in which he has indulged himself in great personal asperity against myself. these things in common I disregard, but he has attached his libel to a book which is to go into all countries and thro all time. he almost makes his heroe die of chagrin at my refusing to associate him with Pike in his expedition to the Arkansa, an expedition on which he says he had particu-

²⁷ The Yuta (Yútawáts) of the upper Platte and Arkansas rivers were variously known to the whites as Utah, Utes, Iatans and Ietans. By misreading this last often becomes Jetans, Ietaus and Tetaus; the name was loosely applied to various tribes, among others to the Comanches.

²⁸ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

larly set his heart. now I wish the aid of your memory, as to the main fact on which the libel is bottomed, to wit, that Wilson wished to be of that expedition with Pike particularly, and that I refused it. if my memory is right, that was a military expedition, set on foot by General Wilkinson, on his arrival at St. Louis as Governor and Commanding officer, to reconnoitre the country, and to know the positions of his enemies, Spanish and Indian: that it was set on foot of his own authority, without our knolege or consultation; and that being unknown to us until it had departed, it was less likely to be known to Wilson, and to be a thing on which he could have set his heart. I have not among my papers a scrip of a pen on the subject; which is a proof I took no part in it's direction. had I directed it the instructions etc. would have been in my hand writing, and copies in my possession. the truth is this, I believe, after the exploration of the Mississippi by Lewis and Clarke and of the Washita, by Dunbar, we sent Freeman up the Red river; and on his return we meant to have sent an exploring party up the Arkansa, and it was my intention that Wilson should have accompanied that party. but Freeman's journey being stopped by the Spanish authorities, we suspended the mission up the Arkansa to avoid collision with them. will you be so good as to lay your memory and your papers under contribution to set me right in all this?

Boston Novemr. 6th. 1818—

Dear Sir,

On the 4th. inst. I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 29th.²⁹ of October. Pikes expedition for exploring the Arkansa etc., was planed and directed entirely by Genl. Wilkinson, while he was governor and Military commander of upper Louisiana. You had previously contemplated the sending an exploring party on that river but the fate of the party sent up the red river induced a suspension of the expedition on the Arkansa until some explanation could be had with the Spanish authorities in relation to the interruption of the party on the red river, and in the meantime Genl. Wilkinson sent off the expedition under Pike. I recollect that you proposed a Mr. Wilson to be joined to the party that was intended for the Arkansa, and that I suggested a doubt as to the sufficiency of our funds for imploying any one in addition to the number previously proposed, but you thought, that, although our means were small, we might venture to employ Wilson on moderate terms, and if the proposed expedition had been carried into effect, I presume that Mr Wilson would have been attached to the party.

having no papers to assist my memory I can only state the facts according to my best recollections, but I am very certain that you had no agency or direction in Pikes expedition on the Arkansa, and that no exploring party was sent up the Arkansa by your direction.

All this is fortified by some additional bits of evidence which are in print, but which seem hitherto to have escaped notice. Coues³⁰ quotes with apparent approval the statement of Colonel Meline,³¹ that "Wilkinson's bulky and diffuse published memoirs may be searched in vain for any information concerning Pike's

²⁹ P. 1v.

³¹ *Two Thousand Miles*, p. 313.

expedition, and his silence on the subject is, to say the least suggestive." It happens, however, that beside the ordinary edition of Wilkinson's *Memoirs* published in three volumes in 1816, there is a special issue, a "Volume II." thinner than the usual second volume of the series; this Wilkinson brought out separately, in 1811, in order to make early vindication of his conduct in the Burr episode. It has a voluminous appendix of documents, which on hasty inspection might appear to be no other than those contained in the published edition of 1816. No. 48 of the 1811 volume,³² however, was not reprinted, and has apparently not been observed by writers. It is a letter of the general to the Secretary of War, dated August 2, 1806, and sent from the cantonment on the Missouri. The essential portion follows:

You have under cover of No. 2 a copy of Lieutenant Pike's instructions, and of the talk I have sent to White Hair and the Grand Peste, which may, I hope, prove satisfactory. . . . As it depends much on circumstances what course Mr. Pike may take, I cannot decide whether he will return to this place, or descend the Red River to Natchitoches, tho' I know his enterprize will lead him to attempt the last route, and in such case he will certainly be accompanied by a party of I,ya,tan chiefs, whom I would propose to send to the seat of government by sea.

It has been ascertained that no copy of instructions of Wilkinson to Pike is on file in the War Department. Those sent in the letter no. 2 must therefore have been the well-known instructions of June 24, 1806. We are warranted in assuming that when Secretary Dearborn sent to a committee of the House of Representatives his communication of December 7, 1808, he followed the practice of the time by sending with it the instructions, not retaining a copy; and that no other instructions were ever made known to the government at Washington. Whatever opinion we may form as to verbal instructions to Pike from his commanding officer, we may with reasonable security regard the administration as acquitted.

But it is still possible to adduce fresh evidence as to the instructions themselves. Voluminous as are the three volumes of Wilkinson's exculpatory *Memoirs*, it appears that he intended to lay before his patient countrymen still a fourth volume; for there is in existence, though apparently unnoticed in any bibliography or other book, a printed copy of a proposed "Appendix to Volume IV.", in

³² Appendix, pp. 42-45. This edition is rare. There are two copies in the Library of Congress. The same document is printed on pp. 372-378 of *Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Conduct of General Wilkinson, February 26, 1811* (Washington, 1811), of which the Library of Congress has a copy, probably unique. Outside of these two rare prints I have not seen this letter anywhere.

which we find a series of "Interrogatories proposed to Major Z. M. Pike", with the sworn replies of that officer, dated November 17, 1808.³³ Among the queries are:

Q. 7. Were you ever directly or indirectly engaged in any meditated military expedition, political project, or agricultural establishment with Aaron Burr?

Q. 8. Did any person ever propose to you any connexion with Aaron Burr, or any one of his partizans, for the promotion of any object of private interest, or of a military or political nature?

To the first of these questions Pike replied, "No, never"; to the second, "No". To the ninth inquiry, as to where he received the first intimation of Burr's treasonable designs, he replied that it was at [near] Chihuahua, in March, 1807, when he read of them in the *Mexican Gazette*.³⁴ The eleventh question was as to whether he had had any knowledge that Wilkinson was engaged in the plans of Burr. We quote the essential part of his reply to this question:

The orders given by general Wilkinson to me for both my tours of exploration are published in the state papers, or public documents, relative to Burr's trial; and were the only ones, either written or verbal, which I received on the occasion. . . . To the best of my recollection, general Wilkinson never mentioned the name of colonel Burr to me, previous to my meeting him at Washington in October, 1807; except on Burr's halt at Massac, when on his way down the river Ohio, in June 1805. He then spoke to me of him as the late Vice President; a man of talents; and particularly of his valedictory address to the Senate of the United States.

As Pike has a high reputation for veracity, and was here speaking under oath, this testimony is not to be lightly disregarded.

Readers who wish a general survey of the whole course of the relations of Jefferson, Wilkinson and Burr to the various projects of southwestward exploration, cannot do better than to consult a publication of the University of Cincinnati, *The Early Exploration of Louisiana* (Cincinnati, 1906), by Dr. Isaac J. Cox, to whom we are indebted for several valuable suggestions for these introductory notes. ED.

LIST OF THE PAPERS TAKEN FROM PIKE. (TRANSLATION.)³⁵

[Written in the margin: First Secretariat of State. Exterior Department. First Section.]

³³ Copy, possibly unique, in the Library of Congress; pp. 189-193.

³⁴ See *Account*, p. 235 (Coues, p. 652).

³⁵ We believe that, in view of the character of the document, it will be at least as satisfactory to give Professor Bolton's accurate translation of this list as to print the original Spanish. Pike himself gives a version of this inventory (app. to part III., pp. 80-82; Coues, pp. 817-820), and comments on the attempt made in the appended certificate to represent his presentation of the papers as voluntary.

List of the papers which the Lieutenant of Infantry of the United States of America, Pike, leaves at the Superior Government and Commandancy General of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, as relating to the Expedition which he has made from San Luis de Yllinois to the settlements of N. Mexico, for the purpose of visiting the Indian tribes and of exploring the territories and rivers which lie between them, which expedition he has made at the disposition of the government of these United States and under orders from General Wilkinson.

- No. 1. Letter from General Wilkinson to Pike, dated June 24, 1806.
2. Another from the same to Pike, dated July 18, 1806.
3. Another from the same to the said officer, dated the 19th of the same month.
4. Another from the same to Pike, dated August 6, 1806.
5. Letter from Lieutenant Wilkinson to his father, dated October 27.
6. Another from the same to his father, dated the 28th of the said month of October.
7. Letter from Pike to Gen. Wilkinson, dated July 22, 1806.
8. Letter from Lieut. Wilkinson to Lieut. Pike, dated October 26, 1806.
9. Proclamation by Gen. Wilkinson, providing that no citizen of the United States shall deal with the Indian tribes without his permission or that of the governor, dated July 10, 1805.
10. Letter of Ch. Jouett, Indian agent, to General Wilkinson, dated July 10, 1806.
11. Notes, by Lieut. Pike, of his journey from N. Mexico to Chihuahua. A *cuaderno*³⁸ with 4 used folios.
12. Rough manuscript draft or sketch of the Misuri and Osages [rivers].
13. Letter from Sergeant Ballinger to General Wilkinson, undated. [This is a mistake. The letter is dated October 26, 1806.]
14. Letter from Lieutenant Wilkinson to Pike, undated.
15. Affidavit in French, of a certain Bautista Lamie, found among the tribes, concerning the reason for his residence among them.
16. A sheet which contains notes in French, for the harangues or declarations which it was provided that Lieut. Pike should make to the Indian tribes.
17. Passport given by Lieut. Pike to the Indian Wind, first chief of the village of the Little Osages.
18. A small rough drawing, on a torn sheet, of lands situated between the Misuri and Santa Fee, with information, acquired in this villa, regarding its population, commerce, etc.
19. A manuscript book, octavo, bound in pasteboard, containing the diary of Lieutenant Pike from January, 1807, to March 2, 1807, when he arrived at Santa Fe, with 75 used folios.

³⁸ *Cahier*, *Heft*, bunch of leaves sewed together. The size, in my judgment, is quarto. H. E. B.

20. A manuscript book, quarto, bound in pasteboard, containing copies of official communications to the Minister of War and to Gen. Wilkinson, and various observations relative to the mission of the said lieutenant, etc., with 67 used folios.
21. A manuscript book, folio, bound in pasteboard, containing various rough maps of lands, rivers, etc., and the general diary, giving directions, distances and observations, written during his explorations and journey by the said Lieutenant Pike, with 40 used folios.

We, Don Francisco Velasco, first official of the Secretariat of the Commandancy General of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, and Don Juan Pedro Walker, Ensign of the Company of Cavalry of the Royal Presidio of Janos, certify: that when the lieutenant of American infantry, Mongomeri Pike, presented himself before Don Nemecio Salcedo, the Señor Commandant General of the said provinces, he presented also a small chest which he carried. This the said officer himself opened in the presence of those who make this affidavit, took from it various books and papers, and, after separating with his own hand, but with our knowledge, all those which appeared to him and were said by him to be of private interest and without any connection with his expedition, delivered to the said Sr. Commandant General the rest, which are solely those contained in the foregoing list which we have made. In witness whereof we make this affidavit in Chihuahua, April 8, 1807.

FRANCISCO VELASCO.

JUAN PEDRO WALKER.

This is a copy. Mexico, November 22, 1827.

ESPINOZA (rubric).

Corrected (rubric).

N.º I.³⁷

ST. LOUIS, 24 June, 1806.

Sir,

You are to proceed without delay to the Cantonment on the Missouri, where you are to embark the late Osage Captives, and the Deputation, recently returned from Washington, with their presents and Baggage; and are to transport the whole up the Missouri and Osage Rivers to the Town of the Grand Osage.

The safe delivery of this charge at the point of Destination, constitutes the primary object of your expedition; and therefore you are to move with such caution, as may prevent surprize from any hostile Bands and are to repel with your utmost force, any outrage which may be attempted.

³⁷ In Pike's hand, but signed by J. A. Wilkinson; quarto, 4 pp. Though these instructions have been printed before (see the introduction), it is thought best to print them here, that they may be easily referred to in connection with the ensuing documents.

Having safely deposited your passengers and their property, you are to turn your attention to the accomplishment of a permanent Peace between the Canzes³⁸ and Osage Nations; for which purpose you must effect a meeting between the Head Chiefs of these Nations: and are to employ such arguments deduced from their own obvious Interests as well as the inclinations, desires, and commands of the President of the United States as may facilitate your purpose and accomplish the end.

A third object of considerable magnitude will then claim your consideration; It is to effect an Interview, and establish a good understanding with the Ya,i,tans; I,etans; or Camanchees.

For this purpose you must Interest White Hair, of the Grand Osage,³⁹ with whom and a suitable Deputation you will visit the Panis⁴⁰ republic, where you may find Interpreters; and to inform yourself of the most feasible plan, by which to bring the Cammanchees to a Conference.

Should you succeed in this attempt (and no pains must be spared to effect it) you will endeavour to make peace between that distant powerfull nation, and the nations which inhabit the country between us and them, particularly the Osage; and finally you will endeavour to induce eight or ten of their distinguished Chiefs, to make a visit to the seat of Government next September, and you may attach to this deputation four or five Panis and the same number of Canzes chiefs.

As your Interview with the Cammanchees will probably lead you to the Head Branches of the Arkansaw and Red Rivers you may find yourself approximated to the settlements of New Mexico, and therefore it will be necessary you should move with great circumspection, to keep clear of any Hunting or reconnoitring Parties from that Province, and to prevent alarm or offence, because the affairs of Spain and the United States appear to be on the point of amicable adjustment, and moreover it is the desire of the President, to cultivate the Friendship and Harmonious Intercourse of all the Nations of the Earth, and particularly our near Neighbours the Spaniards. In the course of your tour, you are to remark particularly upon the Geographical structure, the Natural History, and population, of the country through which you may pass, taking particular care to collect and preserve specimens of every thing curious in the mineral or botanical Worlds, which can be preserved and are portable: Let your courses be regulated by your compass, and your distances by your Watch, to be noted in a field Book, and I would advise you when circumstances permit, to protract and lay down in a separate Book the march of the Day at every evenings halt.

The Instruments which I have furnished you will enable you to ascertain the Variation of the magnetic needle and the Latitude

³⁸ Kansa.

³⁹ Their principal chief.

⁴⁰ Or Pawnee.

with exactitude, and at every remarkable point I wish you to employ your Telescope in observing the eclipses of Jupiters Satellites, having previously regulated and adjusted your Watch by your Sextant, taking care to note with great nicety the periods of immersion and emersion of the eclipsed Satellite. These observations may enable us after your return, by application to the appropriate Tables, to ascertain the Longitude.—It is an object of much Interests with the Executive, to ascertain the Direction, extent, and navigation of the Arkansaw and Red River's; as far therefore as may be compatible with these Instructions and practicable to the means you may command, I wish you to carry your Views to those Subjects, and should circumstances conspire to favour the enterprize, that you may detach a party with a few Osage to descend the Arkansaw, under the orders of Lt Wilkinson or Serg^t. Ballenger, properly Instructed, and equipt, to take the Courses and distances, to remark on the soil, Timber, etc., and to Note the tributary streams. This Party will, after reaching our Post on the Arkansaw,⁴¹ descend to Fort Adams⁴² and there wait further orders; and you, yourself, may descend the Red River accompanied by a party of the most respectable Commanches to the Post of Natchitoches and there receive further orders from me.

To Disburse you necessary expences and to aid your negotiations, you are here with furnished Six hundred Dollars worth of Goods, for the appropriation of which, you are to render a strict account, vouched by Documents to be attested by one of your Party.

Wishing you a safe and successfull expedition,

I am Sir,

With much Respect and Esteem,

Sir

Your ob^t Ser^t.

JA: WILKINSON (rubric).

Lt. Z. M. Pike.

N.^o 2.⁴³

CANTONMENT⁴⁴

MISSOURI

July 18, 06.

Dear Sir

I have rec d. your letters of yesterday and concerning yr Interpreter without date.⁴⁵ I had taken arrangements to secure Bennette, when he

⁴¹ Now Arkansas Post, Arkansas.

⁴² In S. W. Mississippi.

⁴³ In Wilkinson's hand; octavo, 2 pp.

⁴⁴ Bellefontaine, Missouri, at the mouth of the Missouri River, where in 1805 Wilkinson had founded an important military establishment, maintained till 1825.

⁴⁵ Pike wrote two letters to Wilkinson on July 17, as is shown by his narrative, p. 112 (Coues, p. 361). One he prints; the other related to this affair of the interpreter. Just as he was about to sail from St. Charles, his interpreter,

appeared here and I have now become his security. Manual is a Black Spaniard. He dined here yesterday and left here this morning before the arrival of your letter—this was well for Him.

I have seen too much of the World to fall in love with Strangers, particularly men of fine European and Asiatic languages, found in the wilds of the Missouri—the natural question is, how came so many accomplishments and useful qualities buried alive? Yet no Rule without an exception. But still Henry can gain much of you without being to contribute anything—the association is therefore unequal. If I am Cynical I have cause for it, in the very source of this letter. you must not credit your Red companions, for lying and stealing is their occupation, when unemployed in the chase. They recd. powder, Ball and every thing else from Mr. Tillier—he gave them 28 lbs of Powder. I shall dress Manual and Cadet aussi. I will teach them how to interrupt national movements, by their despicable Intrigues. I wrote you this morning by Hall of the artillery.

My Son has the foundation of a good Constitution but it must be *tempered* by degrees—do not push Him beyond his capacities in hardships to suddenly. He will I hope attempt any thing but let the stuff be hardened by degrees. I have nothing further to add but my blessings and best wishes to you all

JA. WILKINSON (rubric).

Lt Pike

N.º 3⁴⁶

CANTONMENT

July 19th 1806.

Dear Sir,

I send after you the Circumferenter and Bark left by Dr. Robinson.⁴⁷ I expect the Bearer may find you at Charette. We have philadel^a. Papers to the 24th ult.^{mo}—not a word of news from Europe. It is reported on vague grounds that Miranda has failed, and it is suggested that France and Spain will demand some retribution for our Countenance of this attempt, but this is a mere party ebullition. I think He will succeed because the British will aid Him.

You will *sée* and *feel* the Le,tans before you committ yourselves to them, and you must indeed be extremely guarded with respect to the

Baronet Vasquez, whom Wilkinson apparently calls "Bennette", was maliciously arrested at the suit of Manuel de Lisa, one of the principal Indian traders of the Missouri, who was interested to frustrate the expedition. By "Henry", below, the general means Mr. George Henry. "Called at Mr. James Morrison's and was introduced to a Mr. Henry (of New Jersey), about eight and twenty years of age: he spoke a little Spanish, and French tolerably well: he wished to go with me as a volunteer", and was engaged the next day (Pike, p. 112).

⁴⁶ In Wilkinson's hand; octavo, 3 pp.

⁴⁷ The circumferentor for taking angles; the bark presumably Peruvian bark. Dr. John H. Robinson accompanied the expedition as volunteer surgeon. The failure of Miranda's expedition had occurred on April 28.

Spaniards—neither alarm nor offend them unnecessarily. write me as long as you can by this Route, under cover to the Commanding officer here and address me at Fort Adams. I wish you would send a Runner to the osage from the Panis, after you have taken your measures with the I,e,tans, and transmit me a Sketch of your route, and of the Country before you agreeably to your information. This may be important in providing against a total loss by misfortune—indeed you may send in your Interpreter Mongrain Express, with a letter of general Information to the Secy. of War, to accompany that which I have required above for myself. You may perhaps be able to guess, when I may look for you at Natchitoches. Write this by the return of the express and tell me how you *all* come on. be attentive in forming your Statistical Table of the Population, to give the names of Chiefs as well as Nations and Tribes, exactly after the manner you have adopted with the Secant and Sautieurs.⁴⁸ Farewell, my friend, omit nothing to give utility and Importance to your tour, and the sooner you can reach Natchitoches the better, consistently with the necessary investigations.

Your friend and sevt

Lt Pike.

JA. WILKINSON (rubric).

N.^o 5.⁴⁹

ARKANSAW RIVER

My dear Parent,

27th Oct. 06.

In a few moments I enter by skin canoe to descend the river, and part with Mr. Pike—the prospect is not as favorable as I would wish, but as the Season of the year will admit; and I look forward to a pleasant voyage, tho it may be a tedious one, however I shall have the Satisfaction of handing you a correct survey of the Arkansaw and its waters.

My health is perfectly good, and my greatest care shall be to preserve it. I may now and then be a little wet, but I have a large store of thick winter cloathing, and a warm Tent. My coffee and tea is still on hand, as are all my herbs and medicines, none of which I have as yet used.

You must not look for me Till spring, as I am determined to acquire information of the country adjacent to the river.

Believe me your dutiful and affect. Son

JAMES (rubric).

General Wilkinson.

[Addressed:] General or M.^s Wilkinson
for Lieut. Pike.

Natchitoches

⁴⁸ The table alluded to is that which is inserted after p. 66 of the appendix to part 1. in Pike's *Account*. It presents a variety of data respecting the Indian tribes resident on the upper Mississippi, among which the Tetons and Sauteurs or Leapers were two of the most important.

⁴⁹ In Lieutenant Wilkinson's hand; quarto, 1 p. James Biddle Wilkinson, the general's son, entered the army in 1801, became first lieutenant in 1803, captain in 1808, and died in 1813.

N.^o 6.⁵⁰

Please to ask Mr. Pike for a Letter
I wrote him on the 27th relative to
the command

ARKANSAW RIVER

28th Oct. 06—

N. L. 37° 44' 25"—

My Dear Sir,

I am now about undertaking a voyage, perhaps more illy equipd than any other Officer, who ever was on command, in point of stores, ammunition, Boats and men.

I have a small skin canoe, of 10 feet in length, with a wooden one of the same length capable to carry one man and his baggage—not more I believe. I have 5 men, whose strength is insufficient to draw up my skin canoe to dry—and which must necessarily spoil. I have no grease to pay the seams of my canoe, and was obliged to use my candles, mixd with ashes, for that purpose. My men have no winter cloathing, and two of them no Blankets. I must necessarily have the men wading half the day, as the water opposite here is not ankle deep. I shall pass the Republican pawnees, the most rascally nation I know—and perhaps meet with the Pawnee pickeés a nation of whom I have considerable apprehension—and meet in the course of 6 or 7 weeks the Osages and Arkansaws.

If I cannot proceed after I march Ten or Twelve days down, I shall cross to the Kanes, or Osages, who hunt on the streams of the Arkansaw and winter with them.

The river is now full of ice, so much so that I dare not put in my canoes—last night we had a considerable fall of snow. I asked only for 6 men and could not get them.

Believe me, that I sacredly write the truth, with a coolness and deliberation I never before have done, and Believe

me Your sincerely affectionate, tho

Unhappy Son,

JAMES B. WILKINSON (rubric).

[On the back of the letter:]

Lt. Pike will please to give this to
the Genl. only

General James Wilkinson,
Natchitoches

F^{or} Lt. Pike

N.^o 8⁵¹

ARKANSAW RIVER

Dr Sir,

26th Oc^r 1806.

Your instructions relating to my descent of the Arkansaw, have

⁵⁰ In Lieutenant Wilkinson's hand; quarto, 1 p.

⁵¹ In Lieutenant Wilkinson's hand; quarto, 3 pp.

been perused with attention, and as far as is in my power and the means given me, shall strictly be complied with.

Before we separate and perhaps for ever, I have taken the liberty to propose a few questions, relative to the Equipment, and the *Command* you have given me. If you should think this a freedom, inconsistent with the principles of Subordination, or unprecedented, you will please to excuse the error and attribute it to ignorance, not to a want of respect for your Opinion, but to a want of confidence in my own.

1:st Whether do you consider my strength sufficient to enforce a due respect for our national Flag, from the many nations of Savages. I must necessarily meet on the voyage—Or

2. Whether if an appeal to arms is requisite to repel an outrage offered, the efficient force of the Command would enable me to effect it? I speak of an outrage of a few,—for were many to make the attack, the consequence is obvious. Or,

3. Whether greater danger is not to be apprehended from the *Pawnee Pickeés* than any other Nation of Savages in *Louisiana*, not only owing to their intercourse with the Mexicans proper, *but to their friendship* for the Spaniards, who have *regular Factors amongst* them, and whose interest it is, to keep us in ignorance of the intrinsic value of the Salines of the Arkansaw—and which nation I must pass, and may probably see—Or

4. Whether greater danger is not to be apprehended from the meeting *with stragling bands of different nations, inimical to each other, and coursing a tract of country, through which they always make their hostile Sallies*, then meeting a Grand and powerful Nation, within its own undisputed Territory, and headed by its Chieftan.

The pusillanimity of the Republican Pawnees is so well known, that no confidence can be placed in them, and should I meet any of that Nation, I shall calculate their purpose to be villanous and take measures accordingly.

I am of the Opinion that a traverse of the Arkansaw, and a Geographical sketch of the adjacent country, is an object of as much importance to our Executive, as one of Red river, its confluent streams and country, and at the present moment perhaps more so, as Capⁿ. Sparks and other Officers have ascended to its Source, or are now making the Survey.⁵²

To comply with the wish, intention, spirit and letter of the Generals order and your own, I cannot hurry down the river, without making the required observations; but the quantity of *Public ammunition allowed* me, renders it indispensably necessary to use every exertion to expe-

⁵² The expedition under Thomas Freeman and Captain Richard Sparks, for exploring the Red River, had on July 29 been stopped by the Spaniards near the Caddo villages in what is now Little River County, Arkansas; but this was of course unknown to Lieutenant Wilkinson. Cf. Cox, *Early Exploration of Louisiana*, ch. ix.

dite my progress. If any accident should happen to my *shackling* and *patched canoes*, could I form an other with a *common felling ax*, and *hatchet*, so as to take advantage of the present rise of the water—and what shelter would I have to protect my men from the weather, in case I should winter on the river. You will pardon me Sir, when I say, Justice would *give 5 men one Tent*, in preference to giving 13 men three, when 12 are allowed 2 only.

You will excuse me Sir, when I observe, that your reflections, when at the source of red river, would be more pleasant, when you considered, that by the gift of a *Broad ax*, *adz* and *drawing knife* (of which you have two and *more setts*) you prevented a Friend and Brother soldiers wintering without stores or anything comfortable, altho you might be detained a few days longer, than you would, had you refused those articles. I will conclude with observing, that if you *would add Stout*⁵³ to my command (who you informed me is a ruff carpenter) I should not anticipate the difficulties I now do, or dread wintering without cabbins, and should feel satisfied within my own mind of the possibility of effecting every thing required.

For the many marks of Friendship I have experienced during our march, receive Sir my most sincere thanks, and wishes for your happiness and prosperity.

With Sentiments of high respect, esteem and attachment
I remain

Your obd. Ser^t.

Lieut. Z. M. Pike

JAMES B. WILKINSON Lt. (rubric).

[On the back of this letter is the following:]

On the Inclosed letter I will only remark that I furnished a Tent, Broad Ax, Adz and Drawing Knife and that Lt. Wilkinson had with him 19 lb powder 39 lb Lead and Ball, with 4 Doz. Cartridges, when my whole party had not more than 35 lb of powder, 40 lb of Lead and 10 Doz Cartridges: also that one of his men was a Carpenter by profession and another a mill wright. As to His observations as it respects the Indians, they require a different Notice.

PIKE.

[Address:] Lieut. Z. M. Pike
Present.

N.º 9.⁵⁴

By The Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs in and over
The Territory of Louisiana

A PROCLAMATION

All persons are hereby prohibited, ascending the Missouri River

⁵³ Freegift Stoute, private, was with Pike throughout the whole of his expedition, from St. Louis to Natchitoches.

⁵⁴ Signed by General Wilkinson, but written by another; quarto, 1 p. On the back there are a few calculations of meridional altitude, and other figuring in (probably) Pike's hand-writing.

into the Indian Country, or the Mississippi River above the present Settlements, with intentions to enter any of its Western branches, or to trade with the natives on its right bank, But by permission under my hand, as they may desire to avoid the pains and penalties authorized by a Law of Congress of the 30th of March 1802, Intituled an Act, "to Regulate trade and Intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the Frontiers."

Done at S.^t Louis, this tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five.

JA. WILKINSON (rubric).

N.^o 10.⁵⁵

CHICAGO 10th July 1806—

Sir,

I have this day been informed that the same party of Indians who struck on the osages last fall, contemplate attacking them early this season, the informant States that they are to set out in the first of next month, headed by an Indian of the name of Mionesse. This information may enable your Excellency to circumvent the party or give Such notice of it to the Osages as will put them in a defensive Posture.

The Potowatomies are extremely troublesome and insolent to passengers and particularly this town party who reside on the Illinois near the Prairies.

I am very respectfully,

Sir Your Obed^t Serv.^t

(Signed) CH. JOUETT I. A.

Genl. James Wilkinson

[Endorsed:] From C. Jouett to Gen.^l Wilkinson
July 10th, 1806.

N.^o 11.⁵⁶

March 3, 1807. St Afee.⁵⁷ Dined with th Gov etc. etc. Escorted

⁵⁵ Copy, in hand similar to that of no. 9; quarto, 1 p. Charles Jouett was Indian agent at Chicago. This letter was enclosed in no. 4, Wilkinson to Pike, August 6, 1806. In that communication, not here reprinted, Wilkinson says, "In consequence of the receipt of the inclosed letters, I have thought proper to send you an express, to enable you to announce to the Osage the designs of their enemies, that they may take seasonable measures to circumvent them."

⁵⁶ In Pike's hand, on small rough-edged sheets sewn together; 7 pp. This paper may be regarded as the raw material for Pike's printed narrative from March 4 to April 1, *Account*, pp. 214-236 (Coues, pp. 611-655). The dates, from March 3 to March 25 inclusive, are one day less than those in the printed narrative.

⁵⁷ Santa Fé. Governor Alencaster's report of April 1, 1807, to Salcedo concerning the finding and detention of Pike and Robinson was found by Colonel James F. Meline in the archives of New Mexico, then much more complete than now, and was printed in his *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback* (New York, 1867), pp. 241-245. His English translation of it is reprinted in Coues's *Pike*, pp. xlvi, xlvii.

oute in his coach. Bad road; arrived at [blank]⁵⁸ with Captn. D. Almansa and Bartholemew.

March 4. Snowing. Did not march until 11oc. Arrived at D. Domingo.⁵⁹ m. Gov.^r etc. Church etc.

5 Mar. Down th R. D. N. pass th vill of D Phillips. The curate etc. Bridge, from th. to th village of D. Deis where we encamped for the night.⁶⁰

6 M. Pass a Cf not badly cul^d. Dine at Albuquerque etc. Met the Doc.^r ⁶¹ at a small village where we staid all night.

March 7. Passd Toussac⁶² to th village of Ferdinand where we met Lt. Malgares, etc. etc.

March 8. To The Camp of D M. the sound discipline of th Troops.

March 9. To Sibilletta—regular and th Last village before th enter th desert. Much Talk of th Appaches.

March 10. Down the River 13 or 14m. Good Land.

M. 11. Marched at 11 oc. Met the Carravan from Ler [or, Ser.] Dis. 32 m.

12 M. Continued our route Down th river. Manner of posting Centinel etc.

13 M. at 10oc Continued our route passed the place where th road leaves th river. We continue to follow it. M. Juan Christopher.⁶³ crossd to th west side.

14 Sunday. 28 miles—road rough and stoney.

15. Passd a large trail of Horses. The Militia of N. M.

16. Recrossd the river to the east side.

17. First sign of the Appaches etc. vegetation commences.

18. Struck the main road which we Had left on r^t. its Gen^l Course S.

19. Made aboute 20 m prepared to enter Passa⁶⁴ tomorrow.

⁵⁸ Cienega. Of his companions the first was Captain Antonio d'Almansa, who escorted him till March 8 and then gave him over into the charge of his permanent escort, Don Facundo Malgares; the second, Don Bartolomé Fernandez, who had brought him in from his stockade to Santa Fé.

⁵⁹ San Domingo. The details of the things which Pike notes as remarkable, such as the church of this little village, may be followed in his printed narrative, as explained by Coues.

⁶⁰ Rio del Norte (Rio Grande); San Felipe; Sandia.

⁶¹ Dr. Robinson, whose adventures since his detachment from Pike's party on the headwaters of the Rio Grande may be read in Pike.

⁶² Tousac is perhaps Pajarito; Ferdinand is San Fernandez; Lieutenant Don Facundo Malgares had just made a brilliant cavalry expedition to the northward visiting the Pawnees and seeking for Pike's party. "D M." in the next item means "Don Malgares".

⁶³ Monte del Fray Cristobal.

⁶⁴ El Paso; not the present town of that name in Texas, but one on the opposite or Mexican side of the river, now called Ciudad Juarez. The meaning of the next passage is that the party put up at the house of Don Francisco Garcia, a rich merchant and planter, while Don Pedro Roderique Rey was lieutenant-governor of the place.

20. Arrived at Passa, and put up at th H. of D. F. Garcia. Lt. Com.^d Rey, prest L. Paaso. remaind there until th 22 when we marchd to the Fort of Eleciair⁶⁵ about 16 m. lower Down on th river. The Industry of the Inhabitants. Vinyards, Canals, etc. etc.

25. Left Elecia and marchd to The Mal Aukah⁶⁶ where we Encampd. Good water.

26. To the Fountain of Lothario.⁶⁷ miserable water. We now had left the pro. of N. Mexico and entered that of Biscay. Dissertation on the former, as to population etc. etc.

27. To the Fort of Carracol.⁶⁸ Com. Pedro Rues Saramunde.

28. To the spg of Warm Water. elegant situatn etc. etc.

29. Marchd 30 m and encampd without water. windy and disagreeable.

30. Marchd 20m. and arrivd at a spring on th side of the mt. and Elegant situ—This Day saw Con.¹ cabrie.⁶⁹ Encampd at night withoute wood or water.

31. M. early and arrived at a spring at 10 oc. th road to Senora etc. etc. arrived at Night at the village Encenelias⁷⁰ where we slept. the Labour of the Criminals etc. etc.

1 Ap.¹ Marchd and Halted at Saus. the bands of sheep and cattle. encampd near Chiwawa. [ditto] at the House calld the red House. 52 m.

N.^o 13.⁷¹

My General

I am now at Arcances River in perfect Health and good Spirits. am about to descend that river with your son. we shall find much difficulty owing to the waters being very Low but we will persevere and be successful. I sold the articles I Rec.^d at Cold Water to the Men for about \$170 Dollars. \$93.25 Cents of the acts⁷² I have sent by Lieut Pike. If He arrives before I doo and the Men draw there pay he will Receive the amt for me and leave it with you In case he starts before my arrival. the Men who go with your son I have not sent on the acts of, as I shall be at Camp as soon as they are. Mr Pike got from me to amt \$29.50 cents which is Included in James Draft on you. If Mr Pike should go on to the States before the men Receive there pay I trust you will Receive my act from him and Draw the amt from the Paymaster for me. I want to make some Money for you and my

⁶⁵ Fort San Elizario.

⁶⁶ Ojo de Malayuque.

⁶⁷ Ojo de Lotario. From this point the dates agree with those in the printed narrative.

⁶⁸ Carrizal. The commandant was Don Pedro Ruiz Saramende.

⁶⁹ Antelopes.

⁷⁰ Encinillas. The party arrived at Chihuahua on April 2.

⁷¹ In Ballinger's hand; octavo, 1 p.; no punctuation.

⁷² Accounts.

self boath the Insuing spring and Summer by Trading Horses. more of this when I see you. Yrs truly

J BALLINGER

26th Octr 1806

[Addressed:] His Excellency James Wilkinson,
Governor of U. Louissianna
Natchitoches

Fav.^d by
Lieut Pike

N.^o 14.⁷³

Dear Pike,

The indians were anxious to go on the other side, but *when I mentioned by your order, that the distance on this side was not much longer, and perhaps more safe*, they [said] they would march on this side. they are extremely uneasy about the Sacks, Kaos and poos, from information given them by some damd rascal or other, and have generally complained to me of the Danger. I merely observed that all Indians who meant to do them wrong would have to destroy all of us before they got to them. I caught a half f[torn] Indian talking with the chiefs, and told him if he impressed their minds with the fear of any Indians who were waiting for them on the river, I would crop his ears off *as close as a hogs ever was*. The chiefs entreat to cross the river to talk to a friend of theirs at St Charles—they ought not to talk unless in your presence, as improper stories might be told them, and you know *Bad birds* are flying about.

Fire three Guns when you want me to strike our tents and join you.

A man some hours since informed me 1500 Savages were encamped higher [torn]. I told him it was a lie raised by some damd rascal. Yours in heart and soul

JAMES

[Addressed:] Lieutenant Z. M. Pike,
Vis a vis (rubric).

N.^o 15.⁷⁴

personally came before me Baptiste Duchouquette als Lamie of St Louis Territory of Louisiana and after being sworn to the truth of his declaration made the following Statement, Viz.

⁷³ In Lieutenant Wilkinson's hand; small octavo, 2 pp. This letter must have been written about July 19 or 20, 1806, at the very beginning of the expedition, when for a few days Pike had detached Wilkinson to proceed by land across a bend of the Missouri.

⁷⁴ Signed by Pike, but written by another; quarto, 1 p.; almost no punctuation. On arrival at the village of the Grand Osages, August 19, Pike had found there a party of three men from St. Louis, headed by Jean Baptiste Duchouquette, usually called Baptiste Lamie, who had been sent there by Manuel de Lisa. Pike sent Lieutenant Wilkinson to demand to see his passports, or, if he had none, to bring him to camp, which was done. Finding that he could substantiate

je sertifie que je ne sui icy que pour un Recouvrement de quelque dette due a Mon sieur Lisa Manuelle par des ChasSeurs Et que Monsieur Manuel Dillisa Et venue Mangage a la bitation⁷⁵ pour faire ce reCouvrement a mon Retoure de la Nouvelle orlean le 20 de Juillet Et que j'ai partie le premier du Out pour venir icy avec un Canoz armés de deux hommes, lun se nome joseph Rives et lotre Calixe Montardie. Nous ne portion que nos vivre nessicaire pour le voyage Et deux lettres quatre Carotte de tubac un peti Baril de Tafia pour le chef des Cheveux Blanc. Et il ma dit de faire dire par Noille Mongrain quil a lait venir sou bien peut de tems avec Bau Coupe⁷⁶ de Marchandise avec M. Silveste Labadie. un malheur inprevue mais fait perdre tous Ce que j'an portai. En passon de Sour une anbaras je Nai puis⁷⁷ sauver que ma carabin. montrouvent de pour vue⁷⁸ de tous les petis nessaire du voyage j'ai pris le partie daCheté de Monsieur Mccellan une couverte deux livres de poudre une chodier quatre livre de Balle pour continuer mon voyage, que j'ai asi bien reussi en catorze jour, Et la quinzième je fus arette par un officier que ma demandez mon pasport. ne pouvent pas luis presenter je prete serment comme quoi tous ce que je die est la verité et pure verite. faite aux Camps du Lt. Pike ce 21 aouts 1806.

Je declare ne savoir signer. je fait ma marque ordinaire dune Croix.

Marque de X BAPTISTE LAMIE
DE CHEUQUETTE

Baronay Vasques

temoin

Sworn to before me at Camp Independence Near the Osage Nation
21 Aug.^t 1806.

Z. M. PIKE, Lt
1 US Reg.^t Infy.

Duplicate

Z. M. Pike

[On reverse side of sheet:]

Nul present dois etre Satisfait

N.^o 16⁷⁹

Mes frères,

Avant de vous parler moi-même je vous donnerai une parole de votre père qui est à S.^t Louis, qui est adressé aux cheveux blancs, mais qui regarde beaucoup à toute la nation osage.

nothing more criminal against him than his having entered the Indian boundaries without a passport (see no. 9), Pike detained him long enough to alarm him, then took his deposition, and sent a copy of it to St. Louis that the three might be prosecuted. (Pike, pp. 127, 128, app. to part II., p. 41.) Noel Maugrain, mentioned in the deposition, was the resident interpreter at the Grand Osage village.

⁷⁵ Est venu m'engager à l'habitation.

⁷⁶ Qu'il allait venir sous bien peu de temps avec beaucoup.

⁷⁷ M'a fait . . . en portai. En passant au dessus d'un embarras je n'ai pu.

⁷⁸ M'en trouvant dépourvu.

⁷⁹ Signed by Pike, but written by another; quarto, 3 pp. Talk delivered by

ici la parole du Gènèral. * * * ⁸⁰

Mes frères,

Vous voyez par la parole de votre père que je vous donne à présent, qu'il ne desire pas que vous restiez tranquille, quand vos ennemies viennent vous tuer, mais que vous soyez prêts a detruire ceux qui veulent vous faire du mal.

Mes frères,

Pour cette raison Je suis d'avis que vous deviez envoyer des espions sur le Missouri, et si vous trouvez que vos ennemies s'approchent, soyez de bon coeur, faites un ambuscade et detruisez les.

Mes frères,

Ce n'est que de se defendre, Ce n'est pas daller aux villages de vos ennemies pour tuer leurs femmes et leurs enfans, qui sont innocens.

Mes frères,

Vous voyez par cette dernière parole, aussi bien que par le rachete-ment de vos femmes et de vos enfans de la captivité, combien l'amitié de votre pere amèricain est sincère.

Mes frères,

Vous nous voyez ici, nous avons étés envoyés pour garder vos enfans, que nous avons racheté, jusqu'à votre nation. Nous l'avons faits. Outre ceci J'ai des ordres à faire la paix entre votre nation et les Kans, qui ont envoyés dire a votre père à S.^t Louis qu'ils desirent et qu'ils sont prêts a faire la paix avec les Osages.

Mes frères,

Les homme sage doivent savoir que la paix vaut mieux que la guerre, et si vous etiez en paix avec toutes les nations nous n'entendrions pas la voix de la douleur chez vous mais celle de la Joye.

Mes frères,

Pour réussir dans cette affaire votre Grandpère à Washington a ordonné à votre père a S.^t Louis, de faire comme il lui semblera mieux.

Mes frères,

Ainsi il m'a ordonné de faire rencontrer les osages avec les Kans, pour fumer la pipe de la paix, pour mettre la casse tête dans la terre, et pour etre comme la meme nation.

Mes freres,

Pour cette raison Je demande que quelques de vos chefs et de vos guerriers m'accompagnent à la rèpublique des Panis, D'où J'enverrai cherchi les Kans.

Mes freres,

Quand vous serez chez les panis, vous et les Kans seront sur la him on August 22 (*Account*, p. 129) to the Great and Little Osages, at his camp between the villages of the two.

⁸⁰ Evidently the talk which Wilkinson enclosed for the purpose in his letter of August 6. Pike, app. to part II., p. 38 (Coues, p. 574). Under August 7 Pike notes, "I employed myself part of the day in translating into French a talk of General Wilkinson to the Cheveux Blanche" [*sic*].

terre d'une nation etranger [*neutre* interlined], et l'un n' aura pas peur de l'autre, et par consequence la paix que vous ferez sera forte et Sincere.

Mes freres,

Vous pouvez rencontrez aussi quelques des Maitons ou Comanches, et J'espère faire la paix entre eux et vous.

Mes freres,

Je desire aussi que deux ou trois de vos guerriers descendront la riviere des Akansas, avec une partie de mes guerriers, au village de la grand Peste,⁸¹ pour lequel J'ai une parole de votre père a S.^t Louis

Mes freres,

L'on a dit a votre père a S.^t Louis que les gentes du Grand peste ont tués des françois, et qu'ils ont volés leurs chevaux.

Mes freres,

La grand Peste et son peuple ne sont ils pas Osage, si ils le sont pourquoi font-ils la guerre contre les enfans de votre Grand père.

Mes freres,

Si la parole que votre Grand pere à S.^t Louis envoit par moi pour la grand peste, et que je desire être accompagné de quelques de vos guerriers, n' ouvre pas ses oreilles, votre grand père l'abandonera, et ne veut plus que lui et sa nation soient ses enfans, mais souffrira que ses guerriers blancs et rouges levent la casse tête contre lui.

Mes freres,

Vous qui avez été dans les étas unis, savent bien quelle hospitalité vous avez éprouvé, et que tout vous étoit accordé ce que vous avez souhaité. Nous sommes venus, apresent vous demander à nous accompagner pour retour, et Je vous demande des chevaux pour aller d'ici chez les panis, d'où quelques de vos guerriers peuvent les ramener chez vous encore.

Mes freres,

Je desire que quelqu-uns de vous m'accompagneront pendant tout mon voyage, et vous ferez connaissance avec les nations rouges qui sont à l'ouest, et vous verrez sur le Mississippî d'en bas votre Grand pere de S.^t Louis qui vous recompensera de votre fidelité.

Mes freres,

Je me suis adressé à tous les deux villages comme s'ils etaient le même, comme c'est la volonté de votre Grand père. il vous voit comme la même nation, faites conseil ensemble et soyez forts.

J'ai parlé.

Mes freres,

Nous allons faire un long voyage. quand nous sommes avec les osages, nous nous croyons chez nous, et vous etes practie [*sic*] de la parte de votre père.

Je n'ai pas apporté des dons pour vous, mais comme preuve de notre estime, Je vous donne jusqu'au dernier goutte de notre whiskey, un peu de tabac, et quelques choses pour garder en souvenir de cette journée.

⁸¹ Grande Peste was, apparently, a chief of those Osages who lived on the Arkansas River.

N.^o 17.⁸²

This is to Certify that the Bearer (The Wind) the first chief of the Little Osage, and the Indians who accompany him, are of that nation—either captives lately redeemed or chiefs returning from the City of Washington; and who are immediately under the protection of the United States: I do therefore request all persons, to give them every proper assistance, and protection; and not to throw any let or hindrance, in their Way.

ST CHARLES,

17 July, 1806.

Z. M. PIKE, Lt. (rubric).

N. B. They will be met on the River above by the party of troops under my command, and should they have offended or Injured, any person by application to me they shall receive ample satisfaction.

Z. M. PIKE.

[On back of No. 18.]⁸³

From S^t Afee to the two chief mountains the Spaniards drive carts and exchange necessities for Buffalo and dried meat^e. there are three villages between the mountains and S. Afee, all parallel. the population civilized Mexicans.—Same f 1797. We left the Great Panis on the river platte with 48 chiefs and warriors to attend a treaty with the Camanches (or Ietans) at the two chief mountains. the country level and without wood, except on or near the water courses. The surface being covered with snow; in some places neither wood nor water for 70 or 80 m. We stated [started] with 80 and odd Horses and brought back 18. 11 Indis. only held out to the end of the Journey. The Prairie is high and Dry with short Grass in summer.—met upwards of 3000 Ietans. They are short wellset men all with long Hair. The women are close cropt and are remarkable ugly and felthy. The whole were on Horse back, and are armed with Bows, arrows, and Lances. their Saddles are made of skin and wood with wooden stirrups, but they procure some Bridles from the Spaniards. they are Erratic raise no corn and have no fixt residence. they hunt only for Buffaloe robes, which is their only dress except a Breech cloute which they procure from the Spaniards, tho many of the men are quite Naked. The women are covered with a Buffaloe robe tyed round their necks.

⁸² In Pike's hand; octavo, 1 p. The Wind's native name was Tuttasuggy.

⁸³ These notes are in Pike's hand.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The History of Music. A Handbook and Guide for Students. By WALDO SELDEN PRATT, Professor of Music and Hymnology in Hartford Theological Seminary. (New York: G. Schirmer. 1907. Pp. 683.)

IN the prefatory note Professor Pratt indicates the scope of his profusely illustrated and carefully indexed book thus: "It is meant to be distinctly a book of reference for students rather than a literary or critical survey of a few salient aspects of the subject or a specialist's report of original research. Aiming at a certain degree of encyclopaedic fulness . . . at every point an effort is made to emphasize the leading tendencies or movements of musical advance, referring to particular styles and composers as illustrations."

This programme has been carried out admirably. The work contains an amazing amount of generally reliable information brought up to the date almost of the month of publication and presented in clear, concise language. Indeed, too concise when "the leading tendencies or movements" are discussed. Possibly this is noticeable only to the professional historian who finds himself in sympathy with Professor Pratt's keen and thoughtful appreciation of musical evolution and esthetic values and who would prefer a more liberal display of such well-balanced historical ideas to the sometimes monotonous enumeration of facts and mediocrities.

The subject-matter is grouped in the usual manner, leading from "uncivilized and ancient" to medieval music and then by centuries to our own times. Each part of the book includes a summary of musical literature written in the respective period.

By departing from the traditional full stop at the year 1600 and by ending medieval music a century earlier, the author proves that he is willing to break with antiquated traditions. On the other hand, he still insists (pp. 63-64) that "before about 1200 . . . the only kind of music was ritual." Riemann, Aubry and others disproved this popular theory. Nor will the effort to establish (p. 93) the Netherlands as "the new art-centre" at the beginning of the fifteenth century or the statement (p. 97) that about 1420 "all the effects in view were strictly vocal, instruments being employed, if at all, only to double the voice-parts", pass unchallenged. Similar doubts may be expressed as to the absolute correctness of the theory (p. 188) that "in England the dra-

matic form that led toward the opera was the masque" and the reviewer's own researches oblige him to disagree with the author's underestimation of the English ballad-operas, not as an inferior art-form but as a means of fostering genuine *English* opera. On page 258 the unreserved statement that in Bach's cantatas "the recitatives and arias are of operatic origin", attracts attention. It is therefore not surprising to find that the treatment of early chamber-music, vocal and instrumental, is decidedly less careful and scholarly than that of opera which perhaps receives too much credit in matters of general musical evolution (compare section 134).

One of the features of the book is the effort to keep before the reader's mind the political and social history of each period, thus laying emphasis on the obvious fact, once so foolishly denied by Justus von Liebig, that art is an *essential* factor of civilization. As this method of procedure is quite in keeping with the author's well-known philosophy of art, it is disappointing that he has allowed but scanty space to "musikalische Länderkunde". On pp. 648-650 this branch of musical history is briefly but refreshingly considered for the latter nineteenth-century music in America, and similar though shorter paragraphs may be found in the book but they are too few to convince general historical students (p. 18, introduction) that they have much overlooked the general history of music and too few to show "how musical life has been interlocked with literature and the other fine arts and with the advance of social life in general".

Undoubtedly the book becomes unbalanced towards the end. For instance César Franck has to content himself with one line (p. 585) whereas Karl Reinecke (p. 528) gets twenty! Indeed the space allowed German composers of recent date is clearly out of proportion to their merits *versus* the representatives of "nationalism in music" in other countries. One need but read the paragraphs on recent Scandinavian music (pp. 644-645) to feel that the author is not quite sure of his ground. However, such defects are relatively few in Professor Pratt's work. They can easily be modified and corrected in later editions and do not very perceptibly diminish the value of this very handy and remarkable book.

O. G. SONNECK.

The Greatness and Decline of Rome. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. Translated by ALFRED E. ZIMMERN, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. Vol. I. *The Empire Builders.* Vol. II. *Julius Caesar.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: William Heinemann. 1907. Pp. viii, 328; vi, 389.)

"THESE two volumes contain a history of the age of Caesar, from the death of Sulla to the Ides of March. They cover the critical years in which Roman imperialism definitely asserted its sway over the civi-

lized world." "Prefixed to the work are five introductory chapters giving a somewhat lengthy summary of Roman history down to the moment when the detailed narrative begins." "My intention is to continue the narrative, in succeeding volumes, down to the break-up of the Empire."

The first two volumes appeared in the original in 1902. The title of the first—and there is much in Ferrero's titles—was *La Conquista dell' Impero*. Vol. III., *Da Cesare ad Augusto*, appeared in 1904; vol. IV., *La Repubblica di Augusto*, in 1906; and vol. V., *Augusto e il Grande Impero*, in 1907. The writer, only thirty-six years old, leaped at once into extraordinary fame and popularity, especially in Italy and France. The world had long been ready for a new version of the story of Julius Caesar which should correct or modify, giving its authorities for so doing, the extravagant estimates of Mommsen. Here was such a version, appealing to the popular taste with its cult of materialism, fatalism and socialism, written in a brilliantly sensational style, abounding in startling modern parallels and seemingly profound psychological analyses, "a psychological and artistic history, in which the passions of men are analyzed", in contrast with "the critical and scientific history of certain pedants". But in it the pendulum has swung violently to the other extreme, and the work of the trained and scientific historian in ascertaining the actual facts is largely replaced by fascinating deductions from imperfectly ascertained facts, or from assumptions based on the unquestioning application to the past of modern economical, sociological, or psychological principles.

Ferrero is a pupil of Lombroso, with whom he collaborated in a remarkable work on criminology, and his independent work, before he turned his attention to ancient history, was along the lines of anthropology, sociology, psychology and economics. Special and technical training as a historian he never had, although his critics from among the guild of historians admit that his handling of ancient authorities improves from volume to volume. *Historicus crescit eundo*. Still, to the guild, he is an "improvised historian, though a publicist of talent", or a "dilettante". Like the lamented De Amicis, Ferrero is a socialist by conviction, though an aristocrat by birth, and he has suffered exile for his convictions. The worst that his critics can say of him is that, having made an intensive study of modern European society from the standpoint of materialistic socialism, and having deduced therefrom a system of belief, he now tries to find in the facts of ancient Roman history an exemplification of that system. "I hope that my book has enabled me to demonstrate that the Roman world-conquest, one of those amazing spectacles in history which, seen from a distance, seem to defy both comparison and explanation, was in reality the effect of an internal transformation which is continually being re-enacted in the history of societies on a larger or a smaller scale, promoted by the same causes and with the same resultant confusion and suffering—the

growth of a nationalist and industrial democracy on the ruins of agricultural aristocracies."

In this tremendous transformation from a military and agricultural aristocracy to an industrial democracy, society is subject to the action of unknown and mysterious forces, according to Ferrero. Great men are merely the puppets of destiny, and destiny is the unforeseen precipitation of events by hidden forces. Even change is elevated into law. "No influence in human affairs makes permanently or uniformly for good or for evil. It was in obedience to this law of constant change—a law which seems to be the one constant element in human society and history—that, towards the middle of the third century, through the increase of wealth and the continuance of victory, this spirit of discipline and rural simplicity began to show symptoms of decline." The democracy first became greedily aggressive in the conquest of the Po valley; the Second Punic War hastened the advent of the commercial era. Eastern conquests, in which the desire for "loot" was thinly disguised under pleas of self-defense and the liberation of friendly peoples, brought fresh wealth to be fought for by the rich who were becoming richer and the poor who were becoming poorer. Caius Gracchus, "one of the four founders of the Roman Empire, and perhaps the most far-seeing statesman Rome ever produced", sought to include the entire population of the Peninsula in the enjoyment of the benefits and responsibilities of world empire, and was slain by the aristocrats who could not relinquish what they deemed their prerogatives. Marius brought the proletariat of Rome into bloody possession of imperial "loot", and Sulla restored the old possessors and the old order. But "order, even in the best organized State, is only a smooth and specious fiction in the place of justice and wisdom." The equilibrium between wealth and poverty which had been established by the great revolution and its massacres, was in its nature only temporary. Before the next great upheaval of the soil by the ploughshare of revolution, Lucullus, that "Napoleon of the last century of the Republic", had inaugurated the policy of the personal initiative of the provincial general, had "substituted war for negotiation" in dealing with foreign peoples, and so had marked out and sown the field in which Pompey and Caesar, his two great pupils, were to reap, in unconscious preparation for the second bloody struggle between wealth and poverty.

In depicting this second struggle Ferrero corrects to our satisfaction the depreciatory estimates of Pompey and Cicero which became the vogue with Mommsen, but attacks what he calls the "fanatical" admiration of Mommsen for Caesar with an impetus which carries him far beyond the bounds of historical safety in the opposite direction. The one redeeming thread of loyal consistency which runs through Caesar's checkered career, *viz.*, his devotion to the ideas of Caius Gracchus and Caius Marius in an attempt to form and lead a national democracy, is now ignored, in defiance of the clear evidence for it,

to strengthen a startling psychological analysis (I. 327), and now emphasized in an eloquent eulogy of his moderation at the opening of the civil war (II. 192). Caesar is a brilliant and unscrupulous opportunist, the psychological puzzle of his age. "It seems as though he were perpetually oscillating between opposite extremes, between an excess of temerity and an excess of caution. No sooner had he permitted some gust of passion or foolhardy caprice to carry him into a position of real danger than he turned back, no matter how successful his attempt, and relapsed into a prudence that bordered on timidity—only to break out again into all his old daring at the first suitable provocation."

Caesar's conquest of Gaul is represented as his lucky extrication of himself from a series of lamentable blunders, and yet it is admitted that he showed himself an incomparable leader, and created for himself a matchless army. His *De Bello Gallico* was an apologetic popular work, written with consummate art to delude a credulous public, and yet "at the decisive moment in the history of Europe, he and his men had drawn events into a course which their successors would for centuries be unable to deflect", and at this moment, after many Protean changes, his last transformation was into "a new and unexpected character—that of the moderate and exemplary citizen, disposed to every reasonable concession and solely desirous of the public good". But "Fate was dragging both sides remorselessly into civil war", and "though he had originally entered upon the war not out of lust for the supreme power, but to win a secure and honorable position in the aristocratic republic", he came out of it the victim of new ambitions that were forced upon him by his very successes. "He was the prisoner of his own victory." He must keep his promises to his soldiers and the multitude, and must therefore have supreme power. To maintain this supreme power fresh conquests were necessary, and therefore the Parthian campaign dominates his later plans, according to Ferrero, although the evidence is of the slightest that Caesar ever seriously thought of this campaign. But the tremendous drain upon his vitality which his superhuman activity had by this time made, left him exhausted, irritable and vacillating. He toyed with the idea of an open kingship, and so drove the right wing of his party into the arms of the surviving conservatives, who "banded themselves together against the Asiatic and revolutionary monarchy which they saw looming in the East, between the folds of Caesar's conquering banners". "But the modern observer has no excuse for regarding the plot to which Caesar fell a victim as an unlucky misadventure, due to the weakness or the wickedness of a few isolated individuals. The very opposite is the truth." The object of the conspiracy was to hinder the Parthian expedition!

"There were three great political objects for which Caesar fought during his career: the reconstruction of the Constitutional Democratic party in 59; a bold adoption and extension of the Imperialism of Lucullus in 56; and the regeneration of the Roman world by the conquest of

Parthia after the death of Pompey. The first and second of these ideas were taken up too late; the third was inherently impossible. . . . Caesar was not a great statesman; but he was a great destroyer. In him were personified all the revolutionary forces, the magnificent but devastating forces, of a mercantile age in conflict with the traditions of an old-world society." So Ferrero, in a work of great eloquence and rhetorical power, which is already widely and is sure to be much more widely read. The trained and conventional historian has much to learn from the work in the art of making ancient history alive again for us; but Ferrero has also much to learn from the trained and conventional historian in the scientific handling of authorities, the avoidance of rhetorical contradictions and exaggerations, the subjection of theory to fact.

Caesar had three great ideas: the reconstitution of the national democracy in 59; the application to the North, that teeming source of peril to the Italian peninsula, of the imperialism of Lucullus in the East; and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. In the third alone was he unsuccessful, and here only partially, since Augustus built on the broad foundations which he had laid. Caesar was, it is true, a destroyer of the Old, but he was also a founder of the New.

B. PERRIN.

Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar. By T. RICE HOLMES, Hon. Litt.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1907. Pp. xvi, 764, 16.)

MR. RICE HOLMES is well known as a military historian and the author of a valuable book on *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, to which this volume on Britain is a natural sequel. But the present work, which began as a study of Caesar's invasions, has expanded in the author's hands until it has become a survey of the whole history or pre-history of Britain down to the arrival of the Romans, and only the closing chapters of the completed book—about one-sixth of the body of the narrative—deal with the campaigns of Caesar. After a preliminary sketch of the history of archaeological science in Britain, Mr. Holmes discusses the Ice Age and the first appearance of palaeolithic man. Then he traces step by step the successive races—"long barrow" and "round barrow" men and the later invaders—which entered into the British population up to the Roman period. The physical type of each is described, its geographical distribution, its archaeological remains and the probable character of its civilization. For the earlier periods, of course, the inferences with regard to civilization are few and doubtful; but for the later age of Celtic occupation materials are abundant, though not always of certain interpretation. In dealing with these varied problems, which involve knowledge of palaeontology, anthropology, archaeology, and classical and Celtic linguistics, hardly any scholar is able to write steadily with expert knowledge; and yet the subject is of single interest and invites treatment by a single hand. The

results of philological and anthropological investigation cannot be severed, and the two groups of specialists have to take account of each other as best they can. Mr. Holmes has coped very successfully with the difficulties of the situation, and his survey of the field is comprehensive and trustworthy. He shows wide and thorough acquaintance with the literature of the various sciences concerned, and his references constitute in themselves a valuable bibliography. In matters of doubt he is generally cautious in statement, particularly in the body of the work (a more positive tone appearing in his controversial appendixes); and when he departs from received opinion, he is careful to make the fact apparent to his readers. His criticism is shrewd and incisive—sometimes rather vivaciously personal, as where he refers (p. 291) to “that powerful but erratic engine, the mind of Professor Rhys”. It ought to be said, however, that the inconsistencies cited from the successive works of Professor Rhys are by no means altogether to the discredit of that open-minded scholar. Mr. Holmes manifests a certain condescension towards professors and a preference for the judgment of practical men (witness his contrast of “editors” and “soldiers” on page 688); but the bookmen will pardon this in a fellow-professor who takes such scrupulous account himself of the ancient documents and modern commentaries with which he has to deal.

It is hardly possible in a short review to give any useful summary of so extensive a work or to call attention to all the doubtful questions which it raises. But a few cases may be mentioned when Mr. Rice Holmes takes issue with received or current doctrine. He displays commendable skepticism with regard to the theories of M. Salomon Reinach which explain the domestication of animals as an outgrowth of totemism and attribute the discovery of the working of metals to the processes of primitive magic (see pages 55 ff. and 121); and he urges valid criticisms (pp. 278–279) against the same scholar’s wholesale denial of the existence of Celtic national gods. The origin of Druidism he assigns to a pre-Celtic population, a view which has found favor of late, for both archaeological and linguistic reasons. In his account of the ethnology of Britain, Mr. Holmes emphasizes the difficulties of the usual doctrine that the “round barrow” men were, from the first, speakers of Celtic. He tries to reclaim the name “Celtic” for a tall, dolichocephalic race, though he admits that there was race-mixture wherever the language was spoken. He contends also for a later date than has been recently urged for the arrival of Celtic speech in Britain.

In the closing chapters, where by reason of his previous studies the author is perhaps best entitled to be considered an expert, he expounds with much fullness Caesar’s narrative of the invasions and illustrates it by many references to other sources of information about Gaul and Britain. In a long appendix he reviews the controversy concerning *Portus Itius* and pronounces decisively in favor of the identification with Boulogne.

The general arrangement of the book is intended to serve at once the interest of the scholar and of the general reader. Detailed discussions are relegated to the appendixes, and the text is kept free for the development of the main exposition. In spite of this provision the movement is occasionally clogged and the meaning obscure; but for the most part Mr. Holmes's presentation of the subject is clear, vigorous and extremely readable.

F. N. ROBINSON.

The History of the World. A Survey of Man's Record. Edited by Dr. H. F. HELMOLT. Volume VI. *Central and Northern Europe.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1907. Pp. xiii, 669.)

THIS volume, nominally the sixth, is the eighth in order of publication, and completes Helmolt's great undertaking. Though the chapters by different authors are of unequal value as indicated below, as a whole this account of the early and medieval history of Western Europe appears to reach the high level of the earlier volumes and to be quite superior to the eighth volume recently noticed in this REVIEW. It is addressed more to scholars but is necessarily too brief to satisfy them. It is pervaded with the spirit of Lamprecht and Ratzel, but at the same time has drawn heavily from Ranke. It does to a considerable degree justify the hope expressed in the preface "that it will supply a reliable basis for research wherever the study of comparative ethnology is pursued upon those principles which Karl Lamprecht has illustrated in theory and practice".

As in the other volumes the translator has done his work well. The long involved German sentences have their full meaning rendered in smooth, suitable English. Through a misunderstanding of the German he speaks of Clovis as an Arian before the famous conversion to Roman Catholicism (p. 60), and he refers to the Finns as Indo-Germans (p. 6), but such cases of missing the meaning are rare. Dr. Helmolt read every page of the German edition and then passed over the proof-sheets to his father and his sister Elsa. The English edition has not enjoyed such fond care. There are nearly forty misprints of dates and names. There are several excellent maps, genealogical tables of unusual detail on obscure or lesser ruling families, and a score of illustrations which have real historical and some artistic merit.

The opening chapter by the archaeologist, Dr. Weule, and by a native of the Baltic, Dr. Girgensohn, is an excellent sketch of the importance of the Baltic in history from the earliest times to the present day. Besides tracing in turn the Hanseatic, Swedish, Russian and German periods of dominant influence, it serves to transport the reader from Eastern Europe (in vol. V.) to the chapters on Central and Northern Europe which form the subject-matter of the present volume.

Professor Heyck then discusses briefly and clearly the question of Indo-Germanic origins as far as the Germans and Kelts are concerned. Three pages is a short space in which to explain how and why the Teutonic and Keltic languages arose out of dialects once mutually understood, but he has done it well and wholly in accordance with most recent philological theory. A colored ethnographic map (based on Roderich von Erckert), 500-50 B. C., helps to make clear the process by which the Kelts were crushed westward between the Germans advancing from the North and East and the power of Rome which was growing steadily stronger on the South. He essays an interesting comparative constitutional study of the early law and custom of the Germans of Tacitus and Caesar with that of the original Keltic peoples, drawing his evidence largely from Irish and Highland Scotch survivals. The differences of course are many and marked; some of them he tries to trace back to primitive groups of an Indo-Germanic people before the process of development and divergence had gone far. Incidentally he is inclined to overemphasize the existence of "race characteristics" in peoples. "Among the general characteristics of the Kelts were their stately carriage, their light complexions, their amiability, bravery, love of war, and liveliness, and intellect of somewhat unpractical nature and inclined to pride, superficiality, and self-laudation; at the same time they had a sense of humour and love of oratory and grandiloquence; but also a strain of poetry and the true spirit of Chivalry" (p. 126). To this he adds "their political incapacity", their "preference for highly colored clothing", and a disinclination "to wear trousers" (p. 138); and after pointing out that the Kelts possessed the three main alcoholic liquors which have appeared in the course of civilization (beer, wine and brandy), asserts that the wooden cask was invented in Gaul.

The history of France from the time of Clovis to the Hundred Years' War is treated by Dr. Mahrenholtz not chronologically but topically, and in a rather muddled manner. He also falls into several misstatements which space forbids us to note. Dr. Walther's sketch of the western development of Christianity to 1517 A.D. is concise but a little perfunctory; it does not make the papacy stand forth as a great and well-organized international power. Passing to two practical movements for which Christian enthusiasm was partly responsible there are excellent chapters on the colonizing crusades of the Germans east of the Elbe and on the crusades to the Holy Land. The former, by Dr. Mayr, analyzes Slavic conditions east of the Elbe about 1000 A.D. and then traces the systematic "colonization" from the West. So far as I know, this is not only the best general account of this subject in English, but is unsurpassed as a brief account by anything in German. Dr. Clemens Klein, besides giving an excellent narrative of the Crusades, seeks to emphasize their importance as an index of medieval thought and life, and to show the great influence of the East upon the development of the West. The thankless task of setting forth the medieval

history of Italy Dr. Helmolt has taken upon his own shoulders, and acquitted himself as well as might be; but as Ranke has said, only a collection of provincial histories could provide a true picture of the general history of Italy.

Most of the volume deals only with events prior to the Reformation, but an exception is made in regard to the Scandinavian countries and Great Britain, which are brought down to date. The chapter on the former is by a Norwegian, Dr. Schjöth, and appears to be scholarly but dry. As the chapter on England in the German edition smacked rather of the text-book and often placed the emphasis wrongly, Dr. Helmolt was fortunate in having this part of the English edition wholly rewritten by an Englishman, Mr. H. W. C. Davis. By almost total omission of military events he has made room in 150 pages for a good brief sketch of English political history, with more than usual attention to economic and constitutional matters, and some happy, though very brief, characterizations of English men of literature.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Le Japon: Histoire et Civilisation. I. *Le Japon Ancien.* II. *Le Japon Féodal.* III. *Le Japon des Tokugawa.* Par le Marquis DE LA MAZELIÈRE. (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1907. Pp. cxxxv, 569; 406; 623.)

MARQUIS DE LA MAZELIÈRE, who has already published several works on East Asiatic civilization, comes forth with the most comprehensive work ever published in French on the history and civilization of Japan. The present three volumes bring the account down to the end of the eighteenth century, while the two volumes yet to appear will complete the entire historic period to date. The author has thought it best not to make specific references in the pages, but has placed an extensive bibliography at the beginning of each section. The works therein referred to include several Japanese books in translation and many original essays on Japan written in European languages, but none of the vast amount of sources and literature in Japanese which have not been translated, and the knowledge of which is likely almost completely to eclipse the information upon which the present work is based. The author, supply though he did this limited source of information with his personal knowledge gained from travel and observation, has in the main been obliged to make heroic efforts to exhaust all that could be got through the medium of Occidental languages and to make the best of what was thus obtained. The student in the field will be compelled to admit that the marquis has succeeded in giving to the world an intelligent and fairly complete summary of what Europe knows of Japan.

The first volume is devoted to Ancient Japan (from the earliest times to the beginnings of feudalism). It opens with a long introduction, in 135 pages, treating of the origins, the peculiarities, and the inter-

relation, of Occidental and Oriental civilizations; and parallels to be found in the history of both: the decay of old civilization, invasion of barbarians, feudalism, renaissance, absolute monarchy, and revolution. This world-wide outlook and constant endeavor to find historical parallels in Japan, the rest of Asia, and Europe, form one of the characteristics of the author's treatment. This will afford stimulus and suggestiveness to many readers, but I dare think that there will be others who would value the work no less were this phase of the treatment entirely absent.

The institutional side of this volume, as in the other two volumes, is the least satisfactory, perhaps because the most poorly represented in the bibliography on which the author relied. Another difficulty which seems continually to have beset him is that of making the desirable topical discussion of such matters as religion and social life without disturbing to a great extent the historical sequence of data. Examples of errors of this kind are too numerous to be cited. Let it suffice to refer to the seriously inaccurate statements regarding the *buke* and the *kuge* (p. 236), the *han* (p. 260, II. 13), and the artisan class (p. 262). The history and art of the Nara period, as well as the relation of the so-called esoteric Buddhism to the art and court life of the next period, are far too inadequately treated.

The author shines forth on some points with the brilliancy of his insight. For example, his discriminating remarks on the ancestor-worship in China and Japan, on the characteristic traits of the Japanese woman, and on the distinction of Laoism and Taoism, are, in their main contention, quite illuminating, though not perhaps always convincing.

In regard to the second volume, also, which takes up the Feudal Japan (from the rise of feudal forces till the anarchy of the sixteenth century), it is safe to consider its institutional side the weakest, and the side relating to customs and manners the strongest. The story of the literary and moral life of the people is full of sympathy and suggestion, though the author is naturally prone to subjective explanation on those points about which he does not command sufficient data. Allowing this fundamental limitation to the merit of the work, everywhere one cannot help admiring the author's wonderful combination of love of concrete facts with taste for cogent generalization.

This latter quality is shown at its best, and, as some critics would say, even at its furthest proper limits, in the third volume. The author with all his labored argument could not expect every student to agree with him in regarding the age of Oda and Toyotomi as one of renaissance and the régime of the Tokugawa as an absolute monarchy. Nor would the parallels he finds in the history of Japan and Europe of the respective periods seem in all cases convincing. He still regards Pinto as one of the first European discoverers of Japan, and his narrative of events leading up to the policy of foreign exclusion appears not so

good as his treatment of some other matters. Political incidents and social customs are, again, as well described as could be expected, but the economic progress and institutional growth might have been better analyzed and more accurately set forth, had he applied to these fields the acumen which he displays in the departments of history requiring less skill in analysis. His description of the social life of the eighteenth century in Edo and the Tokaido is clever and full of feeling. His chapters on the arts, in this and in the second volume, are full, but lead one to think that the author has not made as extensive studies in the earlier periods of art history as in the later.

Throughout the volumes, extracts from Japanese works are copiously cited in translation. The fact that these works are mostly literary and that the translations are often faulty will show to the student of history that their use in illustrating the life of the people has its advantages and risks. In spite of this and many other things in this work to which exceptions are liable to be taken, one cannot but heartily congratulate Marquis de la Mazelière on his very useful work, and wait with interest its remaining two volumes on modern Japan.

K. ASAKAWA.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Die Päpstliche Pönitentiaria von ihrem Ursprung bis zu ihrer Umgestaltung unter Pius V. Von EMIL GÖLLER. [Bibliothek des Kgl. Preussischen Historischen Instituts in Rom. Band III.] Erster Band. *Die Päpstliche Pönitentiaria bis Eugen IV.* I. Teil. *Darstellung.* II. Teil. *Quellen.* (Rome: Loescher and Company. 1907. Pp. xiv, 278; v, 189.)

In the later Middle Ages the papal penitentiary was one of the most important departments of the central government of the Roman church. A cardinal major penitentiary stood at its head, assisted by several minor penitentiaries and a large clerical staff, and it had its own forms and fees and rules of procedure, as well as its manuals and formularies and registers. From its formal organization in the thirteenth century until it lost its jurisdiction over the *forum externum* in 1569, the penitentiary administered the ever-increasing mass of cases in which the sole power of absolution and dispensation was reserved to the pope, and it has a claim upon the attention of historical students, not only as a branch of the papal government second only to the chancery and the camera, but also as an influence of the first importance upon the moral life of European Christendom. Strangely enough, the penitentiary is very little known, in spite of the light thrown upon particular phases of its activity by Denifle, Lea, and Lang, and there is great need for such a thorough and comprehensive study of the institution as Dr. Göller promises to give us.

The sources for the history of the penitentiary are small in bulk

when compared with the abundant material available for the chancery and camera in the same period; more than four thousand volumes of its records were transported with the papal archives to Paris in 1810, yet the present archives of the bureau, rigorously closed to historical investigation, are said by the cardinal in charge to contain nothing earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century. Its registers have almost completely disappeared, but while their loss is to be regretted for the information they contained upon other matters, it is possible to reconstruct the organization and procedure of the penitentiary with tolerable accuracy and completeness from the working tools of the office which have survived in the form of manuals, tax-lists and formularies, as well as from the records of other departments of the papal administration. Of these the formularies are the most valuable, and properly receive chief attention from Dr. Göller. To the formularies already known (*cf.* Haskins, "The Sources for the History of the Papal Penitentiary", *American Journal of Theology*, IX. 421-450) he has added but two, but he has described the others more fully and examined their relations with more care than any previous writer. The papal registers and the archives of the camera have also yielded a considerable body of new material. It is plain that the author has made good use of his opportunities for research in the archives and libraries of Rome, but his investigations outside of Rome have evidently been confined to manuscripts mentioned by Lang and the reviewer, nor has he seen all of these. It is a pity, especially when dealing with a bureau whose archives have been so widely scattered, that Dr. Göller has not thought it worth while to explore systematically collections outside of Rome, at least such Italian libraries as the Ambrosian at Milan, where he might have found a copy of the formulary of Benedict XII. which is unknown to him. The result is particularly unfortunate for the diplomatic side of his work, for which he has utilized the statements of the manuals and formularies but has made no study of the original letters of the penitentiary, contenting himself with summarizing Lang's account of documents in Vienna and referring in a note to two others which have been brought to his attention by friends—a second-hand and distinctly unsatisfactory sort of diplomatics.

The great merit of the work, apart from the documents which make up the second section, lies in the careful account of the organization and procedure of the penitentiary and the functions of its officers and in the valuable list of major and minor penitentiaries. There are some interesting pages on the relation of the institution to the reform movement of the fifteenth century, and two special studies upon the bull *In Cena Domini* and a phase of the plenary indulgence. The taxes of the penitentiary and the history of public penance, though belonging in part to this period, are reserved for the second volume, which will carry the history to Pius V.

The collection of documents is of great value, and appears to have

been published with care. When they have been in print before, the editor has not, however, always mentioned the fact, and he has generally shirked the labor of identifying persons and places, to the inconvenience of the reader and in one instance to the misleading of the editor himself in a matter of some importance. In the article cited above the reviewer described briefly a formulary of petitions to the penitentiary now preserved in the Vatican archives, and suggested (p. 442) that "the absence of any documents from France or Spain in a collection which contains petitions from Germany, Italy, Hungary, and even distant England, Poland, and Portugal, points to the period of the Schism and the territory of the Roman obedience." This formulary Dr. Göller considers important enough to print in full (part II. 147-171), but the statement that the collection contains no Spanish or French documents he characterizes as "falsch wie Nr. 28, 31, 40 zeigen, und demnach die daraus gezogene Folgerung unrichtig" (part I. 55, note). Now no. 28 relates to the diocese of Braga and no. 40 to that of Lisbon, and Dr. Göller, though he does not identify them for the reader, surely knows that these places were, and are, in Portugal and not in Spain, and that during the Schism Portugal was for some time subject to Rome. There remains no. 31, which has to do with a priest and papal subcollector, Arnoldus de Casalibano, "Aquensis diocesis". This, as far as the Latin word goes, may designate the diocese of Aix in Provence, Dax in Gascony, or Acqui in Lombardy, but Dr. Göller jumps to the conclusion that the collector referred to in the petition is a Frenchman and the petition accordingly anterior to Urban VI. Now the mention of the bishop in the course of the document rules out Aix, which was an archbishopric, and while it would require some research among the collectors of the period to decide definitely between Dax and Acqui—the most probable identification of Casalibano is Casaubon or Cazaubon in Gascony—both of these dioceses were in the Roman obedience, since Dax was for the most part subject to England and is known to have received bishops and collectors from Rome under Urban VI. and Boniface IX. Dr. Göller's statement is itself "falsch", and while the reviewer would gladly welcome any further light upon the formulary in question, he has a right to demand some attention to fundamental matters of historical geography on the part of those who attack his premises.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

The Stannaries: a Study of the English Tin Miner. By GEORGE RANDALL LEWIS, Ph.D. [Harvard Economic Studies, volume III.] (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1908. Pp. xviii, 299.)

THIS is an important piece of work well performed. The tin mines of Britain appear at the very dawn of our historic knowledge of the island as its special attractiveness to foreign traders; accompany its

whole story as an influential and picturesque element; and are still today an essential part of the life of the southwestern counties, and a factor in the national policy. Moreover the tin mines and the tin miners have always stood in a peculiar and far from easily understood position; in a certain sense monopolized and exploited by the crown; in another sense privileged and favored beyond other interests and other classes of inhabitants. It is this interesting and obscure history that Mr. Lewis has elucidated in the present volume.

The first chapter is devoted to a description of the mines themselves and the technical processes of extracting and smelting the ore. The use and the distribution of the tin in England and abroad naturally follow. This leads to some study of the administrative relations of the government with the miners. There are really, as the author points out, two quite different conceptions suggested by the term "the stannaries", first, the mines themselves, secondly, the political organization of the men who worked in them. It is the second of these phases, naturally, that especially interests the historian. The most important single characteristic of the stannaries is doubtless the fact that they were a royal monopoly, the tax levied upon the production of tin being a valuable source of income to the crown. The desire of the king to conserve and extend his revenue meant favor and encouragement to the tin miners, the early recognition of the customs that grew up among them, and royal support of their privileges against the landowners of Devon and Cornwall.

These stannary customs and the organization built up upon them took shape, like so many other English institutions, in the early Angevin period. As early as 1158, apparently, "bounding" was recognized. This was the right of anyone to dig tin wherever he could find it, whether it were on the lands of the king or of any other landlord. Laborers and in fact all who chose to seek for tin were taken under the judicial protection of the king, even if they were villeins, and were early given the advantages possessed by tenants of "ancient demesne". That is to say, serfs could not be reclaimed by lords from whom they had withdrawn themselves. All miners of tin were at liberty to dig turfs and to buy fagots for smelting, wherever they could find them, and to turn aside watercourses when needful for the purposes of their work. These old customs were, as in the towns and similar bodies, formulated in charters, the first stannary charter being granted by King John in 1201.

The king's interest in and control over the stannaries were first put in the hands of the official known as the "warden" in the year 1198. To secure the payments due to the king successive wardens issued a large body of law and regulation, and to guarantee the privileges and enforce the duties of all those connected with the tin industry, an extensive system of jurisdiction was developed. There were eight geographical divisions of the stannary courts within the two tin-mining

counties, each with its steward and bailiffs; and no tinner was amenable to any jurisdiction except that of the stannary courts. With some slight modifications in 1305, this regulation remained the basis of law in the stannaries for several centuries.

A chapter on early mining law, the third in the book, is something of a digression, carrying the writer and the reader as it does into a study of the law of the stannaries as compared with that of other forms of mining in England and as compared with the mining law of other countries of Europe.

The remaining five chapters contain a detailed account of the political history, the conditions and the institutions that have been outlined above. The wardens, vice-wardens, stewards, and their courts; the "tinnners' parliaments"; the fiscal relations of the stannaries to the crown; the rights of the duchy of Cornwall; the custom of farming the tin mines; the relations of the tinnners with the privileged pewterers of London; the internal arrangements of the trade and the mutual relations of the actual workers in the tin mines—all make an interesting story told in considerable detail and with a most scholarly and exhaustive use of sources, most of which are manuscript. In this book historians have at their service, for the first time, a clear, adequate and interesting explanation of what has formerly been a poorly comprehended institution, and the narrative of a previously unwritten chapter of English history. The most important of the documents and many statistics are printed in a series of appendixes, and a slightly overgrown bibliography gives final testimony to the thoroughness of the author.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

Venice. Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic. Volume I., Part II.; *Volume II., Part II. *The Golden Age.* By POMPEO MOLMENTI. Translated by HORATIO F. BROWN. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company; London: John Murray. 1907. Pp. viii, 289; viii, 331.)

THIS second installment of Mr. Molmenti's work contains nothing which differentiates it in method and general character from part I., published in 1906 and noticed in this REVIEW (XII. 866 ff.). The vague and infelicitous title continues to cloak the fact that we have here a book dealing primarily with Venetian civilization; the chapters, though crowded with rich and valuable material, are conspicuously ill-jointed; and the mass of details never composes into an impressive picture of the whole. The author's viewpoint is substantially that of the antiquarian to whom every order of fact is equally important. He withdraws a curtain for a moment, affording us a glimpse of his personality, when he writes (I. 149) "it is with a certain intimate pleasure . . . that we read even the bare name (of a Venetian artist) painted in the corner of a picture." Of the man who wrote this we may be sure

that he thrills to every direct contact with the past, and that his book represents a lifetime spent in a labor of love, but we may also be certain that he is in danger of sacrificing the large relations of his subject to his passion for minutiae. In any case it is minutiae that he gives us, and two volumes of them, swept together in a rather haphazard fashion, are not likely to prove easy or pleasant reading.

Nevertheless, though the form of the book leaves much to be desired, the material, bearing on the civilization of Venice in the period covered by these volumes—the period of the Renaissance—is not only vast but most carefully weighed and sifted. A necessary by-product of this labor of erudition was the removal of the countless cobwebs which the fancy of man had spun around both institutions and individuals, obscuring their true outlines. Owing to the secret procedure and sudden punishments associated with the institution of the Ten, Venice, more perhaps than any other European commonwealth, has been exposed to the operation of the legendary instinct. “The story of the *povaro Fornareto*”, the baker’s boy unjustly executed in 1507, will have to be relegated to the realm of mythology (I. 37); the equally famous story of the Doge Pietro Ziani, who planned to remove the capital of the Venetian empire to Constantinople, loses much of its lustre and all of its verisimilitude (I. 60); and many an exciting adventure of the cloak-and-dagger variety, attributed to the great painters and sculptors, must be abandoned in view of the prosaic proof that most of these gentlemen lived an uneventful bourgeois life, concerned with nothing more exciting than the maintenance of their families and the pursuit of their profession (chapter VII.). If some elaborations of a tinsel romance receive the death-blow by this search for authenticity, the loss is more than made up by the recovery of the true features of the period. The chief benefit resulting from this disclosure of the unvarnished truth accrues to the Venetian state itself. The total impression of the single chapter dealing with the state is that the government, whose cold and reasoned procedure aroused among its neighbors such mingled fear and hatred, was the most just, far-seeing and humane to be found in contemporary Europe (chapter II.).

The information collected in these pages ranges over the whole field of civilization from such matters as climate and health to the highest achievements of art. Of course the material is not all equally novel and important. The review of architecture, sculpture and painting (chapter v.) follows the traditional lines, and where it exhibits independence is not entirely convincing. To acclaim Giorgione as the Byron of painting shows a fundamental misunderstanding of one or the other or of both. The chapter on the industrial arts, on the other hand, is a valuable and appreciative review of the famous activities of the Venetians in bronze, wood, glass, leather, lace and stuffs. It is contended by the author, and established with the aid of trade

figures, that this industrial activity was taken up just in time to fill the gap produced by the failure of commercial enterprise. By virtue of it, Venice in the sixteenth century, though no longer drawing wealth from the Orient, continued to maintain her splendid position in the European world. The account of Venetian festivals as an instance of the national love of pomp is very satisfactory, as is also the description of the educational equipment and ideals (chapter VIII.) and the story of the passion, amounting to mania, for magnificent residences and villas (chapter XI.). Nothing is omitted that might interest the antiquarian, and nothing is treated as casual and subsidiary. In fact it is this indiscriminating thoroughness that creates the conviction in the reader that to have given less would be to have given more.

The numerous and excellent illustrations deserve a word of commendation. They constitute an array of first-hand historical material, no less important as a guide to the serious student than the copious and learned foot-notes.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

Saint Catherine of Siena: a Study in the Religion, Literature and History of the Fourteenth Century in Italy. By EDMUND G. GARDNER, M.A. (London: J. M. Dent and Company; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1907. Pp. xix, 440.)

THIS book should supplement if not supersede all previous treatment in English of ecclesiastical history in Italy during the last half of the fourteenth century. Under guise of a biography of that lovable and forceful woman, Catherine of Siena, Mr. Gardner has presented us with a close study of her bewildering age. He has made use of much fresh material: the result is a book which gives for the first time a satisfactory chronology, rectifies many misconceptions, and leaves us with a full and rational account of the progress of events.

In thus viewing Catherine as the centre of the history of her times, Mr. Gardner follows the tradition of the excellent *Life* by Capececiatratro, rather than that of Mother Drane and the religious enthusiasts. A devout spirit notably marks the book. Yet Catherine's character is rather taken for granted than studied, and the treatment of her private and mystical life fails to admit us in any new way to the intimacy of this amazing woman. It would be possible, without falling into sentimental fervor, to penetrate Catherine's secret more deeply than any biographer has yet done, and so to interpret temperament and inner experience as to make her sanctity more comprehensible to modern readers. But this is not the aim proposed to himself by Mr. Gardner; and if his portrait of the saint leaves us a little disappointed, we realize that we could ill spare the additions to our knowledge of her external history.

It is when Mr. Gardner advances into the troublous public life

of the times that he works with a free hand and with rare mastery of his subject. The events related to the rebellion of the Tuscan cities and the return from Avignon are narrated with clear and satisfying precision. Mr. Gardner writes as a Catholic; but his attitude is entirely impartial, his sympathy with Florence undisguised. The Christian as well as the patriotic ardor which inspired that ever-fascinating city in her struggle against Catherine's "sweet Christ on earth", is finely shown: "Today", quotes the historian from the *Diario Anonimo Fiorentino* "they left off singing mass", in obedience to the Interdict, "and no longer celebrated the Body of Christ to us citizens and contadini. But we see Him with our hearts, and God knoweth that we are and shall remain true Christians."

It is in the chapters dealing with the Great Schism that this book reaches its highest value. While Mr. Gardner makes use of the work of M. Noel Valois, he has also as everywhere gone to the sources, and his researches throw much light on the extraordinary events which led to the disruption of Christendom. As we read attentively the painstaking account here given of the election of Urban, we are forced to an unexpected conclusion: not all the flaming conviction of Catherine's very feminine though able letters can prevent us from feeling that hesitation between the claims of the rival popes was a conscientious necessity. One is reminded of the exordium of Browning's *Innocent*, in *The Ring and the Book*. For the legality of Urban's election apparently depended, not on a question of literal facts, but on the interpretation of an especially confused state of mind: a subtle matter on which to hang the true succession to the See of Peter.

Some remarkable personalities stand out clearly in these pages, and many valuable corrections are given. For example, the melancholic friar who wrote two desperate letters to Neri dei Pagliaresi, and over whom romantic speculation has run riot, is now proved from the manuscripts to be Fra Simone of Cortona; and the anonymous critic of Catherine's austerities, to whom she wrote a truly saintly letter, is revealed as El Bianco, a poet of the Gesuati, whose misnamed "*Laud*" upon the saint has hitherto escaped attention. One of the most valuable features in Mr. Gardner's book is his translation of many letters direct from manuscripts. Often he gives interesting emendations; for example, in letters 175, 209, 219, 273, 284, 310, 329, 344, 370, 379 (Tommaseo's edition). Especially are we grateful for a fuller and more correct text of those last letters to Raimondo which constitute a unique record of the consciousness of a saint "in articulo mortis". Moreover, we have in an appendix the text of eight new letters, six entirely unknown, two previously printed in imperfect form. Of these, the most striking is the dramatic letter written in the summer of 1378 to the Florentines, after the ungrateful city had all but bestowed on Catherine the crown of martyrdom. This spirited, pathetic document will rank among the most important letters of the Seraphic Virgin.

All this is great gain. But every student of Cateriniana echoes the opinion of Mr. Gardner as to the need of a critical edition of the saint's correspondence. No one can read it carefully without suspecting that a number of letters would in a sister-art be labelled "*Scuola di Santa Caterina*". Even the best letters are often garbled. Let us hope that Mr. Gardner will fulfill his hinted promise and give us the new edition himself. No other English scholar is so fitted for the task.

VIDA D. SCUDDER.

The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies: Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Milan, the Canaries, Mexico, Peru, New Granada. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D., S.T.D. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 564.)

THIS supplementary volume brings to a close Mr. Lea's long labors upon the history of the Spanish Inquisition. One region, indeed, in which at Spanish hands the Inquisition played a notable rôle, his studies have not reached; and to the many who owe their interest in its story to the indignant eloquence of Motley the omission of the Netherlands will seem no trifle. But the Inquisition of the Netherlands, though in Spanish hands and Spanish enough in spirit, was not the Spanish Inquisition. For years, too, an eminent Netherlandish scholar, Paul Fredericq, has made his own the gathering of its documents and the narration of its history.

In the dependent territories dealt with by the present volume Mr. Lea goes less into detail than with the Inquisition in Spain; and much more largely than for Spain he could rest upon the researches of other students. Thus, for Sicily, he had not only the old accounts of Páramo and Franchina, but the modern one of La Mantia; for Naples, the elaborate studies of Amabile; for the Canaries, the bulky history by Millares and the catalogue of the documents now treasured by the Marquis of Bute; while, for all the American tribunals and for that of the Philippines as well, the Chilean scholar Medina has paved the way with monographs to whose worth Mr. Lea pays generous tribute. Yet, in all these fields, Mr. Lea's own studies not only equip him for independence of judgment, but enable him to contribute fresh materials.

That Sicily holds the first place in the volume is doubtless due to the especially close relations of its Inquisition with that of Spain. Yet, dreary as is the story of its effectiveness, it falls notably short of the Spanish model. Its career, too, was a briefer one. The transfer of the island, in the eighteenth century, to Savoy and then to Austria seems not seriously to have interrupted the tribunal's activity as the protector of souls; but, when in 1734 the Two Sicilies came into the hands of the liberal prince who was one day to be Charles III. of Spain, a blight fell on its energies, and in 1782, in obedience to public

opinion, it was formally and finally abolished. A postscript to the chapter on Sicily tells how Malta, too, had in the early sixteenth century, when it was a dependency of the larger island, its share of the Spanish Inquisition; and how, even after in 1530 the island had been given to the Knights of St. John, that tribunal for a half-century struggled to maintain its authority there.

In Naples, on the other hand, the Spanish Inquisition never succeeded in establishing itself; and the chapter devoted to that kingdom is the story of the long and successful struggle which kept it out. The Neapolitans were at last content, however, to tolerate the papal Inquisition in its stead; and Mr. Lea declares (p. 97) that, as there administered, "there was nothing to choose between them". His comparison of the two, since it is all we may hope from him on the Roman Inquisition is well worth quoting in full. "There were the same confiscation and impoverishment of families. There were the same travesty of justice and denial of rightful defence to the accused. There were the same secrecy of procedure and withholding from the prisoner the names of his accuser and of the witnesses. There was the same readiness to accept the denunciations and testimony of the vilest, who could be heard in no other court, but who, in the Inquisition, could gratify malignity, secure that they would remain unknown. There was even greater freedom in the use of torture, as the habitual solvent of all doubts, whether as to fact or intention. There were the same prolonged and heart-breaking delays during which the accused was secluded from all communication with the outside world." Yet Naples was at least saved from the use of the Inquisition as a political tool of Spain; and before the middle of the eighteenth century it was free from even the Roman tribunal.

The island of Sardinia, as a part of the kingdom of Aragon, had no claim to such immunity, but was fully a sharer in the Spanish Inquisition till in 1708 it ceased to belong to Spain. Milan, on the other hand, though from 1529 to 1707 a Spanish possession, was as successful as Naples in resisting the introduction of the Spanish tribunal; but, in retaining the papal one, Mr. Lea again is doubtful "whether the Milanese gained much". In the Canaries the Inquisition of Spain had of course free hand, the most interesting episodes in its sordid career there being its seizures of the foreign merchants and sailors whom trade brought to the islands.

But to Americans the most startling chapters in all Mr. Lea's work are doubtless those in which he makes vivid the long activity of the Inquisition on our own side of the Atlantic, and even in regions now a part of the United States. The attempt, in the seventeenth century, to introduce it into Florida seems to have ended in failure; and as to Louisiana his researches reveal nothing beyond the story, already familiar through Gayarré and Fortier, of the Capuchin who in 1789, announcing to Governor Miró his appointment as a commissioner of

the Inquisition, was forthwith packed home to Spain. But Mexico from 1570 to 1820 was equipped with a special branch of the Spanish Inquisition, and from the Isthmus to California its authority was effective, as even the governors of New Mexico learned more than once to their cost. There was, and Mr. Lea thinks this worthy of remark, no pressure from Rome to extend the Inquisition thus to the New World; and that from the first, throughout America, the Indians were exempt from its jurisdiction may have had its suggestion in the wise and temperate advice given to Philip II. regarding them by that fierce persecutor of heretics Pope Pius V.—though Mr. Lea ascribes it only to the colonial contempt for their intelligence. It was only for sorcery that they sometimes fell into its clutches. What the Inquisition in America was expressly aimed against was the spread of Protestantism to this side of the sea; and the part taken by captured Englishmen in the autos de fe demonstrates its usefulness. At a later day it proved as useful against political liberalism. But the great bulk of its business, in the colonies as in Spain, was with the minor slips, in faith and morals, of the orthodox themselves. The chief differences in the working of the colonial tribunals seem to have been their greater independence of the central authority, due to the slowness and infrequency of communication, their constant collisions with the local powers, civil and ecclesiastical, and the greater ease and safety with which they could be made to serve the vindictiveness, the ambition, or the greed of their officials.

In the Philippines the Inquisition, like the political administration, was a dependency of that of Mexico. The natives, as in America, were exempt from its control, and it found little enough of heresy to punish; but it seems to have kept the civil government in a ferment and to have succeeded admirably in the exclusion of knowledge and the discouragement of thought.

The tribunal of Peru, established, like that of Mexico, in 1570, included all Spanish South America in its jurisdiction until in 1610 there was created the new one of Cartagena, whose territories were to comprise not only what is now Colombia and Venezuela, but all the Spanish islands of the West Indies. Even thus restricted, both jurisdictions proved far too large for effective administration; yet they enriched their officials and succeeded so far in shutting out ideas that in 1774 a Bogotá physician could be solemnly tried as “the first and only one who, in this kingdom and perhaps in all America”, had publicly declared himself in favor of the Copernican system. Once admitted, however, intelligence spread fast. Long before its formal suppression in 1820 the Inquisition was everywhere the object of a popular detestation which has not yet died out, and which utters itself through the native historians in pages far more bitter than those of Mr. Lea.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge. Von BERNHARD DUHR, S.J. Erster Band. *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge im XVI. Jahrhundert.* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1907. Pp. xvi, 876.)

THE Society of Jesus has never lacked self-consciousness. Born in an introspective and a scribbling age, autobiography was its earliest habit. Ignatius Loyola himself at its birth laid bare for the spiritual training of his followers the innermost experiences of his soul; and amid the crowding cares of his later years he found time to dictate his memories of a life which, as he himself declared, but mirrored that of his order. The order which thus he created after his own image he encouraged to a like self-revelation. His earliest and most docile disciple, the Savoyard Peter Faber, who laid the foundation for its career in Germany, emulated his master by jotting in a journal day by day every pious emotion, plan, or prayer; and this *Memoriale*, copied ever afresh by loving hands in novice-house and college, became in its turn a model for imitation. Already in 1540, the year of the formal establishment of the order, Ignatius instructed his associates to report to him in weekly letters "what God had wrought through them". When presently they were scattered, not through Italy only, but throughout all Europe, he was content if those in charge of province or of college in lands transalpine would write him but a monthly letter and from those in the far Indies a yearly might suffice; but, whether this express report were weekly or monthly or yearly, all these superiors were charged besides to set down, in person or by deputy, "whatever might make for edification", and thrice each year to send it in to Rome. And the loyal sons of the order who out of such materials before the end of its first century compiled the histories which till now have been the classic source for our knowledge of its beginnings, concerning themselves only with what God through it had wrought and what might make for edification, were still but autobiographers.

Three centuries more have gone. The Jesuits, trained by their work on the *Acta Sanctorum*, have ripened into the keenest and most relentless of historical critics. Their documentary records, even the most intimate, seized in great part by hostile authorities at the suppression of the order in the eighteenth century, lie scattered throughout Europe, accessible to every student; and foe has vied with friend in bringing them to the light of print. If Catholic hands have given us the letters of Loyola, of Faber, of Canisius, it is the *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* which (though not without Jesuit help) has published the documents of their work for education, the Society for Rhenish History has edited by the unfriendly pen of Hansen a rich body of their records drawn mainly from the archives of Cologne, and a half-dozen hostile historians have mined in the yet richer spoils at Munich. What wonder that the restored order should itself (since 1894) have undertaken the publication in full of the sources for its history? What wonder that

it should now put to use these *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* in a series of vernacular histories written by Jesuit hands?

It is at least no wonder that the volume on the Jesuits in lands of German speech should be assigned to Father Bernhard Duhr. For years he has been the order's foremost apologist. His well-known *Jesuiten-Fabeln*, enriched in edition after edition since its first issue in 1891, shows him at home everywhere in Jesuit history, and by no means through Jesuit sources alone; while a multitude of more elaborate studies, published during the last quarter-century in magazine or monograph, attest the keenness of his scholarship and mark him as especially the historian of the German Jesuits. It is on these studies, indeed, that great part of the present volume rests.

But can a Jesuit be trusted even now to write the story of his fellows? Of the theory that a Jesuit's highest aim is to glorify his order and that to this end all means are permitted him, Father Duhr makes short work: "a lie stays a lie and wholly to be condemned, deceit stays deceit and wholly to be condemned, even though the holiest end be through it sought or furthered." And to the present reviewer, at least, his book seems from beginning to end an honest book. Both in the policy of his order and in the acts of its members he can see not only blunders but faults, and these he is frank to point out and to censure. What is yet more to the purpose, his point of view as a critic is no wholly antiquated or narrowly Catholic one—witness his pages on the censorship, on the treatment of heretics, on diabolism. It does not follow from this that his book is impartial. He himself recognizes that "in the love and the loyalty which a member has and must have for his order there lies a danger"; but he counts it no greater than that of the historian who writes the history of his own land, and urges against it not only the better knowledge which comes from inside acquaintance but the folly of want of frankness in a history meant primarily for the use of his fellow Jesuits, who need to learn caution and modesty not less than courage and enthusiasm. His critics, however, will hardly see in his mild verdicts only loyalty to the gentle maxim that "unloving criticism is not less to be shunned than uncritical love." But the day has not yet come when apologist and critic can be expected to look with the same eyes on this best loved and best hated group in modern history. It is much that Father Duhr has at least brought us a great step nearer to that day.

The least entertaining part of the present volume is the opening third devoted to the establishment of the Jesuits in Germany and to the statistics of their provinces and colleges, too compact for easy reading. Full of interest are the next chapters on the Jesuit schools and their life, familiar to Father Duhr through so many earlier studies and through his work for the *Monumenta Paedagogica*. There follow chapters on "soul-care" (the work of the Jesuits in pulpit and confessional), on their reform of the convents, on their work for the sick, the poor,

the soldier, the prisoner; then on the indoor life of the Jesuit houses—the training of the novice and the scholastic, their recreations and daily habits, their domestic economy and administration. A chapter on the Jesuit buildings in Germany is the contribution of a colleague, Father Braun, whose summing up is a denial of the existence of a “Jesuit style” in architecture. “Before Vignola built the Gesú at Rome the *baroque* already existed; and it was not merely the Jesuits who brought it into use—it was all Rome and all Italy.” Father Duhr next describes the German Jesuits as authors, scoring them for their share in the brutal polemics of the time, while bringing out, and with justice, the efforts of the order for greater courtesy in discussion. A chapter gives us the substance of his monograph on the Jesuits at the courts of the German princes, another that of his interesting study on “the 5% quarrel” (*i. e.*, the controversy over the taking of interest on money), and still another, under the title of Devil-mysticism and Witch-trials, a renewed and a cogent defense of the order against responsibility for the witch persecution. That individual Jesuits, even Peter Canisius, were largely responsible for the persistence of exorcism, he does not deny or defend; that the belief in demoniacal possession thus fostered promoted the belief in witches he is at pains to illustrate; that many Jesuits shared this belief too and furthered by voice and pen the panic born of it he narrates in full; but that opinion was at one in the order on this subject, that the charge of witchcraft was ever made by it a cloak for the punishment of heresy, or that the superiors ever intervened save to dissuade from meddling with the matter, he not only denies but does much to disprove. Two closing chapters are devoted to “character-sketches” of three typical Jesuits—Joannes Rethius, Paulus Hoffaeus, and Georg Scherer—and to the curiously conflicting estimates of the Jesuits “in the judgment of the time”.

The handsome volume is made handsomer by a wealth of thoroughly historical and wisely selected illustrations—portraits, plans, views of towns and of buildings, facsimiles of manuscripts and of title-pages.

GEORGE L. BURR.

The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton. In two volumes. By LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1907. Pp. xxiv, 508; 564.)

The name of Sir Henry Wotton is generally familiar to lovers of English literature. They remember a few of his enduring poems, particularly the “Character of a Happy Life”, and the tender couplet in memory of the widow of Sir Albertus Morton:

“He first deceas’d. She for a little tried
To live without him: lik’d it not and died.”

They remember, too, that Izaak Walton prefixed to the posthumous and confused collection of Wotton’s works, entitled *Reliquiae Wottonianae* and thrice reprinted between 1651 and 1685, a memoir which has itself

endured, among the little masterpieces of an interval when great ones were rare. Thanks to Walton, they vaguely remember that Wotton was a most accomplished gentleman, who passed the active years of his life in high diplomatic office, and who ended his days as Provost of Eton. They remember, finally, that he wrote from Eton the kindly letter to Milton commonly prefixed to *Comus*. And that is about all. To learn more they have hitherto had to seek in libraries.

It is hardly excessive to say that Mr. Pearsall Smith has changed this vague image into the most vivid portrait now extant of any Englishman of the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. Indeed, he has come only a little short of producing himself a literary masterpiece. For this achievement both his method and his style prove a shade too severe. The discretion, the accuracy and the precision of his work, the while, give it an authority which less literary restraint might perhaps have disguised, or even impaired. Nowadays those who love certainty distrust beauty.

After a full, lucid preface, Mr. Pearsall Smith devotes two hundred and twenty-five pages to a compactly detailed biography of Wotton, contrasting equally with the charmingly idealized *Life* of Walton, and with the *Biographical Sketch* published in 1898 by Dr. A. W. Ward, now Master of Peterhouse, and too modestly described by that eminent scholar as a "trifle". The biography is followed by five hundred and eleven letters of Wotton, of which three hundred and two are here printed for the first time. The remainder, though hitherto accessible, have never before been arranged throughout in chronological order, nor annotated, for the most part, with due scholarly care; so they have not been fully intelligible. The letters here collected extend from October, 1589, to August, 1639. Scrupulously referred to authority, illustrated with profuse yet compact notes, they tell in Wotton's own words the story of his youthful travels; of his long service as ambassador, mostly in Venice, whither he went three times under James I., for eleven years in all, but elsewhere, too; and of the fifteen years when, in learned retirement, he was Provost of Eton—the school which seems on the whole to have done most, first among its peers, to establish and to maintain the ideals of the English gentleman. And the very word "gentleman", now world-wide, tells us where our highest conceptions of human character and conduct had their origin. Perhaps the most profound and enduring impression which these letters make comes from the subtle assurance that none but a gentleman, in the best sense of the term, could have penned them. Here we have, in his habit as he lived, one of the many contemporaries who might have served Shakespeare as models for the greatest gentlemen in modern literature.

The letters are followed by four appendixes. The first, which is bibliographic, includes a calendar of the letters themselves. The second briefly and clearly discusses the date and the authorship of the *State*

of *Christendom*, published under Wotton's name, in 1657, but written, Mr. Pearsall Smith concludes, as early as 1594. The third is an admirably succinct biographical dictionary of the friends, correspondents and associates of Sir Henry Wotton. The fourth contains a list of Italian authors "selected and censured" by Wotton; a Character of Robert, Earl of Salisbury, apparently by his hand; and one hundred and forty-five hitherto unpublished notes of Table-Talk, probably made by some inmate or visitor of Wotton's house in Venice not later than 1610. The index, which concludes the book, is a model of what an index should be—at once analytic enough to guide one far, and not so garrulously minute as to be almost worse than none; it fills fifty-nine pages. It is preceded, incidentally, by a four-page glossary of the archaic, obsolete and rare words which occur in the letters.

Ungracious though such a summary as this may seem, hardly any other means could indicate the variety and the wealth of the material compressed within these volumes. They are not only a masterly example of individual portraiture, resulting in a noble portrait, nobly typical of a noble time. The figure of Wotton is never isolated. One feels him always in a living world, his comments on which at once revive its vitality for general readers, and preserve its details for historical scholars. You will be at pains to find, for example, documents more instructive concerning Venice, social and political, in the days when her greatness was past but her splendor still glowed. Among other things, they give much information about that effort to oppose or to restrain the Catholic reaction which is associated with the name of Paolo Sarpi. This book, in brief, is one which no student of European history during the first quarter of the seventeenth century may safely neglect. What may be found there one cannot aver; but certainly more may perhaps be found than even Mr. Pearsall Smith himself may quite know. For he has done his work as faithfully as ever artist could; and those who least guess the significance of works of art are often those who have conscientiously, enthusiastically wrought them.

BARRETT WENDELL.

Le "Relazioni Universali" di Giovanni Botero e le Origini della Statistica e dell' Antropogeografia. Per ALBERTO MAGNAGHI. (Torino: Carlo Clausen. 1906. Pp. viii, 371.)

M. MAGNAGHI'S volume is an advocate's argument for Botero's priority in the science of statistics, descriptive geography and doctrines of population. The chief document about which the argument turns is, of course, the *Relazioni Universali*, but use is also made of the *Ragione di Stato* and the *Cause della Grandezza delle Città*. The claims of this illustrious authority to the first place among his contemporaries in these several lines of inquiry is argued with great skill and great erudition; so much so, indeed, as to leave the merits of the case beyond the range of legitimate opinion on the part of any but specialists in this

particular field. The great importance of Botero for all inquiries into the range of facts with which he was occupied need not be questioned, nor does it seem securely worth while to work out in detail the specific measure in which Botero borrowed and was borrowed from, either in the information which he used or in his method of presenting his materials. In neither respect does he himself enter a claim to exceptional originality or priority, either explicitly or by insinuation; nor does he hesitate to take what comes to hand, with scant acknowledgment and slight criticism (see, *e. g.*, ch. XII.). That is not where the emphasis falls, in Botero's apprehension or in that of his generation. The serious avowed purpose, the end of the inquiry, with Botero as with the rest, is a practical, or rather a pragmatic one. What is sought is a serviceable appraisal of the relative political—ultimately warlike—strength of the several states or princely houses whose inventory of forces is passed in review, analysed, scheduled and summed up. In this work Botero's unusually large, and often exceptionally detailed, information gives him an advantage, which his equally exceptional insight turns to good account; although he is, according to modern notions at least, hampered and enfeebled in his inquiry by a diffuse and rambling presentation and an insistent inclusion of irrelevant but authentic matter, and an excessive attention to what would today be considered a trivial circumstantiality. The last mentioned feature, reminiscent of scholastic erudition, may be illustrated by his enumeration of the causes of the growth of cities, which are divided into the external circumstances and the causes dependent on man. As to the external causes, men have come together to live in cities by force of authority, or by coercion, or for pleasure, or for convenience and profit. Each of these causes of the growth of cities is impartially treated, categorically and *in extenso*.

What gives Botero his indubitable value for historical students, and his chief interest for modern students occupied with inquiries similar to his own, is his "modernism". It is highly probable, at least, that the characteristics which M. Magnaghi refers to as "modern" were also the characteristics that counted most substantially toward his exerting an enduring influence in the science, although his expositor and critic makes relatively little of this matter in the volume here under review. It would be no great stretch of language to say that Botero's work is "modern" and of enduring consequence by force of mind-wandering. His avowed aim, like that of his contemporaries, is the working-out of a useful statistical compendium of information, useful as a handbook for the politicians of his time. But he is continually led afield from this pragmatic single-minded course by an exuberant curiosity, which carries him beyond what is needful and into the region of what is merely scientifically interesting. This is true both of the range of information which he covers and of the theoretical speculations and explanations which he offers in accounting for the facts that make up his report

on the state of Christendom. It is by virtue of this pragmatically idle work of supererogation that Botero had a large effect on the subsequent growth of statistics and demography as well as a large claim on the respect of the modern spokesmen of the science. As an example of this exuberant intellectual enterprise—excessive as judged from the pragmatic standpoint of the then current political writers—may be cited his theory of population quite suggestive of Malthus's *Principle*, as M. Magnaghi calls to mind (see ch. XXII.).

THORSTEIN VEBLEN.

A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1635-1639. By ETHEL BRUCE SAINSBURY. With an Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM FOSTER. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1907. Pp. xxxvi, 396.)

THIS book is valuable for at least three reasons. It contains material for the domestic history of the East India Company, 1635-1639, a critical time and a period for which the printed documents are comparatively scarce; secondly, there is laid open here the outworking of the system of personal government under Charles I. in years when that system was at its strongest; and thirdly, we have the intimate records of a corporation in days when shareholders stormed in vain at directors, when accounts were not fully given to the public, when political henchmen and bosses and financial promoters and magnates had formed a long enduring yet tortuous and expensive connection.

The documents calendared follow those included in the last volume of Miss Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, East India series, and consist of the Court Minute-books, January 5, 1635-December 30, 1639. But there is the gap caused by a lost volume of manuscript, July, 1637-July, 1639. These are re-enforced by abstracts of some of the documents from the East India series at the Public Record Office and of a few from the India Office Records and by entries on Indian affairs for these years from the Domestic series, *Calendar of State Papers*. Some notion of the relative position and importance of this body of material may be got from the memoranda in Birdwood: *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, pp. 15, 16, 21, 44, 65, 80, 82, 85, 89 (cf. also AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII. 878). Furthermore, some of the material here included was made use of by Hunter (*History of British India*, II., ch. I.) and before him, though apparently to a less degree, by Bruce (*Annals of the East India Company*, I. 329-365). In particular the excellent introduction and serviceable index should be noted. We turn now to a few of the chief topics.

Information as to the local history of establishments in the East is for the most part indirect, for there are comparatively few letters from Asia. But the proceedings of the directors at home cast considerable light. Conditions were dubious. Thus the proposal to abandon Surat is debated and once resolved; complaints at the failure of the

Shah to keep his engagements as to Persian trade, the intrigues of the Dutch at Bantam, Pulo Run and elsewhere, and the dangers encountered by the company's agents owing to depredations by interlopers, are all recorded. When considered in connection with the serious financial situation at home and the consequent dissatisfaction of the generality, these events in the East emphasize the critical condition of the company.

No small part of these difficulties was due to the policy of the crown and the foundation under the authority of Charles I. of a rival association. Indeed Courten's Association is, in one sense, the principal subject of the volume. Such a creation was a violation of the East India Company's royal charter; but to the alarms and protests of concerned and doubtful directors the king answered that the reports regarding the new association were "vague and frivolous" (p. 142), and again, "'Upon the word of a King and as hee is a Christian King' no hindrance or damage is intended to the Company's trade, nor will these ships go where the Company have commerce, but for a voyage of discovery under Sir William Curteene, who is a responsible man" (p. 157). But a later grant under the great seal organized the new venture as a dangerous if not equal rival of the East India Company (p. 275); and the delimitation of spheres of trade was not of much satisfaction to the now disheartened company. Finally, however, the king was alarmed by the possibility that he might force the dissolution of the older company to the profit of the Dutch, who then "will give the law and sett the price upon all other trades of Europe" (p. 272). Therefore, on December 10, 1639, an order in council restored the old monopoly, and favorable prospects became more possible (p. 35).

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

A Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. Part I. *Scotland, 1643-1674*, by T. E. S. CLARKE, B.D. Part II. *England, 1674-1715*, by H. C. FOXCROFT. With an Introduction by C. H. FIRTH, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press. 1907. Pp. xlvi, 586.)

LIKE the proverbial tradesman, popularly supposed to be ill-provided himself with the commodities which he furnishes the public, Gilbert Burnet, to whom we are indebted for so much information concerning the men and events of his time, has had to wait nearly two centuries for an adequate biography. Hitherto, he has been known to us chiefly from the *History of his Own Times*, from the short life by his son appended to successive editions of that work, from Macaulay's and Lecky's famous characterizations, and from the searching though over-hostile estimate of Ranke. The *Life* just published by Mr. Clarke and Miss Foxcroft is a portly and dignified volume of nearly six hundred pages. Based on a careful and exhaustive study of original authorities, abundantly fortified with references and extracts, it sets

forth in great detail the manifold phases of Burnet's thought and activity. More than usual stress is laid on the religious and theological aspects of the subject because of Burnet's avowed predilection. The scheme of the work is Miss Foxcroft's. Well-equipped for the task by her previous studies in the period, brought together in her *Life and Letters of Halifax*, and her edition of the memoirs, autobiography and portions of the correspondence of Burnet himself, she had determined to write his biography when she learned that Mr. Clarke, minister of Saltoun, had already planned a life with special reference to the Scotch side. So the two decided to combine. Mr. Clarke, in four of the ten chapters covering about a fourth of the whole book, deals with Burnet's early life in Scotland, 1643-1674. Miss Foxcroft is responsible for the remainder of the text, for the bibliographies, for the list of letters, and for the index.

Mr. Clarke, in his part, gives a full and careful account of Burnet in his formative period, of his surroundings, of his father, and of his friends who influenced him most. Among Mr. Clarke's most important contributions are his explanation of Burnet's change from the Presbyterian to the Episcopal communion, and his graphic picture of the parish of Saltoun and the young pastor's work there. In his descriptions of the Scotch leaders of the period, Mr. Clarke runs somewhat vague superlatives, with the consequence that his characters fail to stand out as convincingly as they might. Two or *three of his statements call for qualifications. James VI. began his Episcopal policy before he became king of England (p. 6). In the brief account of Scotland in the Civil War the fact that the Scots handed Charles I. over to Parliament should have been mentioned (p. 13). Also it is scarcely true to say (p. 14) that Charles II. in his adversity found his only supporters among the Covenanters.

Space will not admit of a detailed estimate of Miss Foxcroft's treatment of the larger, more important, and generally better known part of the subject. In the preface she states that the book is designed for the general reader as well as the historical student. Doubtless that is why the references are relegated to an appendix. Moreover, the work is interesting from its thorough mastery of the subject and its liberal and skilful selections from the sources, while occasional amusing bits occur such as the anecdote concerning the introduction of "horsebox" pews (pp. 356-357). Nevertheless, the grave, laborious style, the numerous allusions to contemporary politics, at times barely touched upon, will rather tend to confine it to a limited circle of readers. Special students of the period, on the other hand, will not only find many points presented in a more ample and convincing manner than ever before, but will be grateful for new lights. On Burnet's attitude toward the Popish Plot, for instance (pp. 153-156), Miss Foxcroft, from her familiarity with his contemporary writings and his original *Memoirs*, is able to show that the author in his *History*, written some years after

the event, "credits himself with too much contemporaneous perspicacity", though he was nothing like so panic-struck and partizan as many others. Again, she points out (p. 204) that Burnet was not reassured by James's promise "to maintain the government in church and state as *established by law*", since he knew from the king himself that he regarded Elizabeth as a usurper, and hence might not feel himself bound by the Elizabethan settlement. Burnet's distinction between religious intolerance and persecution on grounds of political necessity is well brought out, as is the true grounds of his conversion from the doctrine of passive obedience to the view that revolution was justified when the king attempted to subvert the law. The opinion is confirmed that Burnet, owing to his meddlesomeness, did not always stand as well with William as is sometimes supposed, that he frequently regarded himself as "the author of policies which he popularized", that, honest and fearless as he was, he not infrequently involved himself in complications from which he was not able to extricate himself gracefully or indeed straightforwardly, in short that, for all his broad and enlightened views, he shone brighter as a man, a preacher and a bishop than as a statesman. While we are already familiar with his noble and generous efforts to reform the diocese of Salisbury the additional matter is welcome, and we are glad to know more about Burnet the theologian.

Miss Foxcroft has been so exact about her details, that, what with her careful list of addenda, corrigenda and errata (pp. ix-x), almost nothing remains to question. James's "peremptory collection of the customs unsecured by law" (p. 208), however, was, according to Roger North, not wholly without justification. A sentence on page 215 might give the impression that the De Witts were still alive in 1686. Mr. Firth's introduction on Burnet as a Historian is a fine critical study re-enforced by references to contemporary and modern opinions. In fine, this biography of Burnet is one of such substantial merit that it will doubtless take its place as the final authority on the subject.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Histoire de France. Par ERNEST LAVISSE, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. Tome Septième, II. *Louis XIV: La Religion; Les Lettres et les Arts; La Guerre (1643-1685).* (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1907. Pp. 415.)

OTHER readers of this volume, if like the reviewer, will lay this book down with a certain sense of disappointment. One feels that the writing of much of it has been more a task of duty than a labor of love. The reason is not far to seek. M. Lavissee is pre-eminently an historian of political and diplomatic history; the treatment of psychological phenomena in history is foreign to his immediate interest and over one-half of the present volume deals with such forces. Book VI. is con-

cerned with the Jansenist movement, the question of Gallican liberties, and the Huguenots; book VII., admirably entitled "Le Gouvernement de l'Intelligence", is a long essay upon the progress of literature, science and the arts, during the reign of Louis XIV.; book IX., "La Fin d'une Période", is a discussion of the court and personal life of the Grand Monarque. This leaves less than one-half of the volume (181 pages as against 231) for "La Politique Extérieure de 1661 à 1685". Certainly one must credit M. Lavissee with self-renunciation in so allotting this work.

His analysis of Jansenism is painstaking and precise but—for M. Lavissee—astonishingly dry and harsh. It seems too severe a judgment to say of Jansenism that "ce fut une tentative étrange pour transformer des pays de France en canton de Genève" (p. 12). There is more spontaneity in the chapter upon the Huguenots because the Calvinist movement of Louis XIV. profoundly involved the politics and public economy of France. The author is abreast with modern research in stripping off the traditional beliefs regarding the Huguenots at this time—beliefs which are the heritage of Europe's universal hatred of "la domination française" in the seventeenth century. He shows the abusive practices to which the Huguenots resorted when able, such as the closure to Catholics of "métiers dont ils occupaient les maîtrises"; overtaxation, especially in the case of the *taille* and the billeting of troops; religious persecution; social insult, etc. (p. 41). He shows too that the movement inspired by St. Vincent de Paul and the Jansenists had induced a real religious renaissance among the Catholics which had no analogy in the hard dogmatic credo of the Huguenots, and he has a luminous but all too brief paragraph upon the economic rivalries between Huguenots and Catholics. "Au XVII^e siècle déjà, on voit contribuer à la haine catholique la jalousie du pauvre contre le riche, du petit marchand contre le grand, du petit industriel contre le gros, de la terre contre l'argent" (pp. 41-42).

In considering the legal nature of the Edict of Nantes the contentions of Huguenot publicists, which more than one modern writer has accepted, that the edict was a permanent and organic part of the French constitution, is clearly disproved, and its revocable character demonstrated.

In that portion of the volume dealing with the literary and artistic activities of the reign of Louis XIV., M. Lavissee shows less originality and more rigid adherence to tradition than anywhere else. M. Lanson, in the *Revue Universitaire*, December 15, 1907, in a review of the work we are considering, has already made the point that the author attaches too great an influence to the attractive power of the Roi-Soleil and his court upon the seventeenth-century literature, which modern criticism has somewhat diminished. The best portion of this book, because the most spontaneous, is the account of Colbert's interest in collecting historical documents—now the splendid Collection Colbert of

the Bibliothèque Nationale—and the account of the historical activities of the Jesuits and the Benedictines of St. Maur (pp. 161–171).

M. Lavissee finds his true field once more in a return to politics and diplomacy in book VIII. He leads off with one of those striking expressions in which he is so felicitous—"La Guerre était une habitude dans la civilisation d'alors" (p. 222)—then follows with vivid narrative chapters upon the Hapsburgs, Germany and Italy, the traditional allies of France, England and Holland, the "orientation" of French politics, admirable summaries of the condition of the army and the navy—all preliminary to two splendid chapters on the War of Devolution and the greater War with Holland. The author protests against the familiar belief that Louis XIV. was consumed with ideas of grandeur and glory; he shows the bearing upon the king's policy of the idea of "natural frontiers", already an old tradition of France, which guided the policy of her kings for more centuries than many are wont to believe. (In this connection M. Lavissee might have referred his readers to the late Albert Sorel's admirable sketch of the genesis and development of the idea of France's natural frontiers in *La Révolution Française*, I. 254 ff.)

The thoroughness of research comes out in the account of Turenne's brilliant campaign. The usual belief represented by Clausewitz, but primarily due to Napoleon who had in mind the later policy of Prussia, is that the Great Elector did not seriously desire the recovery of Alsace. M. Lavissee, on the evidence of contemporary *mémoires* and Turenne's letters, has avoided the pitfall into which several historians of the wars of Louis XIV. have fallen.

The bibliographies appended to each book, as has been the case throughout the series, are excellent. I note but one important omission, the interesting *Savile Correspondence* (Camden Society, 1858), which casts a most valuable light upon the condition of the Huguenots immediately before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Marshal Turenne. By the author of "A Life of Sir Kenelm Digby". With an Introduction by Brigadier-General FRANCIS LLOYD, C.B., D.S.O. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xxiii, 401.)

AFTER a thousand years of, for the most part, unintelligent warfare, there arose, in the seventeenth century, three sets of great generals, who re-established war on the methodical basis that had not been known since the decline of Rome. These groups centred about Gustavus Adolphus, about Condé and Turenne, and about Marlborough and Eugene. Turenne worked with and learned from the lieutenants Gustavus had trained; and in his turn he was, as Wolseley says, Marlborough's "tutor in war". Again, Frederick was influenced by Marlborough's battles; and thus, for a hundred years, intellectual growth in

war harked back to the great Swede. Of Gustavus's followers Turenne was one of the greatest, and no better study exists for soldiers than that of his campaigns. The volume before us is a biography of the man Turenne, and a picture of the partly trivial, partly gigantic, events of the day, when either the land-hunger of a monarch or the smile of a frail court beauty might set an army in motion. The great deeds in war of this pattern of soldiers occupy less space than the politico-social doings of the rulers, their ministers and their courtiers; but the intricate conflict of religions and the never-ceasing wars of the Louis are a part of the life of every prominent character in that restless century.

Turenne was a man of war from his youth—a captain at fifteen, a colonel at nineteen, a *maréchal de camp* (major-general) at twenty-three. A grandson of William the Silent, he came honestly by his sturdy ability, and though, up to twelve, he was “weak” “stupid and lazy”, he yet seems to have learned to ride and fence and speak the truth. He lacked good looks, except such as every truly great man possesses; but he exhibited quality in all his acts. In his early years of command he led small armies; later, in Flanders, large ones, and he handled each with expertness. Greater in strategy than as a battle captain, he did not win because he had weak opponents, for he fought against the great Condé, and measured wits with that master of deception, Montecuculi; and though no man ever boasted a more upright character than Turenne, he was a very Hannibal for strategem—for cheating the enemy. He was endowed with nearly all the military virtues. With equal courage and discretion, he attacked the enemy only when a definite gain could be accomplished; but his onset was vigorous, he inspired his troops as few have done, and led them with intrepidity. On the road, he made his men march far and fast for those days—100 miles in four days on one occasion—and he shared their trials then as well as when they went hungry in camp. He was their “father”. All told, few leaders have conducted campaigns as full of easily-learned lessons for the soldier of today.

All this our author brings out in a pleasant style; and he illustrates his meaning with many stories about his hero's good qualities—in this case there were really few weaknesses to mar the picture; but, as in every biography, the hero looms up beyond the proper perspective. Intertwined with the story of Turenne are notes on the many court scandals and intrigues of the day, the favors given or denied by those in power, and many historical facts striving to show that Turenne, more than most other leaders, was hampered by opposition or hatred at the source of command and supply; and indeed a general is better off to be denied a command than to be given one and then to be starved in men or means. Failure is wont to be ascribed to the latter cause; but Turenne never made excuses for his own failures. “He manoeuvred better than I did” sufficed.

The author leans heavily on Ramsay, and quotes largely from

Napoleon's *Abstract of the Wars of Marshal Turenne*. He mentions his authorities in the text, as he quotes them, with few foot-notes. There is a short index, and one two-page map of Europe, covering rather insufficiently the theatre before us. Interspersed in the book are a number of battle-plans from Ramsay, which, like all old charts, give but an indefinite conception of their conduct. The topography is in most cases quite imaginary, the artist never having seen the ground, and there being few accessible minute maps, as in these days of Great General Staffs; and upon such topography is depicted the battle order of the troops, as on parade. Such maps are interesting rather than illuminative. The volume is pleasant to the reader on account of its excellent make-up, illustrations, type and paper.

The introduction by General Francis Lloyd is suggestive but in some points challenges disagreement. Napoleon's passage of the Alps, *e. g.*, was a mere clever incident in a fine plan of campaign, which can in no sense be compared with Hannibal's: only Alexander's crossing of the Hindu-Kush can be. Armies frequently crossed the Alps in the Revolutionary days, even in winter. Science had created roads for Napoleon, or even for Turenne: there was scarcely more than a barbarian's foot, or pack-horse path in Hannibal's day. Nor did Hannibal know the topography, or even the geography, of the range, or of either side of the Alps. Polybius clearly shows this. Again, while it is true that Turenne was great as a strategist, it can scarcely be maintained that those "strategical marches which began in 1647... formed a new development in the art of war". We must not forget the strategical insight of Gustavus Adolphus, and his amazing accomplishment from June, 1630, to November, 1632, in which period he reconquered nearly all Germany from the Empire—and against such leaders as Tilly and Wallenstein. This was the first, and it remains the finest strategical performance from the days of Caesar to those of Napoleon.

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late Lord ACTON, LL.D. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Volume V. *The Age of Louis XIV.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. xxxii, 971.)

WITH the appearance of the present volume the *Cambridge Modern History* shows evidence of reaching proportions which would have given pause even to that champion of "a good body of history", Sir Walter Raleigh himself. As it nears completion the full magnitude of the work begins to be fully revealed. Compared with like recent undertakings in French and German it becomes almost colossal. Though it covers a far smaller field than Lavissee and Rambaud, it already bulks as large, and compared with Helmolt the contrast is even greater. In view of this, one is tempted to wonder what its ultimate destination and value will be. That it is a success, financially, we are assured, and the

assurance comes with more weight when we learn that at least two other such projects owe their undertaking to that success. It figures, of course, among those books which no gentleman's library should be without, and it fills a large and imposing place in the "furnished library". The student finds here vast store of information for class-room use, the instructor a glittering array of references. Libraries and institutions of learning will absorb many copies as they absorb all such works in this encyclopedic age. But, leaving unprofitable speculation over this profitable one, we should rejoice with the publishers over two facts it demonstrates. The one is that we live in an age which interests itself in history, however encyclopedic, particularly on the educational side to which the success of the present venture is doubtless largely due. The second is that in view of the increasing mass and detail of historical knowledge it is hardly desirable that such summaries should be issued from time to time after the manner of annual or decennial cyclopedias to indicate the progress and status of that knowledge. To the mere reader and the mere scholar such works, it is true, will make but a limited appeal; to the one because they are too large and too little enlivening; to the other for almost precisely the opposite reason. In the present volume, for instance, the reader would doubtless be glad of a cheerful page on the solemn ceremonial attendant upon the court of the Grand Monarque, the scholar would be grateful for a more satisfying account, if such is possible, of the reasons which led that sovereign to recognize James III. The reader might wish for more, the scholar for fewer, generalizations like that which declares Louis to be "by far the ablest man in modern times who was born on the steps of a throne".

The present volume whose title is altered from the original announcement of "Bourbons and Stuarts" to that of the *Age of Louis XIV.* covers approximately the period from 1660 to 1720. Approximately only, however, since the chapters on Russia begin with 1462 and end with 1730, and those on Prussia commence with the creation of the Brandenburg Mark by Henry I. The proportion of the volume is interesting. The first four chapters, covering ninety-one pages, are devoted to France, and include the government of Louis XIV., by Professor Grant, his foreign policy, by Mr. Hassall, seventeenth-century French literature and its foreign European influence, by M. Faguet, and the Gallican Church, by Viscount St. Cyres. Thence follow two chapters on England, the Restoration to 1667, by Professor Firth, and its literature, by Mr. H. H. Child. Broken by a chapter on Holland under John de Witt and William of Orange, by Mr. Edmundson, the English series continues with the Anglo-Dutch Wars, by Mr. J. R. Tanner and Mr. C. T. Atkinson; the Policy of Charles II. and James II., by Mr. John Pollock; the Revolution, England, by Mr. Temperley, Scotland, by Professor Hume Brown, and Ireland, by Mr. Robert Dunlop; and Religious Toleration in England, by Professor Gwatkin. Interrupted by

Professor Lodge's chapter on Austria, Poland and Turkey, Professor Michael's *Treaties of Partition*, and the *Spanish Succession*, by Mr. C. T. Atkinson and Dr. A. W. Ward, the English series proper concludes with a chapter on *Party Government under Queen Anne*, by Mr. Temperley. Thence the scene shifts to Eastern Europe; Russia, 1462-1682, by Professor Bury, and 1689-1730, by Mr. Bain; Scandinavia, by Mr. W. F. Reddaway; Charles XII. and the Great Northern War, by Mr. Bain; two chapters on Prussia, from the beginning to 1713, by Dr. Ward. Then follow the Colonies and India, by Mr. Benians and Mr. Roberts respectively; Mathematical and Physical Science, by Mr. W. W. R. Ball, and Other Branches of Science, by the late Professor Sir Michael Foster; Latitudinarianism and Pietism, by Mr. M. Kaufmann. It is interesting to observe further that Great Britain, exclusive of the colonies and India occupies 208 pages, and with them, 240 pages, or slightly less than one-third of the entire volume; Eastern Europe, including Prussia and Austria, 227 pages. This disproportionate length compared with the space given to France, in this volume, and the space given to England, in the two preceding volumes, is a curious feature of the book under discussion.

It has often been observed that the syndicate method of historical composition, among its characteristics, counts one that is not always to be regarded as a defect, namely a certain difference, even inconsistency, of statement among various authors looking at the same events from different points of view. There is some truth in this. But when one finds in three pages of one article almost as many dates as in the whole twenty-two pages of another one may wish for an editorial averaging process. When one reads the eulogy of Louis XIV. above quoted, and compares with it the appreciations of the Prussian rulers, notably the Great Elector, one wonders what is left to be said of Frederick the Great. Many slighter differentiations occur which might have been avoided by more careful supervision. The preface informs us, somewhat cryptically, "the dates . . . are in New Style, except in the case of events in a country by which in this period New Style had not yet been adopted. Where, as in the instance of a battle by sea, doubts might arise as to which Style had been chosen, that actually used has been specially indicated." Accordingly we are told (p. 55) that William III. set sail for England on the day of the fall of Philippsburg, which Mr. Hassall has elsewhere set down as October 29, while on page 245 the day of departure is given as November 1; and he arrived at Torbay on November 5 (p. 246), or on November 15 (p. 56). One other instance may suffice. Poltawa is variously stated to have been fought on June 27 (p. 601) and on July 8 (p. 667). There are several such inconsistencies in minor points, perhaps the only serious one noted being the two accounts of the Bishop of Münster on pages 141 and 649 respectively. In one matter, however, curiously enough, the various writers differ little. This is the almost uniformly favorable light in which

they regard their great men. One may note the Great Elector and Louis XIV., already mentioned, Peter the Great, and particularly Marlborough and Charles II. of England. The thoroughgoing defense of Marlborough (ch. xv.) descends, particularly in the elaborate extenuation of his treasonable warning to Versailles of the attack on Brest (p. 461), almost to the point of absurdity. As to Charles (p. 198), a "far-seeing calculator", with "uncommon tenacity", he was, "when he chose, an excellent man of business", who "among the most adroit men of his age", "in power of projecting a great scheme and maintaining it in the face of almost unexampled difficulties and dangers, in coolness of judgment and in keenness of foresight . . . deserved to be classed among statesmen of the first rank". One might almost believe from this that he had really succeeded.

It is never easy amid such a mass of material to indicate within the limits of a review, even by making it an unreadable list of errata, all the points to which one may reasonably take exception. One may note here, however, a few, on one part of the book, the part devoted to England. It is extraordinary that the account of the second Declaration of Indulgence (p. 207) contains no account of the licensing system upon which it was based. The House of Commons not merely "showed itself willing" to pass a Bill for the Ease of Protestant Dissenters (p. 209), but actually did pass it. To say that the Act of Settlement was the price Charles paid for his restoration (p. 310) is certainly a remarkable statement if it means what it appears to mean. The persecuting acts (p. 330) were, after all, more largely political than this otherwise excellent account would seem to imply. But space forbids a longer list of such a sort. It is perhaps no part of a reviewer's business to act as proof-reader. The English edition of this volume, like its companions, is notably free from such errors, but a considerable number of typographical mistakes, sometimes quite serious ones, have found their way into the American edition. This usually happens in the American editions of English books. It is a part of the price which we pay for that provision of the Copyright Law which requires English books to be reset in America in order to secure copyright that the reprinting is almost invariably done without scholarly supervision. In regard to bibliography and index much must remain unsaid. Bogislav XIV. (pp. 637, 641) finds no place here, nor does the Stop of the Exchequer. As to bibliography one notes that only the old edition of Pepys's *State of the Navy*, and an old Burnet are quoted when new editions are accessible (p. 793). Rapin is listed under Tindal (p. 829), and, since the translation of Ranke is quoted, why not that of Rapin also (p. 795)? The MS. sources for the Restoration might well have been enriched by the inclusion of Harl. 7170, and there seems no reason for quoting the twenty-seventh edition of Chamberlayne's *Notitia Angliae*, published in 1748, for the reign of Charles II., when the first edition published eighty years earlier would have been so much more

to the point. The omission of Blauvelt's *Cabinet Government* and Bourne's *Spain in America* argue an interesting lack of transatlantic publications. Finally, it is to be sincerely regretted that the method of transliterating East European, especially Slavic, names in this volume could not have been replaced by some reasonable and English system instead of the extraordinary confusion which here prevails (*cf.* AMER. HIST. REV., II. 766 ff.). None the less, in spite of these matters which it is the peculiar province of the historical reviewer to note, he may add that few more useful volumes, and, save for one hopelessly confused contribution, few more eminently usable volumes on this period have appeared or are likely to appear. It is unfortunate that the very qualities which make it useful, especially as an encyclopedia, make it at the same time so difficult to adequately review in any reasonable space without dropping into the catalogue method.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Œuvres Complètes de Saint-Just. In two volumes. Avec une Introduction et des Notes par CHARLES VELLAY, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle. 1908. Pp. xxi, 466; 544.)

THE recent creation of a Société des Études Robespierriennes is an indication that the way is to be opened for a more complete, critical estimate of the part played by the leaders of the Convention. M. Vellay's edition of the works of Saint-Just is prompted by a similar interest. Indeed, M. Vellay has acted as the provisional secretary of the new society. This is the first complete collection of Saint-Just's writings and speeches. His earlier work, the poem *Organt* and the essay on the *Esprit de la Révolution*, had not been republished since their original appearance. His reports and principal speeches, together with the fragments on republican institutions, were published in 1834. The most interesting document in the present collection is the essay already mentioned, which was first published in 1791. As the letters which have been preserved are few and insignificant, this essay seems to offer the most available clue to Saint-Just's opinions before they had been subjected to the influence of the factional struggle in the Convention and of the peculiar atmospheric conditions of "the Mountain". As one reads what is said of the king, the queen and the Parisians, one fancies that Saint-Just must have found these statements embarrassing when he was writing the report on the Girondins and was condemning Brissot for holding similar "moderatist" views.

M. Vellay's introduction, instead of putting the reader in possession of the present state of studies upon the biography of Saint-Just, and marking the principal problems which must be resolved, is in the manner of the most unrestrained panegyrists. Saint-Just, he says, "fut un héros, dans ce que ce terme a de plus simple et de plus pur, c'est-à-dire un homme qui touche aux dieux". His "figure calme et douce re-

splendit comme celle d'un dieu de marbre au-dessus de l'agitation des partis". There is the customary thrust at Taine, who "gonflé de colère, s'est plu à insulter des dieux indifférents dont il n'a pu voiler la gloire". But M. Vellay in his laudatory description of Saint-Just's career as a representative on mission in Alsace sins as deplorably as Taine ever did against the elementary principles of historical work, quoting Lamartine and Montgaillard as authorities for incidents which are legendary.

The method by which the documents of this collection have been edited, or rather left unedited, is also open to criticism. In his preface M. Vellay notes that he has included certain documents signed by Saint-Just as a member of the Committee of Public Safety which are not in the Aulard Collection, but he does not identify these documents, so that the reader will, for this purpose, be compelled to undertake a laborious comparison of the documents in this edition and those in the Aulard Collection. Moreover, he does not accompany any documents of this sort with a statement of the source, leaving such information to be summarized in the most general form in an appendix, where it amounts only to an assurance of good faith. His inclusion among the works of Saint-Just of all the documents of the Committee of Public Safety to which Saint-Just's name is signed along with those of other members of the committee, is questionable, especially as he does not attempt to show that Saint-Just was the actual author of any of them.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Napoleon: a Biographical Study. By Dr. MAX LENZ. Translated from the German by FREDERIC WHYTE. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. viii, 391.)

PROFESSOR LENZ's biography of Napoleon, published first in the excellent series of *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte*, in the translation contains about one-half as many words as Bourne's edition of Fournier and is without critical apparatus of any kind. Its treatment of all subjects is, therefore, very brief, and the omission of many topics that might well be included in a larger work can not be a fair reason for adverse criticism. The interest lies in the inclusions and the emphasis.

In his study of the youth of Napoleon Dr. Lenz turns less to the books which Napoleon read and the unfavorable circumstances in which he lived than to the things which the young Corsican wrote. The *Discours de Lyons* and the *Souper de Beaucaire* are quoted and discussed at length, and throughout the account of the career of the general, consul and emperor, Professor Lenz finds occasion to refer the principles of Napoleon's acts and opinions to the views announced in those youthful writings. In his discussion of these writings Dr. Lenz points out with force that Napoleon writes always from the standpoint of the ruler and that they are an unconscious and effective self-revelation of the *Herrscher* that waited impatiently a favorable oppor-

tunity. There is real strength in thus treating a man of action from the standpoint of the first outward manifestations of his irrepressible activity rather than from the standpoint of what he read or was taught. It shows one not a boy who was father of the man, but the man. Act and command he must, but how the occasion would determine. This being clear it would seem hardly necessary to interrupt the account of the Italian campaign with allusions to the *Discours de Lyons* and the *Souper de Beaucaire*.

Aside from this the boy Napoleon of Dr. Lenz is a distinctly sociable though none the less intellectually isolated youth whose shrewd analysis of his brother Joseph is (in Dr. Lenz's view) the judgment his father had passed on the elder son. Napoleon's debt to the Robespierres, whose methods impressed him, and whose church policy he later adopted in Italy, is wisely suggested. The picture of Napoleon in Paris in 1795, before Vendémiaire, is a man of importance entertaining no serious fears about the results of his derelictions of duty. When it comes to the campaigns, Dr. Lenz is far less at ease and much more uninterested and uninteresting. He lacks the clearness and illumination given to such events in the equally brief biographies of Roloff and Johnston, and bears no comparison with Fournier or the more extensive works of Rose and Sloane. He has taken no great pains to be accurate in details. Bernadotte had taken the Russian side at least three months before the treaty of Åbo; Borodino is not "before the gates of the Russian capital" but at least sixty miles from Moscow (though it is carefully stated that Göss is seventy-three and one-half miles from Vienna); the battle at Borodino was on September 7; Oudinot crossed the Beresina on November 26; the pontoons were not far behind in the column but had been destroyed, etc. On the other hand, occasional details that are interesting and suggestive find a place in the biography. Napoleon's church policy is never lost from sight.

Details are not the matters in which Professor Lenz was interested. His eye is ever on the Titanic struggles of Napoleon's genius amid the maelstrom of historic forces. The ceaseless action and reaction of Napoleon upon events and of events upon Napoleon draws him again and again from narration to discussion, suggestion and interpretation. Here, as in his treatment of Charles V., Luther and Bismarck, he is at his best in marshalling the elements of the European situation to explain the policies of Napoleon. It is in the conjunction of historical forces within and without France rather than in any lust for war and conquest that Professor Lenz finds the explanation of Napoleon's campaigns and policies between 1803 and 1815. The view is not new but it is vigorously stated. Tilsit, of which he has published a special study, is for Dr. Lenz the turning point in a career which began at Toulon and ended at Waterloo.

The translation is of uncertain merit. In general it may be criticized for failing to render the controversial vigor of the original

German. Liberty is taken to omit words and whole sentences (cf. pp. 21 and 29 of the translation with pp. 13 and 17 of the original). The translation of *Menschheit* by *manhood* (p. 30) is inexcusable. As a piece of book-making, this high-priced translation is neither in print, maps or illustrations comparable to the inexpensive German edition. Had the book been less of a publishers' venture and more of an attempt to render into English otherwise unavailable material, the choice from the *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte* might well have fallen upon other issues than Lenz's *Napoleon*.

G. S. F.

Bonapartism: Six Lectures delivered in the University of London.

By H. A. L. FISHER, Fellow of the British Academy and of the two St. Mary Winton Colleges. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1908. Pp. 123.)

THE general substance and the connections of these lectures are indicated in the titles: The Bequest of the Revolution; the Napoleonic State; Napoleon and Europe; the Growth of a Legend; the Rise of the Second Empire; the Downfall. In the preface the author anticipates the charge of disregarding dramatic unity in an effort to treat together the First and Second Empires by contending that "though divided from one another by more than a generation, these two Bonapartist governments were to a large extent inspired by the same principles, rested upon the support of the same intellectual and social forces, appealed to the same appetites, flattered the same vanities, and shared in the same kind of ruin."

Mr. Fisher is already well known to students of the Napoleonic epoch by his remarkable volume on *Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany*; it is refreshing to find a modern scholar drawn to and capable of alike the minute scrutiny and painstaking presentation of the earlier volume and the brilliant generalizing of this. It is now forty years since another brilliant generalizer, Heinrich von Treitschke, grappled with the same difficult and fascinating problem, and a comparison of the two efforts (which my space forbids) would be of much interest from several points of view. The later writer has the advantage of position, but is subject to greater limitations of space and circumstance. It is probably due mainly to these limitations that we are left not wholly satisfied with the demonstration of the unity that the author claims; a series of six lectures certainly cannot be held to exact and full demonstration. Such a sketch is further entitled to some exemption from minute criticism, and it will be probably most useful for the present reviewer to try and indicate some of the author's most interesting positions.

In the discussion of the Bequest of the Revolution, Mr. Fisher points out that Napoleon Bonaparte's contention that the executive power was, equally with if not more than the legislative, the national

representative, and that executive action must be protected against legislative interference, was identical with Revolutionary doctrine and based upon the Montesquieu doctrine of the separation of powers; it might be objected that if Napoleon was logical in this matter the Revolutionists had not been, and that it may be misleading to speak here of the bequest of the Revolution. A striking remark is quoted from Napoleon (p. 22), with respect to his "adumbration" of the doctrine of the strong executive founded upon the plebiscite; this suggests the regret that the author in proceeding to the publication of his lectures had not condescended to append unobtrusively some of his references. The description in lecture III. of the government of Napoleon I. is remarkably clear and suggestive; the advocate of decentralization will, however, probably be somewhat perplexed by the first part of the statement (p. 36) that "the great truth was discovered that the value of institutions depends upon the degree in which they assist the free development of human powers and the adequate remuneration of human merit." It is not clear why part of the criticism of domestic government should be placed in the following lecture, Napoleon and Europe; if space permitted, the reviewer would dispute the justice of the sweeping assertions on pp. 59-60 as to the arbitrariness of the imperial administration. In dealing with the foreign policy of the First Empire the denial of consistency and coherence seems too strong; that Napoleon I. was as "a child who amuses itself with bricks" is a remark hardly in line with the prevailing judicial tone.

The element of Bonapartism furnished in the Napoleonic legend that grew out of the advantageous position of Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena and the remarkable skill with which he utilized that advantage, is set forth with dramatic vigor, but perhaps also with dramatic exaggeration, and with an inadequate recognition of the degree in which the claims of Napoleon might be defended from the records of his government. It is no doubt lack of space that is mainly responsible for the inadequate treatment of the other bases of the revival of Bonapartism and of the development of that revival; it is, however, when we reach the building-up and operation of the Second Empire on these bases that we have most reason to regret Mr. Fisher's limited opportunity. For it is here that we look for, and do not wholly find, the justification of the claim of the preface as to the substantial unity, in substance and history, of the two régimes. The personal element seems to be prominent at the expense of the theory (especially as to Louis Napoleon), in view of the fact that few personalities have differed more than those of the uncle and nephew. That the personal element can be the chief element of unity seems as doubtful as that the content of the initial problem is adequately indicated in the author's opening words: "There is no mystery about the origins of Bonapartism. It is the child of Napoleon Bonaparte and the French Revolution." The treatment of foreign relations does not leave us on firmer ground;

while the effort to emphasize analogies and suggest connections is of much interest, the general result is more adapted to give point to a popular lecture than satisfaction to the student.

But the reviewer is perhaps falling into the captious criticism he would avoid, and he hopes that it may still appear that he regards Mr. Fisher's striking summary as of unusual interest. The serious student will find it suggestive and stimulating, and the general reader, tempted to read more, will not easily find more of the same kind. That the author has telling gifts of historical presentation is clear on every page; his lucidity and power of summary are aided by a constant attention to literary form, and by a skilful use of some striking bits of literary material.

VICTOR COFFIN.

Deutsche Geschichte. VON KARL LAMPRECHT. Zehnter Band.
(Berlin: Weidmann. 1907. Pp. xii, 539.)

HOLDING closely to the plan fixed by its predecessors, the tenth volume of Lamprecht's history carries the interpretation through the period from the end of the Vienna Congress to 1848. Approximately two-thirds of the space is devoted to culture history and the remainder to the development of the political system and of political thought. As usual the reader is as much impressed by what the book does not contain as by its actual contents. Lamprecht chooses to consider great individuals and even epoch-marking events as significant only in that they indicate the trend of the national spirit (*Geist*). History to him is not the record of exceptional men but the unfolding of the powers of the nation, a process as nearly spontaneous as the growth of an organic body. The first two chapters have to do with the earlier and later phases of romanticism, and the order of topics is the one that has now become familiar to Lamprecht's readers. First are treated philosophy, poetry, music and the other fine arts, then the physical sciences. Romanticism, of which the earliest phase ended with the wars of liberation, was the first development of subjectivism which penetrated the whole of the nation. Earlier aspects of this soul-mood had affected only particular centres and cities. Of the philosophers of romanticism Fichte was the first and in some respects the greatest, and he best typifies its mystic tendency. From the later romanticism to realism the transition was almost imperceptible; the greater dominance of the exact sciences in all branches of culture is the distinguishing note. Lamprecht cites only to vigorously deny Treitschke's remark that the development of the physical sciences was decisively influenced by the methods of historical criticism. He thinks that the influence was exerted in exactly the opposite direction.

In the ninth volume the author had brought the discussion of political events down to 1815 (see this REVIEW, XIII. 351). Immediately after the Vienna Congress came a period when German political life

reached the lowest point to which it ever sank. This, however, was not true of the whole of Europe, and in a general survey of the history of Europe in this time Lamprecht finds much that was hopeful. The largest centres of interest from his point of view lie in the Greek and Belgian revolutions. Perhaps the principle of nationality may be taken as the most thoroughly characteristic note of subjectivism in politics. German national sentiment had grown to great proportions during the wars of liberation, but "it is to be noted that the spirit of the liberation wars did not at all arise from a uniformly distributed sentiment. The lesser states of the west did not share the Prussian enthusiasm, nor did Austria wholly do so; hence there did not spring up in these states a deep and passionate feeling for the united fatherland. Whatever sentiment had existed outside of Prussia for the greatness of the nation was largely drawn to Prussia: Stein and Scharnhorst, Hardenberg, Blücher and Gneisenau, Niebuhr, Fichte and K. F. Eichhorn, with many others, were not native Prussians" (p. 382). Before 1830 the liberal movement, manifesting itself chiefly in the universities, turned towards constitutionalism rather than national unification. In the southern states the French influence was still strong, and south German *Parlamentarismus* stood in strong contrast to the *Absolutismus* of the north, where Prussia's example was and had remained predominant. After the July revolution the young German movement became the exponent of a type of practical patriotism which is clearly distinguishable from the old sentimental love of the fatherland and which aspired definitely to the creation of a united nation. Best reflected at first in lyric poetry, this radical trend began, soon after 1840, to find open expression in parliamentary discussion, especially in the southwestern states, and, just before 1848, in spasmodic popular risings.

While liberalism was thus developing towards its culmination the conservative school of thought was well entrenched behind the actual administration. Conservatism like liberalism held to the organic theory of society, but it was also rooted in religious ideas. It sought "unity and infinite perfection as well as organic harmony of the universe in this principle: the creation of a church-state system as an articulated whole, with a union of the parts through the ordered functioning of the parts and the whole; with a master principle like the *Eros* of Plato and the *amor infinitus* of Spinoza, but with a practical trend and therefore the basis of all poetry and all reality" (p. 443). Conservatism as well as liberalism was an outgrowth of the romantic period. "If we seek to penetrate to the sources of conservative thought it is evident that they are to be found not in the theories of such publicists as De Maistre, Albrecht von Haller or Adam Müller, but rather in the writings of the early Romanticists like Novalis and the Schlegels, and particularly Friedrich von Schlegel" (p. 442). Between an absolutist social philosophy of this type and the growing idea of popular sovereignty the

conflict which followed in the year of revolutions is seen to have been inevitable. Whatever may be the verdict on Lamprecht's historical method, however much one may quarrel with his perspective, it cannot be denied that he has, in this final chapter, given a masterly analysis of the social-psychic forces in German life during the critical period just before 1848. It was naturally to be expected that, in writing of an age near enough to his own for its dominant trends to be personally felt, his method would have more of the air of reality than when applied to remoter periods where the treatment must at best be mainly objective. The present volume certainly is vital and well-compacted in a degree which hardly characterizes the earlier ones of the series.

ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The American Revolution. Part III. By Sir GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, Bart. (New York and London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xii, 492.)

THE work of which this volume is a part has appeared in two forms. One form—let us say the first—consists, up to date, of three parts forming four volumes. Part I. forms one volume, then comes part II., vol. I., then part II., vol. II., and then part III., the volume before us. The second form consists, up to date, of three volumes, vol. I., vol. II., and vol. III., to which, it is understood, a fourth volume is to be added to bring this form up to the point reached by the first.

Part III. embraces the most stirring and generally interesting period of the American Revolution. It covers the campaigns of Saratoga and the Brandywine, the encampment of Valley Forge, and the successful negotiations of the American commissioners with the court of France. The author is one of the small number of Europeans represented by Chateaubriand, de Tocqueville, von Holst, and Bryce, who have written about the United States of America in a spirit of sympathy, and with a comprehension which has enabled them to enlighten Americans about their own country and institutions, about their endeavors and their achievements. Sir George sets forth events and their causes and consequences with the fairness, not so much of a neutral as of a partizan of both sides. To him the American Revolution is veritably a family quarrel. As a kinsman of both contestants he takes a proud satisfaction in recognizing whatever is commendable on the part of either.

At least in one case his commendation of American military spirit is excessive. He says that in the course of the war Massachusetts sent to the front nearly 70,000 troops, meaning regular troops, or Continentals. This statement he bases upon Knox's report communicated to Congress in 1790. The report does not warrant such a state-

ment. Knox gives only the number of enlistments (including transfers, etc.) which were credited to the several states from year to year; these enlistments were for periods varying from a fraction of a year to a number of years. Sir George's 70,000 must have been obtained by the addition of Knox's yearly numbers for Massachusetts. Now there is no telling from Knox's tables how many of the enlistments reported for a certain year were included in the report of the year before. It may be doubted whether the sum of those which he credits year by year to Massachusetts, 67,907, represents half that number of men. Sir George says that the contribution made by Massachusetts in the course of the war was "all but double that furnished by any other state in the American Union". This statement, unaccompanied as it is by any indication of the comparative population of Massachusetts, has not the significance which it seems intended to have. The quota of Massachusetts was much larger than that of any other state. Reckoning as Sir George does, Knox's figures show that during the years 1777-1783 inclusive, Massachusetts furnished about 72 per cent. of her quota of Continental troops; and the other states, on an average, about 52 per cent. of theirs; also that Connecticut furnished about 75 per cent. of her quota; and New York, the great Tory state, about 77 per cent. of hers. According to this showing, Massachusetts was neither pre-eminent nor remarkable for military spirit.

The author naturally devotes the greater part of his space to military operations. But he makes no pretense of treating these as a technical military study. His exposition, however, is exceedingly interesting and effective by reason partly of their inherent picturesqueness, and partly of his vigorous word-painting. He pictures the contestants with their appropriate backgrounds and atmospheres from the commanding generals down to the private soldiers, including the Indians on one side and the militia on the other.

He animadvert on "the preposterous character of Germaine's grand strategical combination" for mastering the course of the Hudson, but the fundamental questions as to what that mastery would have been worth had it been attained, how it would have had to be supplemented, and what forces would have been available therefore, after the line of the Hudson and the lakes had been occupied with a chain of posts—he leaves, like other historians of the Saratoga campaign, unanswered and unasked. His fresh description of the familiar scene in the British camp on the eve of the surrender, when hunger and exposure and the fire of artillery and sharpshooters were sapping the strength and trying the souls of its occupants, is a vivid and impressive illustration of the traditional pluck of the British fighting-man.

His appreciation of the faithful and valuable services of the Continental Congress is a refreshing novelty which will cause some self-reproach among Americans. In one particular, however, he casts a reflection upon this worthy body, which if justified, would efface with

ignominy all that he says in commendation of it. Referring to the repudiation of the convention of Saratoga, he says: "To come off second best in a bargain has never been to the taste of Americans; but on this occasion their national word had been sacredly pledged, and their government was under an obligation to abide by it. . . . The violation of the Saratoga Treaty remains as a blot on the lustre of the American revolution." A treaty can not be violated before it is ratified. The national word could not have been broken, because it was never pledged. Burgoyne should have known and considered that Gates could not guarantee anything but the conditions under which his army should march out, and give itself up. That Gates more than fulfilled this part of his agreement is amply attested by the author and other historians.

The transactions by which Beaumarchais furnished arms, clothing and other supplies to the Americans, and the negotiations which led to the Franco-American alliance, make an absorbing story of French duplicity and fatuity, followed by retribution.

"That million of francs", says Sir George, "by the judicious and timely disbursement of which the French Ministry had hoped to inflict a mortal injury on the British power with small cost and danger to themselves, had grown before the affair was finally settled, into a war expenditure of something very near a milliard and a quarter; and the royal government of France, which had stooped to such unroyal practices was submerged in an ocean of bankruptcy where it was destined miserably to perish. That was what came of an attempt to fight England on the cheap."

Frederick the Great is credited with shrewd statesmanship and clever diplomacy in playing France off against England and preserving the neutrality of Prussia.

The military narrative is supplemented with three outline maps which assist the reader in following the movements of the troops. There are three appendixes, consisting of two letters and an anecdote about Franklin.

JOHN BIGELOW, JR.

Millard Fillmore Papers. In two volumes. [Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, volumes X., XI., edited by FRANK H. SEVERANCE, Secretary of the Society.] (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society. 1907. Pp. xlv, 445; xiii, 569.)

THE Buffalo Historical Society has honored the memory of its most distinguished member by publishing the collected writings of Millard Fillmore in two stout volumes under the careful editing of Mr. Severance. Beside the Fillmore Papers there are biographical introductions, an historical address by General J. G. Wilson, some interesting reminiscences and a dozen or more portraits. The papers themselves are arranged by Mr. Severance chronologically under appropriate headings

and consist chiefly of legislative speeches, political addresses and private correspondence, in the selection of which the editor has shown excellent judgment, excluding the trivial or local matter which is too often allowed to cumber the pages of historical society publications. In both volumes few errata have been noticed and only a few slight errors, such as the misplacing of a letter in January, 1840, whose contents show that it belongs in 1841, and the misreading of the names of Dr. Gamaliel Bailey in a letter of April, 1844.

The character of the papers thus collected is a reflection of the mind of Millard Fillmore, than whom no more conventional writer of English can well be imagined. We are told that "Pope was his model and the *Essay on Man* was his idea of verse. He thought Shakespeare much overrated", and we find him writing and speaking with clearness and directness but without a spark of vivacity, humor, or imagination. With the exception of a long speech on the tariff of 1842 and an elaborate essay on the slavery situation which was at first intended to be included in the annual message of 1852, the documents in these volumes are brief businesslike utterances. From the succession of such letters, addresses and political speeches, one can follow the career of Fillmore from the school-house at Aurora, through the New York legislature, the federal House of Representatives, the comptrollership of New York, the vice-presidency and the presidency, to the years of honorable retirement as first citizen of Buffalo; and one may learn how a man without originality, breadth, personal magnetism or eloquence may through sheer sturdiness and steadiness of character, prosaic good sense and personal kindness and dignity of bearing maintain himself as the representative and leader of a community. Fillmore was a born conservative, with a mind wholly at ease within the shelter of a few clear beliefs. He worshipped the Constitution, the law and the existing order as a whole; he deplored slavery and condemned secession, but throughout the whole sectional contest he never ceased to regard the orderly, legal conduct of affairs as the sufficient goal of political effort. From his utterances one may gather significant examples of this point of view, and in this, to a large extent, is the value of the publication—a representation of the typical Northern conservative. In the crisis of 1850 and the later controversy over the Fugitive Slave Law, Fillmore's conduct, as revealed in these papers, shows neither timidity nor weakness but only caution and a desire to act the legal, constitutional part. Unmoved by the passions of the Southerners or the anger of the Free Soilers, his unionism seems pale and thin as compared with the strong flame burning in the speeches of Webster and Clay. Singularly cool-headed, he seems to have felt anger only over some violation of law, and the only strong epithets in the two volumes are applied to the unseating of Whig congressmen by the Democratic majority, "a damning deed of infamy". Individuals he rarely condemns, and even when, in 1848, his long friendship with Thurlow Weed came to an end, his

letters were almost devoid of bitterness. This rupture with Weed, it should be added, had one unfortunate result in terminating the series of letters which throw light upon the history of the New York Whig party and show Fillmore in the midst of political intrigue as steadily loyal and strikingly lacking in personal ambition. This poise he kept to the end, even when condemning Lincoln's administration and voting for McClellan. On the whole, one derives from these papers an increased respect for the honest conservatism of the man's character and a deepened sense of his limitations as a statesman.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

Jefferson Davis. By WILLIAM E. DODD, Ph.D. [American Crisis Biographies, edited by ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER, Ph.D.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1907. Pp. 396.)

THIS is the eighth issue of the so-called *American Crisis Biographies*, of which the ninth, the life of *Alexander H. Stephens* by Louis Pendleton, has since appeared. Professor Oberholtzer, the editor of the series, stated in his announcement that it would be impartial in character, "Southern writers having been assigned to Southern subjects and Northern writers to Northern subjects", all belonging to that younger generation which has grown up since the close of the great struggle, and "thus assuring freedom from any suspicion of wartime prejudice". This is a somewhat violent assumption; as is more strikingly apparent in Bruce's *Lee* and Pendleton's *Stephens* than in the volume now under consideration. Throughout this life of the Confederate president Professor Dodd evinces two of the great essentials of a successful writer of biography. He is thoroughly sympathetic with his subject; and yet throughout judicial in tone. The critical attitude he has assumed towards Mr. Davis has, indeed, excited more or less adverse comment in what was once the Confederacy; but nevertheless Professor Dodd endeavors throughout to do discriminating justice to one whom he properly regards, and who will unquestionably hereafter be regarded, as a great historical character.

The author is not always accurate in his statements, as is apparent at several points in his account of the capture of Davis; and he sometimes indulges in rather sweeping generalizations. A marked example of this last is in his extraordinary statement (p. 47) that Mr. John C. Calhoun was during his long prominence in political life at Washington, lasting over forty years—from the War of 1812 to his death in 1850—"perhaps the only really prominent figure in the social and political life of the capital who was never known to drink to excess". Considering that James Monroe, J. Q. Adams, Andrew Jackson, Martin van Buren, John Marshall, Joseph Story, Winfield Scott, Lewis Cass, and divers others equally easy of mention, were during that period beyond question "really prominent figures in the social and political

life of the capital", such a statement certainly calls for revision in any subsequent edition of a political biography intended for popular reading. Again (p. 207), Professor Dodd makes another statement far too general in character. He there says, "however illogical it may appear, the country at large believed that any state had the right to secede when its special interests seemed to be in imminent peril." Referring as it does to the long period subsequent to the death of Chief Justice Marshall down to 1860, this statement will not bear an instant's critical examination. The "Union, it must and shall be preserved" attitude of Andrew Jackson towards Nullification alone disproves it. That it is true of certain of the states, more especially those which afterwards composed the Confederacy, might be conceded. It is unquestionably true of South Carolina as an individual state. It is not true, however, of the majority of the states, especially of those constituting the new North. The process of nationalization had there made much further progress than Professor Dodd seems to suppose. In dealing with the issues which led up to the War of Secession it is always to be remembered that the influences at work in the slave-holding states were of a character wholly different from those at work in the free states. Into the slave-holding states there was no large foreign immigration. But during the period succeeding the death of Marshall there was an enormous and ever-increasing tide of foreign life swarming into the free states, especially those of the Northwest. This immigration was largely Irish and German; and, to the German and the Irishman, the idea of a divided sovereignty was very much what the one God and Christ crucified were to the Greeks or to the Jews—foolishness or a stumbling block. State sovereignty was therefore, during the period between 1840 and 1861, a living reality in the South but a rapidly vanishing political theory in the North.

Turning, however, to the more interesting portion of Davis's life, that connected immediately with the War of Secession, the time has now unquestionably come when it can be looked at in a large way, as in a measure it is looked at by Professor Dodd, and certain conclusions reached which are not likely hereafter to be revised in any considerable degree. The question of the origin of the Confederacy, the theory under which secession was brought about, and the cause of its failure may be passed upon, and a verdict, fairly to be considered final, rendered. On what theory, based upon any hope of probable success, did the Confederate States secede from the Union? With what ability was the struggle for independence conducted? And what were the causes which most powerfully contributed to its failure? Was that failure foredoomed from the commencement, or was it due to circumstances in any way accidental or fortuitous? Jefferson Davis was the head of the Confederacy, and in his hands were reposed powers almost dictatorial. Was the failure due to any lack of capacity on his part? Or, so far as he was individually concerned, will the verdict of history be that, taken as a whole, he made the best fight possible?

There is no question that today, among the confederate-descended generation dwelling in the region which constituted the Confederacy, the second place in regard and confidence has been accorded to Davis. The first is unquestionably held by Lee. Throughout what was the Confederacy Lee is looked upon with affection and respect, and with an admiration accorded to no other political character since the day of Washington. He stands second among the great Virginians; if indeed not upon an equality with the greatest. It is somewhat otherwise as respects Davis. During the time immediately subsequent to the collapse of the Confederate cause he was held to a certain degree responsible for that collapse. It was attributed largely to his failure to grasp the possibilities of the situation; to make the best selection of agents; to avail fully of the resources of the South. Diplomatic errors, errors of finance, mistaken judgments as to men, were attributed to him. Reviewing, however, the whole field in the light of the fuller records now accessible, and from the standpoint of forty years later, it may confidently be said that these adverse judgments have undergone, and are now undergoing, material revision. It is today generally conceded that Jefferson Davis was not only a man of high character and great ability, but that he, so to speak, fought the Confederacy for all it was worth, that he was responsible for no very considerable error of judgment, and that the failure of the cause entrusted to him was due to inherent weaknesses which neither he nor any other man could have made good.

This Professor Dodd fairly shows in a presentation which is deserving of wide and thoughtful consideration, especially at the North.

CHARLES F. ADAMS.

The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz. Volume I. 1829-1852. Volume II. 1852-1863. (New York: The McClure Company. 1907. Pp. 406; 467.)

Is there another autobiographical or biographical work in the English language which presents greater contrasts, in matter and in manner, than this? The career of Carl Schurz was unique and one would expect a vast difference between the story of his youth and that of his mature manhood. We may make allowances for the fact that the scene of the first volume is his native land and that its events are the share of a hot-headed young man in an attempt at a revolution, whereas the second volume narrates his rise as a serious politician in a strange country and as a general in a civil war. But that accounts for the difference only partially. One has almost the feeling that the two volumes do not deal with the same man. Indeed, in the student at Bonn, in the aide-de-camp of Anneke at Kaiserslautern, pointing an empty pistol at a priest in a comic-opera arrest of the good man, in the daring rescuer of Kinkel from the penitentiary at Spandau—in the character thus portrayed there is not the slightest hint of the man he afterward

became. It follows as a matter of course that in the country lawyer of Wisconsin, in the oratorical champion of slavery, and particularly in the statesman of the last forty years, the story of which he did not live to finish, one can detect nothing which suggests his stormy and lawless youth. Moreover, although Mr. Schurz was doubtless unconscious of it, the style of the two volumes differs greatly, too greatly to be explained by the fact that the first was written in German, and translated admirably, whereas the second was written originally in English.

There is a like difference in the interest of the two volumes, at least to the American who is familiar with the political history of his country. The first deals with a revolutionary movement in a country which was not the chief scene of revolutionary disturbance, at a time when revolution was in the air of many European countries. For the very reason that the events narrated took place in Prussia and not in France, the story possesses historical importance; and Schurz's own part in it we follow, now with amusement at the audacity of the insurgents, now with almost breathless interest in the writer's adventures—his flight after the failure of the enterprise; his escape from Rastatt through a sewer and his forlorn journey to Switzerland; his plot, under an assumed name, finally successful, for the rescue of Kinkel, under the very noses of Prussian officers who could have arrested him and sent him to trial for his life; and the escape to Scotland.

There is not a thrill in the second volume. We see the same man nominated for lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin less than seven years after he first set foot in a country where English was spoken, when his only knowledge of the language was the two words "beefsteak" and "sherry", and we follow his brilliant career as an orator, a foreign minister and a civil-war general to the spring of 1863. So far as the narrative is personal it is interesting, but not absorbingly so. It throws no new light upon public events, Mr. Schurz was not the sort of man whom managing politicians—not using the term in a bad sense—take into their confidence, and consequently his reminiscences reveal nothing that was not already known. One result of the fact that his intercourse with public men was always serious is that there is a lack of anecdote, and a lack of the human element in the characterization of those men, that make the volume rather dull reading to one familiar with the political history of the time, until one comes to the war episode in his life.

Nevertheless, the very features of the work which detract something from our interest, point to positive virtues in Mr. Schurz's character. He was too serious, too high-minded, too sturdily and constantly devoted to his own principles, to think of commingling light matter with the moral lessons of the events in which he bore a part. He fancied, in one or two passages he says, in effect, that he was not uncharitable toward those who differed from him. But he was. He

was so sure that he was right, and so earnest in hoping and working that the right might prevail, that he could not believe in the sincerity of an opportunist. So he was the worst and most intractable of party men, indeed, not a party man at all. Whether wise or mistaken in his view as to the most effective means of accomplishing this or that desired object, his conscientious and resolute adherence to what he conceived to be right entitles him always to the highest respect.

Yet he had his weaknesses. One does not really know whether to take his modest expressions of surprise at his own success as an orator in the United States as expressions of modesty or as manifestations of pardonable vanity. For he gives too many instances of his oratorical achievements to leave the impression that he wishes to suppress all that are unnecessary. In one case he has fallen into an amusing error. In 1859 he went to Boston and made an address on the "True Americanism". The Massachusetts general court had submitted to the people an amendment of the state constitution requiring foreign-born citizens to reside in the United States two years after naturalization before acquiring the right to vote in the commonwealth. Mr. Schurz's account of the Know-Nothing movement, if read by one unacquainted with political history, would lead that reader to suppose that the movement was in its incipient stage in 1859, whereas the Know-Nothing party had been dead in all the Northern states for three years. Mr. Schurz reports that this address was very warmly applauded, that he "received no end of compliments", and that he was told that the printed report produced an excellent effect in the interior of the state. He adds: "Perhaps it did contribute a little to the defeat of the 'two years' amendment'." But the amendment was not defeated. The people accepted it on May 9, 1859, by a vote of 20,753 to 15,129 and Governor Banks proclaimed it on May 20. It was annulled by popular vote in 1863.

It is not to be expected that a work of this sort should be free from mistakes, and Schurz can easily be pardoned for thinking that on this visit to Boston he was entertained at a dinner in "one of the patrician houses of the town". But how can one account for the remarkable misunderstanding of a situation, or lapse of memory, which is contained in his version of the circumstances in which he was appointed Minister to Spain? A comparison of that account with an extract from the diary of the late Hon. Charles Francis Adams, dated March 10, 1861, which his son, the present Charles Francis Adams, read at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, June, 1907, reveals irreconcilable differences; and certainly a strictly contemporaneous narrative is likely to be more nearly correct than Mr. Schurz's memory of what took place forty years before.

A review of so attractive a work by so eminent a public man should not end with what may seem a carping criticism; for after all it is a worthy record of a great career.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War. In two volumes. By ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER, Ph.D. (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1907. Pp. xi, 658; vi, 590.)

For the preparation of this biography Mr. Oberholtzer was entrusted with an enormous mass of material which had been carefully preserved by the family for the distinct purpose of preparing a memorial. Acknowledgment is made of the generous assistance which has thus been rendered, but Mr. Oberholtzer adds that he has been under no restrictions of any character except his own sense of what was right and true. The author has done his work well and honestly. He has drawn generously on the papers placed at his disposal; so freely indeed that if the period had not been one of eventful interest, and the characters of more than national importance, the narrative might in places have become wearisome. Apparently Mr. Oberholtzer has suppressed nothing. The weaknesses of Cooke, the extravagance of his hopes, the easy accommodation to the business standards of a generation morally deficient, have not been concealed; and yet after all is said and read, the reader will probably agree with the author's final judgment: "He was a marvellous financier, a firm patriot, a good man."

For the student of American history the work falls naturally into three parts: first, pictures of life in Ohio and Philadelphia between 1830 and 1850; second, the tremendous difficulties in financing the Civil War; and third, the account of corporate finance as shown by the efforts to provide money for the Northern Pacific Railroad. There are few sources which furnish such attractive material for glimpses of a well-to-do home in what was then a frontier state, Ohio, as are given in this biography. As a boy, Jay Cooke was a ready letter-writer, freely revealing the thoughts, ambitions and daily activities of the several members of the family, and the forty pages devoted to his youth constitute a distinct contribution to social history. At the age of eighteen, in 1839, the lad entered upon the business of banking in Philadelphia, and a year later, among his other duties, contributed a daily money article to the *Daily Chronicle*. The chapter covering this period gives many interesting details, not only of Philadelphia business and social life, but of the methods of banking, and more particularly in regard to the friction of domestic exchange.

Cooke was a living example of the influence of sentiment in controlling and moulding economic forces. In placing the Pennsylvania loan in 1861, he insisted that he could sell it on patriotic principles more easily than on a basis of profit and loss, and from this principle throughout the Civil War he never deviated. Patriotism and not money-getting are the constant text of the circulars to the public. In 1865 he wrote: "We cannot save the finances unless a bold, cheerful, hopeful, sanguine view—a brag view, is taken of our condition. The people must be encouraged, not depressed." When the war was over and propositions were brought forward to pay the bonds which he had done so

much to place, in greenbacks instead of in coin, his anger was again aroused, and in a letter to his brother he declared that "the scoundrels deserve hanging, for the irreparable injury they are doing to this glorious nation." And it was this patriotism, the desire to develop the material sovereignty of the nation, which later led him to an overestimate of his own powers as well as of the support of the capitalists of the country in the railway development of the Northwest.

The relations between Chase and Cooke were intimate if not affectionate. There was no reserve in Cooke's devotion to Chase, which unfriendly criticism interpreted as prompted by selfish motives. In October, 1861, Cooke gave Chase a coupé which Chase was obliged to refuse; in February, 1862, Chase asked Cooke for a personal loan of \$2,000; in October, however, he reminds Cooke "of the necessity of putting a little more form into the addresses of your letters to the Secretary of the Treasury"; in June, 1863, Chase returns a check of \$4,200 representing the profits on the speculative sale of railroad stock which had never been actually delivered; but within a week another personal loan is requested. It is suggested that while secretary Chase would have been willing to abandon his office to enter Cooke's firm, and he was certainly in "earnest when a year after his appointment as Chief Justice of the United States he proposed a partnership in the banking business" (II. 59). In 1866 Chase "was not averse to the suggestion" that he be elected president of the Union Pacific (II. 102), and in 1869 he wrote that he should like to be on the board of directors of the Northern Pacific and was half tempted to offer himself as a candidate for the presidency (II. 130). But apart from personal details which throw much light on the character of Chase, no inconsiderable part of the two volumes is a financial history of Chase's administration as secretary. Sherman, Fessenden, McCulloch, and Boutwell are other public characters who figure largely in the correspondence. Jay Cooke and his brother Henry D. Cooke are given much credit for the passage of the National Banking Act and long extracts from Cooke's manuscript Memoirs are quoted to show how powerful state banks in New York City were practically clubbed into line by the threat of taking away the agency of selling government bonds and the establishment of a bank under Cooke's auspices.

The story of the flotation of the Northern Pacific Railroad is dismal reading, not only as a record of Cooke's failure which eclipsed his earlier success, but also as a representation of the low moral tone in the business world. For his own immediate gain Cooke was incorruptible, but he freely permitted his partners and agents to lobby, "fix" newspapers, and distribute stock where it would do the most good for his railroad enterprises. The most hostile critic of American institutions cannot wish for a richer fund of illustration than is afforded in these volumes; and yet, it furnishes the reader with the distinct impression that the evils were not fundamental; they show the thoughtlessness

and immaturity of a reckless generation rather than ingrained depravity.

DAVIS R. DEWEY.

Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800). By O. G. SONNECK.
(Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel. 1907. Pp. 338.)

THE author of this work, Mr. O. G. Sonneck, is the leading authority upon early American music. His preceding researches into the subject of American operas, the first American composers (Lyon and Hopkinson), and early American secular music, have been most thorough and valuable. The present volume as well as the others mentioned are rather collections of historical data than actual musical history. Less attempt is made at telling a connected and readable story than at presenting all the facts bearing upon the case.

Mr. Sonneck seems prejudiced against the prominence given by some writers to Boston in the evolution of American music; after alluding to the earliest American concert, given in Boston in 1731, he says: "Though, therefore, Boston seems to have the right of precedence, I prefer to trace the earliest concerts given at Charleston, S. C., be it only to emphasize the fact that New England's share in the development of our early musical life has been unfairly and unduly overestimated to the disadvantage of the Middle Colonies and the South." This sentence shows our author less fair in drawing deductions than in unearthing records. His own excellent presentation of the musical events in Charleston proves the art-life in this direction to have been very intermittent and sporadic, while New England's music-work was almost continuous.

Nothing akin to the regular singing-schools of New England, or to the subsequent orchestral work of Boston, or to the foundation of permanent oratorio performances in the same city, can be found in the records of the other committees which are printed in this volume. In Charleston one finds tight-rope dancing, performances of magic, and other heterogeneous matters mingling with the music of the "consorts". Nothing of this kind disturbed the New England concerts, although sometimes, after the programme was ended, dancing was indulged in. Other facts may be culled from Mr. Sonneck's book to controvert his own opinion in this matter. Two very prominent musicians, Graupner and Van Hagen, after dwelling awhile in Charleston, left that city and settled in Boston. In an advertisement in the *Boston Evening Post* of June 17, 1771 (p. 18), we read the following:

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, April 11th, 1771.

The *St. Cecilia Society* give notice that they will engage with, and give suitable encouragement to musicians properly qualified to perform at their *Concert*, provided they apply on or before the first day of October next. The performers they are in want of are, a first and second violin, two hautboys and a bassoon, whom they are willing to agree with for one, two or three years.

The above facts tend to show that Boston was regarded as a prominent musical city in the last half of the eighteenth century. That the South had priority in the matter of founding a musical society seems established by our author.

When, however, one examines the record that Mr. Sonneck presents of musical activity in Philadelphia and New York, the rivalry to Boston becomes much more real. Here we find a collection of data of inestimable value. The minuteness with which our author has given programmes, advertisements, criticisms and other notices, may not make good consecutive reading but constitutes a book of reference that the American reader will duly appreciate. It is the material for history made ready to the hand of the future writer.

There are many cases of wandering from the subject, but these side excursions are often full of interest, as, for example, the history of conducting, given in the foot-note on pp. 71-72. The heavy character of the historical data is often lightened by side-lights upon the manners and customs of the times; musician's quarrels are amusingly recorded, and the account of the Boston musical scapegrace W. S. Morgan is as bright as a chapter in a novel. New historical matter about William Tuckey of New York, of Josiah Flagg and William Selby, of Boston, prove how microscopically Mr. Sonneck has gone over his material. The work is but another proof of his careful fidelity in research. All of his books deserve an honorable place in every American library.

A carefully prepared index closes the volume; the book, however, contains many misprints, which can easily be eliminated in future editions.

LOUIS C. ELSON.

The History of North America. Edited by FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE, Ph.D. Volume XX. *Island Possessions of the United States.* By ALBERT EDWARD MCKINLEY, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Temple College. (Philadelphia: George Barrie and Sons. 1907. Pp. xviii, 516.)

THIS, the twentieth and concluding volume of *The History of North America*, prepared by various writers under the editorial supervision of Professor Thorpe, is devoted, a little more than one-half to a history of the islands which for the most part have come to the United States in recent years, and the remainder to a general index in 220 pages to the whole series, an appendix giving a copy of the agreement of August 20, 1899, as to the sovereignty of the United States over the archipelago of Jolo, and a chronological table of important events. The volume also contains some excellent portraits of persons who have played a leading part in the events having to do with the establishment of the sovereignty of the United States over these islands, besides other illustrations more or less pertinent.

Whether one finds the treatment of his subject by Professor McKinley satisfactory or not will depend entirely upon the point of view taken as to the character such a history should have. As a straightforward, lucid and interesting narrative of historical happenings the work leaves little to be desired. The events leading up to and marking the war with Spain and the occupation of Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines and Guam, are first given in three chapters, the history of events in Cuba being brought down to the uprising against Palma's government and the second intervention of the United States in 1906. Following this is given for each island a discriminating summary of the rather involved history of events prior to American occupation, with a somewhat fuller account of events under American rule. This work appears to have been carefully done. Especially is this true of the history of the islands prior to American occupation, and in it the student will always find a useful survey of the important events marking the history of the discovery, colonization and administration of these islands prior to American intervention.

Little or no attempt, on the other hand, has been made by the author to discuss matters of policy or to pass judgment upon controverted points, such as the wisdom of the acquisition by the United States of island territory, the relative merits involved in the Sampson-Schley controversy, or the praise or blame which should be accorded for the manner in which the war was conducted by the commanders in the field and by the War Department at Washington. No effort, likewise, has been made to present any real consideration of the problems of administration of the new dependencies or of the questions that present themselves relative to the economic and industrial development of these territories.

This decision by the author to restrict the scope of his work to the historical field in its narrowest sense was, in the opinion of the reviewer, a wise one. A full consideration of all of the questions arising out of the acquisition by the United States of over-seas territory involves studies along three quite different lines: that of the history of events proper; that of the organization of systems of government and of the administration of public affairs; and that of the special problems, political, economic and social, that present themselves for solution. For the present, it is probably preferable that each of these three subjects should receive separate treatment. As stated, students are indebted to Professor McKinley for his careful survey of the first field. The only criticism of importance that suggests itself is, that though it may not fall within the scope of the work yet it would seem that the inclusion in his study of an account of the events having to do with the intervention of the United States in Santo Domingo and Panama would have been pertinent and would have added not a little to the value of the work. It is difficult, moreover, to understand why the author should have thought that the agreement between General

Bates and the Sultan of Jolo was of sufficient importance to warrant inclusion in full as an appendix. Of much greater interest would have been the reproduction of the letter of instruction issued by President McKinley, April 7, 1900, to the Second Philippine Commission. This letter of instructions deserves to rank among great state papers. It is a model statement of the high and far-seeing principles that should be adopted by any government in taking action for the government and administration of affairs of a dependent territory, and should be read by all who desire to know the spirit with which those in authority have from the beginning sought to perform the great responsibility resting upon them of looking after the welfare of the millions of persons who have now become the wards of the nation.

W. F. WILLOUGHBY.

La Intervencion Francesa-en México, segun el Archivo del Mariscal Bazaine. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by GENARO GARCÍA. Tomo XIV.] (Mexico: Bouret. 1907. Pp. 283.)

La Intervencion Francesa-en México, segun el Archivo del Mariscal Bazaine. Segunda Parte. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by GENARO GARCÍA. Tomo XVI.] (Mexico: Bouret. 1908. Pp. 280.)

THREE preceding volumes (the first, fourth and thirteenth) of this noteworthy series of documents for the history of Mexico have contained correspondence of leading Mexicans connected with the French intervention in Mexico from 1861 to 1867. Supplementing that correspondence, the editor of the series has undertaken the publication of documents deposited in the Secretariat of Foreign Relations and selected from the papers of Marshal Bazaine, military and political viceroy for Napoleon III. in Mexico from July, 1863, to March, 1867. Obviously the printing of confidential and inedited material written by leading actors in such an important international episode is a matter of considerable significance to historical scholarship. The rich stores of public archives and manuscript documents preserved in Mexico, so largely inaccessible to students of her national and international history, need systematic exploitation and publication. Señor García's editorial labors are an encouraging indication of appreciation of this fact.

Upon the field covered by the two volumes now under review, that is, from July, 1862, to November, 1863, a very considerable body of documentary material has been in print for many years. Mention of a few sources will indicate their extent. The governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and Spain, published voluminous selections from their diplomatic correspondence. Kératry, Domenech, Lefèvre, Detroyat, Niox, Gaulot, De la Gorce, all writing upon general

or special phases of the subject of the French in Mexico, used and quoted documentary materials. Gaulot in an especial degree gave his readers large extracts from documents collected by Ernest Louet, paymaster-general of the French expeditionary forces in Mexico, who had obtained original papers from many sources, but especially from Bazaine. Sundry participants in the expedition also published first-hand accounts of their experiences. Questions then naturally arise, in estimating the value of this new publication of sources: Does it give an exhaustive and definitive edition of materials, or, does it consist of new matter to supplement that already accessible? The editor has given neither the one thing nor the other. His prefaces proclaim a *caveat* to the reader or critic that he will present merely a selection from the papers of Bazaine, such as he thinks suitable for publication. In the exercise of his editorial discretion he has not avoided the republication of many well-known, often-cited documents. Neither has he taken the pains to indicate by editorial notes where these documents have been previously published, or to what extent he prints previously unknown matter. In a word, he has issued one more fragmentary collection, certainly useful in its way, but not satisfying the needs of historical scholarship. Doubtless Señor García has felt, and rightly, that his undertaking to publish a selection of documents from one such important source as the archives of Marshal Bazaine, and to accompany French texts with Spanish translations, would be of great service to his countrymen. But his project then deserves only the qualified appreciation necessarily involved in the limitations of its scope. Students of French intervention in Mexico will be gratified to find that material previously accessible is now supplemented by additional letters and orders giving details of military movements and of political intercourse between the French and their Mexican puppets and sympathizers. To be sure, thus far nothing has been revealed to require any serious modification of judicious treatments of the subject given in the works of Gaulot and De la Gorce. And although it will now be more nearly possible than before to trace minutely the succession of events, the intrigues of Mexican partizan leaders, the influence of the clergy, the development of French policy in the face of insurmountable difficulties, there will still remain regrets that no inclusive compilation of all documentary material, nor yet a full publication of all of Bazaine's collection on the general subject has been made. The editor does not even state the principles upon which his selections have been made, does not characterize the categories which he has chosen to omit.

The preface of the second volume contains a profession of loyalty to correct principles of exact reproduction of the text of documents, without mutilation or emendation. "If any document herein appears incomplete or abridged, it is due to the fact that it exists in that form among the papers of Marshal Bazaine." Can this general assertion in a preface absolve the editor from the reasonable obligation to call

attention to or explain in notes the special peculiarities, the obvious errors and omissions in the text? In the second volume this editorial responsibility is sometimes recognized, although not consistently. Not infrequently (pp. 73, 148, 150, 154, 157, 166) mention is made of the fact that words or phrases are indecipherable. On page 21 a blank space in the original manuscript is noted. But there are no explanations of many other omissions and blank lines, as on pages 13, 14, 36, 67—are they thus in the originals? When places and dates appear in parentheses at the head of many letters, are these conjectured by the editor? When there are not a few errors of spelling, of accentuation, or of grammar and sense, in the French text, how far are these to be set down to the writers' blunders or to inefficient proof-reading or other editorial deficiencies? These questions by the reviewer are not captions but are meant to call pointed attention to the serious need of more careful editorial methods in details. Similarly a better standard of indexing is needed—unless, indeed, a good index is simply postponed till the completion of this particular series. Scholars will await with interest the appearance of further installments of these documents, and they can not but wonder whether the serious charge against M. Paul Gaulot, that "he has shamefully falsified various documents", will be fully substantiated.

C. A. DUNIWAY.

Le Père Antoine Lavalette à la Martinique d'après beaucoup de Documents Inédits. Par le P. CAMILLE DE ROCHEMONTEIX, de la Compagnie de Jésus. (Paris: Picard et Fils. 1907. Pp. viii, 290.)

It is somewhat strange that we have had to wait so long for a biography of Père Lavalette, since he is, as the author maintains, a person of historical significance. Hitherto, he has remained little more than a name by which to designate the famous case of Père Lavalette before the Parlement de Paris in 1761, a case which was but the first step in the determined effort to overthrow the Jesuits in France. By extensive use of unpublished material in the archives of the order, the author has clothed this name with a personality, and has retold the story of the trial with many interesting details. Although the study partakes of the nature of a defense of his order, Père de Rochemonteix has shown in presenting his case the spirit of a true historian. It is, indeed, not too much to say that for the student of the period this presentation of the famous case will supersede all others.

The author is in accord with the famous historian of the Jesuits, Crétineau-Joly, in his general conclusions. These are: that because of the principle in civil law of "non-solidarity" accorded to religious communities of the same order, the Society of Jesus as a united order was in no way legally responsible for the debts of the mission at Martinique; that the superior officers of the society were not morally

responsible for the conduct of Père Lavalette in violating the constitution of his order by engaging in commerce against their specific instructions and without their knowledge, a fact to which Lavalette himself testified in a signed statement; and that Parlement treated this case as an opportunity, not of rendering justice, but of destroying the Society of Jesus in France. It is remarkable, in fact, how little the author has been able to add by way of general conclusion to the account published by Créteineau-Joly in 1845. He has, however, stated the conclusions with greater clearness, and has added some details which strengthen them. He has, for instance, shown from an unpublished report made to the general of the order by Père de la Marche, who was sent to Martinique to investigate the affairs of Lavalette, that Lavalette so far persisted in concealing his commercial dealings from his superiors that he deliberately lied, until de la Marche convinced him by evidence already collected that he knew the truth. He has given an account, omitted by such a recent historian as Glasson (*Le Parlement de Paris*, II. 265-270), of the first preliminary trial of Mme. Grou et fils before the consular court at Paris. He maintains that it was not until after Lavalette's return to Martinique from France in 1755 that he engaged in illicit commerce. The author lays great stress upon commerce permitted and commerce prohibited by canon law—only the purchase of commodities with a view to selling them at a profit constituting commerce of the latter type. It is on this basis that he takes exception to the general charge made against the order by M. Glasson of engaging in "opérations commerciales". One may admit that those commercial dealings of Lavalette undertaken with the approval of his superiors were technically within the letter of the canon law and did not constitute prohibited commerce from this point of view, but when one considers that Lavalette had, with the knowledge of his superiors, so far extended the holdings of his mission as to purchase a large estate in Dominica with no other view than to produce by slave labor valuable colonial products which he marketed extensively in France, one feels that M. Glasson's phrase is in spirit a true description of affairs.

As has already been intimated, the author makes use of much unpublished material in the archives of the society, the most valuable of which are the "Mémoires pour les Jésuites de France", a MS. of 116 pages written in 1760 by Père Antoine de Montigny; "Mémoire sur le Père Lavalette"; and "Mémoire Justificatif", written in 1763 from Amsterdam by Lavalette himself. The fact that the account has been written from such material as this gives a freshness to the whole monograph which places it in striking contrast to the average inaccurate secondary accounts of Lavalette and the case.

The book will also be of interest to students of commercial affairs in the West Indies of the eighteenth century by virtue of its concrete picture of a daring and energetic trader, and of his methods of trade in time of peace and war.

STEWART L. MIMS.

MINOR NOTICES

The *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1906* (Government Printing Office, 1908, two volumes, pp. 454; 572) has just been issued from the press. It contains, according to usual custom, reports of the proceedings of the Providence meeting in December, 1906, of the proceedings of the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch in the month preceding, and full reports of three conferences: one on the teaching of history in elementary schools, one on history in the college curriculum, and one on the work of state and local historical societies. It also contains seven of the papers read at Providence: that of Professor Munro on "The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century", that of Mr. H. O. Taylor on Hildebert of Lavardin, that of Miss Kingsbury comparing the Virginia Company with other English trading companies, that of Mr. George L. Beer on the colonial policy of Great Britain, that of Professor Channing on William Penn, that of Professor Hodder on the English Bill for the admission of Kansas, and that of Professor Woodburn on the attitude of Thaddeus Stevens toward the conduct of the Civil War. Rather more than the second half of this volume is composed of the Justin Winsor prize essay by Miss Annie H. Abel of the Woman's College of Baltimore, entitled "A History of Events resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi". It is a paper marked by the fullest and most patient research, abounding in detailed information and written with every effort to be fair, but not with much literary skill nor with great insight into the political conduct of men. The second volume is devoted entirely to material furnished by the Public Archives Commission. Along with its annual report the Commission presents a summary of state and territorial legislation now in force relative to the custody and supervision of the public records, prepared by the late Robert T. Swan, record commissioner of Massachusetts. Next follow reports on the public archives of Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Augusta, Ga., Richmond County, Ga., Ohio (state), Ross County, O., and Tennessee. Nearly half of the states have now been reported upon. The second half of the volume, and rather more, is occupied by a collection of Materials for a Bibliography of the Public Archives of the Thirteen Original States, covering the colonial period and the years extending to 1789, and prepared by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, chief of the Department of Public Documents in the New York Public Library. The title requires explanation. The average reader, we are convinced, would understand by "bibliography of the public archives" a list of printed books and articles on the states' present official deposits of manuscript record material. What Miss Hasse presents is a list, in chronological order under each state, of those printed volumes or pieces in which may be found the official records of its executive, legislative and judicial proceedings throughout the colonial period and to 1789, whether the originals of those records are or are not in the

state's custody. But whatever the title, we have here 300 pages of invaluable data. It is strange that men have essayed to write the constitutional and political history of our colonies without such dated lists of sessional acts, journals of legislative sessions, etc.; but now they have one. It is by no means perfect. In several instances it ignores peculiarities and distinctions of legislative bodies of which the investigator needs to be made aware. It is startling to see it stated, as a reason for introducing three pages of data from the colonial entry books, relating to the councils of Dudley and Andros, that only three days' minutes of that body seem to have been printed, when the whole body—125 pages—was printed eight years ago in the proceedings of two prominent societies. But we must be too grateful to Miss Hasse to cavil at the occasional imperfections of her ambitious undertaking.

Die Entwicklung des ältesten japanischen Seelenlebens. Von Justus Leo. [Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte herausgegeben von Karl Lamprecht. Zweites Heft.] (Leipzig, R. Voigtländer, 1907, pp. vii, 106.) The author essays to study, by means of such meagre portion of their literary works as has been translated into European languages, the development of the mental life of the Japanese from the earliest times to the eighth century. Even within the narrow limits of his information, he states that he has examined only the contents and the "inner form" of his materials, and is not concerned with their philological aspects.

The author argues that before the influence of Continental thought was felt in Japan, its mind was wont to express itself in a very primitive manner, its thought-life being limited to cruder forms of analogy and comparison, and its attention being drawn to familiar natural phenomena and forces and unconnected doings of man. In the poems of the Manyōshū compiled in the latter half of the eighth century, however—or, rather, in that part of the work which has been translated—the author finds that a conscious imitation of Chinese models had greatly enlarged the scope and stimulated the development of the mental activity of the Japanese. Aesthetic enjoyment of natural phenomena, landscape, human conduct, and even emotional life, is for the first time apparent. Buddhism has also given a tone to the world-views of the educated.

Chinese influence upon the Japanese mind might have been conclusively proven, if the author had, on the one hand, compared the contents of the Wên-süan, the T'ang poems, and the Kwai-fū-sō, and, on the other, examined the career and the literary habit of each of the more important Manyō poets. What is most to be regretted is the fact that the author has not made an analytical study of the Norito prayers. The consideration of these prayers would have greatly enriched, as well as modified, the author's treatment of the period before the seventh century, and gone far toward explaining the origin of the new turn

which Hitomaro and later Manyō poets took in their metric compositions.

Herr Leo's work may be regarded as purely psychological, for its contents are too meagre, and its reasoning follows a certain method too closely, to be considered sociological or historical. It is, however, an honest effort, and a valuable interpretation of the material upon which it is based.

K. ASAKAWA.

Les Noms de nos Rivières: Leur Origine, leur Signification. Par Raoul de Félice, Agrégé d'Histoire et de Géographie, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur au Lycée de Chartres. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1907, pp. 166.) This is a production of very slight value. M. de Félice, in his preface, somewhat disarms criticism by modestly disclaiming any special competence in linguistics; but such competence would appear to be rather necessary for an investigation which deals almost wholly with etymologies, and the lack of it in the present case is much to be regretted. The sources of the material are fully acknowledged, and the work is put forth frankly as a second-hand compilation. But as such it shows neither a full knowledge of the "literature" of the subject nor any critical ability. It is marred, furthermore, by inaccuracies of detail. It cannot be said to have contributed to the advancement of knowledge or to have set forth adequately the present state of information. At the same time, as a collection and tentative classification of the names of French rivers, hitherto not brought together, it will doubtless be of service to geographers and historians, and also make easier the work of later etymologists. For all these purposes its value would have been considerably increased if exact references had been supplied, except in obvious cases, to the documents in which are to be found the early forms and variant spellings of the names discussed.

The Early History of India, from 600 B. C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the Invasion of Alexander the Great. By Vincent A. Smith, M.A. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. xii, 462. Second edition, revised and enlarged.) The merits of the first edition (1904) of this excellent work were recognized at the time in this REVIEW (XI. 121-123), so that it is at present necessary to notice only the principal new features of this edition.

The enlargement consists chiefly in the expansion of the last three chapters of the book dealing with the Mediaeval Kingdoms of the North, the Kingdoms of the Decan, and the Kingdoms of the South, which contain forty-three of the seventy-two new pages. A new appendix, pp. 260-264, deals with the question of the hostages obtained by Kaniska in consequence of his conquests in Chinese Turkestan. These are no longer believed to have included a son of the Han emperor of

China, but to have been taken from the ruling family of some dependency of the Chinese Empire not far distant from Kāshgar. The date of Kanīška is the subject of a new and lengthy note, pp. 241-242, in which Mr. Smith holds to his previous opinion. The account of the Çaka immigration and of the Indo-Parthian princes has also been enlarged, pp. 215-217, Mr. Smith now recognizing two main lines of the Indo-Parthian kings. Finally, recent translations of Cāṇakya's *Arthaśāstra* have enabled Mr. Smith to give from contemporary Hindū sources interesting confirmations of the Greek accounts of Candragupta's empire.

The effects of the revision are evident throughout in slight modifications of opinions, the corrections of misprints, and the addition of bibliographical references, especially to works that have appeared since 1904. Naturally this revision is least in evidence in the chapters dealing with Alexander's campaign in India; here the only change of importance is the abandonment of the identification of Mahābān with Aornos, which was rendered necessary by Stein's exploration of the site in 1904.

That the second edition of such a work should be called for in so short a space of time is a proof of a popular interest in the subject that must be gratifying to every student of the records of India's life. That a pioneer work should require modification in no essential point is evidence of the skill with which the author has accomplished a difficult task; while the painstaking care for details and the additions that make the new edition a distinct improvement upon the old, deserve the gratitude of all students of the history of India.

G. M. BOLLING.

La Vie en France au Moyen Âge, d'après quelques Moralistes du Temps. Par Ch.-V. Langlois. (Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1908, pp. xix, 359.) Professor Langlois is known on both sides of the Atlantic for his exact and critical scholarship. His knowledge of the literary sources of the history of medieval France is equalled by few. Four years ago he presented certain of these sources, condensed to popular form in *La Société Française au XIII^e Siècle d'après Dix Romans d'Aventure*. And now he has published a pendant in the present work. In both books, his description of the writings analyzed and excerpted is accurate and sufficient; and both books are practical exemplifications of the author's view, which he thus states: "Je suis de plus en plus persuadé que la meilleure méthode, pour communiquer au public les résultats vraiment assimilables de nos travaux, n'est pas d'écrire des livres d'histoire générale; c'est de présenter les documents eux-mêmes, purifiés des fautes matérielles qui s'y étaient glissées, allégés des superfluités qui les encombre, en indiquant avec précision ce que l'on sait des circonstances où ils ont été rédigés et en les éclairant au besoin par des rapprochements appropriés."

Much may be said in favor of this manner of purveying history—it

is also easy for the writer. Yet it excludes the historian's function of interpretation, which Professor Langlois appears to regard as either useless or dangerous. Some of us indeed doubt whether the historian's function should be limited to the purveyorship of the sources, and even think it his business to explain a little "how it all came about". Professor Langlois closes his statement with these words: "Le vrai rôle de l'historien, c'est de mettre en contact, dans les meilleures conditions possibles, les gens de maintenant avec les documents originaux qui sont les traces laissées par les gens d'autrefois, sans y rien mêler de lui-même." He has certainly succeeded in putting very little of himself in the book before us.

The writings of contemporary *moralistes* which Professor Langlois gives after his method of extracts strung together by a running analysis of the intervening matter, are some of them well known: *Le Livre des Manières*, for example, of Étienne de Fougères (d. 1178); *La Bible Guiot*; *Le Besant de Dieu*; *Les Quatre Âges de l'Homme* of Philippe de Novare (1195-1265 c.), a prose composition less well-known; *Le Livre des Lamentations de Mahieu* (or *Lamenta*), written about 1301 by an advocate, a native of Boulogne; and the enigmatical and allegorical *Fauvel*—are among them. They present society from the point of view of the moralist, or satirist, with various shadings according to the special circumstances and opinions of the author. Professor Langlois gives a sufficient presentation of their contents. His book will be of value to the student of the period, provided he has some knowledge of Old French; for the extracts in this book are not modernized.

Théodore II. Lascaris, Empereur de Nicée. Par Jean B. Pappadopoulos, Docteur de la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. xv, 192.) Like so many other Byzantine rulers Theodore Lascaris II. was an author of considerable repute. This has invested him with an interest entirely apart from his deeds as emperor, and the accounts of him in the past have dealt mainly with his writings. His career has generally been summed up to the effect that he was a degenerate, gifted with remarkable ability as a statesman and author. Gibbon, for example, gave only a little over a page to Theodore. After stating that he was degenerate but not devoid of energy, most of the space was filled with two anecdotes to illustrate his unbridled temper and cruelty. There are several errors, some of which Bury has overlooked in his edition of Gibbon. This illustrates the need of some more accurate study.

The present work is a well-proportioned narrative of his life, deeds and writings. The first third describes his education and character before his accession to the throne in 1254, at the age of thirty-two. The second part recounts the events of his reign of less than four years. The third section, concerning him as an author, is brief and is

the least important. This is due in part, however, to the fact that his writings have been drawn upon so constantly in the preceding portions.

The author has a much more favorable opinion of his hero than that which is generally held. He would subscribe to Cave's judgment: *Princeps omnino eruditus, meliore sorte saeculoque dignus*. In addition to his ability as a writer, Pappadopoulos points out Theodore's wise economy, skilful diplomacy, successful administration and victorious campaigns. "Roi philosophe, avec la rare vertu d'avoir pleine conscience de ses devoirs sacrés, il rêva le bonheur de son peuple et y travailla pendant la courte période de sa vie et de son règne avec un dévouement, une abnégation et une ardeur dignes d'admiration" (p. 138). He does not disguise the emperor's ungovernable temper or cruelty, but attributes the first to his diseased state and suggests that the other was justifiable. This and the passage just quoted illustrate the one serious defect in the work—the author is inclined to be a panegyrist.

The volume contains a bibliography of the printed and unprinted works of Theodore, and of the sources and secondary works for his life. The account itself is clear and interesting; there are very few errors or repetitions. In the appendix is published for the first time the funeral oration on Frederick II., which is, as Bury said, "a work which ought to have been published long ago". It is to be regretted that the author did not bring out the many points of resemblance between Frederick II. and Theodore II. In the future the latter will undoubtedly be judged more favorably and more justly as the result of Pappadopoulos's labor.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

Études de Diplomatique Anglaise de l'Avènement d'Edouard I^{er} à celui de Henri VII. (1272-1485): Le Sceau Privé, le Sceau Secret, le Signet. Par Eugène Déprez, Docteur ès Lettres, Archiviste du Pas-de-Calais. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1908, pp. 127.) The science of Diplomatics in England still lags far behind the progress of such studies on the Continent, and the requisite monographic investigation is lacking in almost every field relating to the documents of English sovereigns. M. Déprez, known as the author of important volumes on Anglo-French relations in the period of the Hundred Years' War, has brought the training of the École des Chartes to bear upon the extensive privy seal files in the Public Record Office, which he has had occasion to explore systematically for material concerning the history of France from 1272 to 1485. By the aid of typical examples he shows the relation of the privy seal and secret letters to the issuance of letters patent and letters close, and examines the characteristics of the different types to be found in this period. Contrary to a common opinion, he shows that English came into use in royal letters, by the side of Latin and French, as early as the reign of Henry V. The study is professedly

only a sketch, but it is work of the right kind and deserves to be continued. Ninety-one unpublished documents are printed in the course of the essay.

C. H. H.

The Growth of Modern Nations. A History of the Particularist Form of Society. Translated from the French of Henry de Tourville by M. G. Loch. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1907, pp. viii, 508.) The author of this panegyric of the Anglo-Saxon race was a disciple of Le Play, and a leader of the group of sociologists of whom Edmond Demolin achieved the widest reputation. The main theme of the book is the history of the particularist form of society, that is, an individualistic society, whose members are distinguished by their personal freedom and initiative and whose characteristic material basis is the independent and isolated landed estate. Opposed to this is the patriarchal, communal, or socialistic form of society, characterized by the subordination of the individual.

It is argued that the particularist form of society originated in Norway, where geographical conditions favored its development; that emigrants from Norway to the Saxon plain of the Weser and the Ems introduced it into the interior of the Continent, whence the emigrations and conquests of Franks and Saxons carried it over large portions of Europe, and that from England, where it thrived best, it spread to America and Australia. In England the particularist tendencies of the Saxons were ultimately victorious over the patriarchal tendencies of the Angles, Danes and Normans; and the landed gentry finally gained control of the government. France, on the other hand, lost her particularist stamp through the early development of urban institutions; the growth of a strong royal power and an all-pervasive central administration; the appointment of townsmen as functionaries of the state; and the abandoning of agriculture to the peasantry. The book is a mass of generalizations, of which many are based on hypotheses rather than upon ascertained facts, while few, if any, are supported by sufficient evidence. The author attributes the persistence or the disappearance of individualism, now to race, now to geographical environment, and now to the influence of social and political institutions, with no apparent realization of the difficulty of determining with security the quantitative psychological effect of these various forces upon a given people at a given time. The book may be of some value in suggesting new points of view; but the method is so superficial that the conclusions carry slight weight. It would be impossible in a limited space to criticize the work in detail, but it may be remarked that the social organization of the Angles probably did not differ from that of the Saxons in the manner described (p. 239 ff.); that the so-called "laws of King Edward" and Magna Charta did not have the significance here assigned to them (pp. 273, 274, 285) and that the Saxon, whose rural organization had important communal features,

and in whose social organization lordship played a most important part, was much less of an individualist than is here supposed.

The Letters of Martin Luther. Selected and translated by Margaret A. Currie. (London, 1908, The Macmillan Company, pp. xxxv, 482.) This volume consists of five hundred of Luther's letters, selected out of about twenty-five hundred extant, and translated into English, together with a short introduction on the value of the letters and some of the people to whom they were addressed. The translator has added brief headings to each epistle, taken mainly from De Wette, and a summary of important events at the beginning of most of the years.

It is superfluous to point out the great charm which such a book as this might possess, and its value for both the ordinary reader and the student of the Protestant revolt. It is a pity that the worth of so good a selection as has been made by the present translator should be largely impaired by her unscientific method and imperfect acquaintance with the subject, as well as by numerous errors in form and rendering.

Ender's edition of the letters, the best and latest, should have been used as far as it is complete (to August 1538), and thereby several blunders would have been avoided. The next best edition is that of De Wette, but the translator's statement (p. xix) that this has been the text-book throughout is hardly justified by reference to the text, where many letters are assigned to Walch and other German versions (from the Latin), one at least having been taken from a previous English translation (no. CCLXII.).

Mistakes and inconsistencies in giving English equivalents of German names abound. We have compared several letters taken at random with the original and found the translation in all of them extremely inaccurate, mistakes due partly to carelessness, partly to ignorance of the meaning of Latin and German words. In one case (p. 221), the German word *Messe* is inserted in parentheses to explain the English, where in the original we find *Jahrmarkt*. Some letters are greatly compressed without any indication that anything has been omitted (*e. g.*, no. CCX.).

The translator is much at sea when any allusion to contemporary events or persons occurs. She does not know that the "Cardinal St. Giorgio" is Petrucci (p. 54), nor that the "Cardinal of Eborack" [*sic*] referred to in the famous letter to Henry VIII. (p. 332) is Wolsey, Cardinal Archbishop of York, nor that "Antonius" (p. 332) is Robert Barnes, nor that the Bishop of Hereford (p. 359) is Edward Fox. Ulrich Pindar (p. 16) is not, as she thinks, the famous physician, and Luther's "enemy Calculus" (p. 359) is not a person, as one would infer from her text. The much discussed General Council appears now as the "Diet" (p. 332), now as the "Congress" (p. 340).

PRESERVED SMITH.

George Buchanan: a Memorial, 1506-1906. Compiled and edited by D. A. Millar (on behalf of the Executive of the Students' Representative Council of St. Andrews University). (London, David Nutt; St. Andrews, W. C. Henderson and Son, 1907, pp. xix, 490.) This book is a fine example of its kind. It is fitted to honor the memory of Buchanan for those who know him, and to recall him to those who may have forgotten that his friends called him the leading poet of the age. Twenty-four short essays make up the first part of the volume. They present Buchanan as a student, as a controversialist, as a courtier, as a philosopher, a poet, a humanist, a Latin scholar, a historian and a wit. We are told about his life in France and in Portugal. Five essays describe the separate classes of his writings. Other essays discuss his influence upon the Continent and his influence upon the thought of his age. There is a note upon his pension; and accounts of his family tree, his portraits and his monuments. We are shown every phase of the life of his times touched by this Scotch Presbyterian who was so filled with the spirit of humanism that he turned the psalms of David into Horatian odes.

The editor calls this book "an appreciation of work done and a record of praise for that work". But he wished to make something more than a record and a eulogy. He intended to give Scotchmen "an insight not merely into Buchanan's life and habits but into the times in which he lived and the part he played in the light of Scottish history and European thought". The writers of the volume have done all that was possible to carry out this broad view of its function.

To mention particular essays, where all are so good in their several sorts, is merely to voice a personal preference. The writer enjoyed Professor Herkless's finely written paper on Buchanan and the Franciscans. But then he enjoyed many others. Mr. Smeaton's paper on Buchanan's Influence on his Contemporaries is an admirable example of condensation without obscurity. Buchanan in Portugal seems the most valuable of several excellent papers whose writers have investigated obscure episodes in Buchanan's life and extended our knowledge of facts.

The book is rather difficult to read through continuously from cover to cover. But that is not the fault of any one concerned in producing it. All books of this kind are difficult to read unless they are taken a little at a time, and, taken that way, this particular book gives great pleasure. If some one of the writers had used the new and old material contained in these separate essays to produce a portrait of Buchanan in miniature, the scattered impressions of the reader might have been focussed. But this is only saying that the editor and his collaborators have done their work so well that one wishes they had done a little more.

The illustrations, facsimiles of documents, contemporary portraits of Buchanan, memorials to him, and pictures of places connected with his life and fortunes, are interesting.

Translations of Buchanan's verses, many of them by students of St. Andrews, form a fitting second part to the volume, which is furnished with nine appendixes. One of them contains an account of the Quater-Centenary Buchanan Celebration held at St. Andrews, July, 1906.

For the success of their pious intention to create another memorial to one of the greatest of the alumni of their Alma Mater, the Students' Representative Council of St. Andrews University is to be heartily congratulated.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

Die Unionstätigkeit John Duries unter dem Protektorat Cromwells. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts. Von Lic. Karl Brauer, Pfarrer zu Grüsen. (Marburg, N. G. Elwert, 1907, pp. x, 253.) The task set for himself by the author of this excellent monograph is to give an account of four out of the fifty years of John Durie's activity in the cause of union between the evangelical churches: those years when the support of Cromwell gave his plans some apparent promise of success, and which are most important for the formation of an estimate of his work.

The book is divided into two very unequal parts. The first and more considerable contains, after a brief account of his early years, the narrative of Durie's travels in Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands, from 1654 through 1657; his countless negotiations with synods, legislatures, theological faculties, preachers and princes; and his undaunted courage in the face of almost constant difficulties and disappointments. This, the most important portion of the work, is a monument of industrious research. The author has ransacked the archives and libraries of the cities and states visited by Durie, as well as the manuscript collections of the British Museum, and has thus been able to give an account of the activities of the indefatigable champion of union, week by week and almost day by day. If close adherence to chronological order has sometimes resulted in a lack of clearness, especially in the chapters relating to the German states, this was perhaps inevitable in view of the number and complicated character of the transactions involved.

The thirty pages of the second part are devoted to a consideration of Durie's plans and aims. It contains careful analyses and useful citations, and though the conclusions of the author are not invariably logical nor his arguments always convincing, he characterizes justly the impracticable elements in Durie's schemes, and rightly insists that in the emphasis he placed on practical as opposed to dogmatic Christianity, lies the importance of his career in the development of religious thought. Although obviously his contact with Durie has not left him untouched by the Scotchman's personal charm, he maintains a scrupulously just attitude with regard to his failings: erring, if at all, on the side of severity. It is perhaps through fear of letting his sympathies get the better of his judgment that he seems to have failed to arrive

at a clear comprehension of Durie's character. Or is it rather that he has studied his man at too close range, and so has failed to grasp him as a whole?

Eight of the more important documents cited are included in an appendix. The more important published works relating to Durie are enumerated in a foot-note to page one, and a list of the manuscript sources used is given in the preface. This list does not include the letters of Durie among the Baxter Correspondence in the Dr. Williams's Library, London; though only a few of these were written during the Protectorate, a number are important for his ideas, and one of them (VI., f. 90) should be added to the authorities for his visit to Sweden in 1653 (p. 13, note).

LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

Mirabeau, the Demi-God, being the True and Romantic Story of his Life and Adventures. By W. R. H. Trowbridge. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xi, 404.) The change of a single word in the subtitle of this work, namely the substitution of "Fictitious" for "Romantic", would convey to the reader a clearer idea of its contents. Surely Mr. Trowbridge was not naïve enough to believe that the student of history would take his book seriously, would accept as biography what is simply a weak historical novel. If the book made no pretense of being anything else than a historical novel, the REVIEW might well pass it by unnoticed, but unfortunately the attempt is made to deceive the unwary reader by a parade of learning, or do I wrong Mr. Trowbridge? Did he really think that he could "satisfy the curiosity of those who may be inclined to question the accuracy of details that seem doubtful" by "appending a bibliography of the works from which he had drawn his material"? Did he "refrain from adding the notes, with which it is so easy to adorn a work of this kind", "simply to avoid the charge of striving after the *éclat* of historical research"? It may be so, for there is an overwhelming amount of evidence that throughout the book he was guided by his "instinct as a novelist" and not by his instinct as a historian. Possibly this same inability to distinguish between the creations of his own fancy and historical fact was responsible for the statement, "in defence of the dialogue, that it is seldom imaginary; when not the words actually uttered by the speakers as historically recorded, it has been composed from their correspondence. For example", he goes on, "in Chapter I., Part I., pages 22 to 35, the dialogue has been taken almost verbatim from the letters of the Marquis de Mirabeau." The truth is that it is very seldom that one encounters in the dialogue anything taken verbatim from the letters of the marquis. In the passage cited there is more such material than on any other page of the book. Piecing together a dialogue from "words actually uttered by the speakers as historically recorded" was evidently too slow work for Mr. Trowbridge and he soon abandoned it.

The book is not, then, a serious biography, nor is it a good historical novel. There is certainly good stuff in Mirabeau's life for a historical novel, but just as certainly Mr. Trowbridge has not been able to utilize it.

He calls Mirabeau a "demi-god", proclaims him his "hero" and announces that he "preferred to see in him only his nobler and what he belived to be his fundamental qualities", but one seeks in vain in his book for proof that Mirabeau was such a man as Mr. Trowbridge would have us believe. Mirabeau was a remarkable man and possessed noble qualities, but the greatness of Mirabeau is displayed during the last period of his life and not in his love affairs and low intrigues. To justify his title, Mr. Trowbridge should have passed lightly over Mirabeau's early years and filled his canvas with the dramatic scenes of the national assembly in which Mirabeau showed himself truly great. In giving but seventy pages to this important period, he had little opportunity to justify his title and made but poor use of what opportunity he did have. Such a book as Mr. Trowbridge has written is an anachronism. He would do well to stick to his last. That last is, evidently, a novel.

L'Institut de France. Par Gaston Boissier, Gaston Darboux, Georges Perrot, Georges Picot, Henry Roujon, Secrétaires Perpétuels, et Alfred Franklin, Administrateur Honoraire de la Bibliothèque Mazarine. (Paris, H. Laurens, 1907, two volumes in one, pp. 203, 168.) This recent addition to the popular series *Les Grandes Institutions de France* consists of seven chapters admirably illustrated. The first, by M. Alfred Franklin, describes the buildings in which the Institute abides; the second by M. Georges Perrot, Perpetual Secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, recounts the history of the Institute; the remaining five deal with the five academies which now compose it—the Académie Française, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, the Académie des Sciences, the Académie des Beaux Arts, and the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques—each of which is treated by its perpetual secretary. The work is thoroughly popular; it is a noteworthy example of what the French call *vulgarisation* of statement in agreeably intelligible terms of matters thoroughly familiar only to masters of detail. While it makes no pretensions, however, to the exhaustive authority found only in books of formal reference, it conveys a remarkable amount of information in a manner so sympathetic as in itself to be instructive.

For one cannot read these pleasant pages without catching the spirit of them—the spirit of men who have been happily familiar with their peculiarly French subjects throughout their mature lives. The seriousness of French scholarship, as well as its amenity, is implied throughout. So is the instinctive aptitude for formal organization which has long made the academic life of France so normal, so vigorous, so productive, so stimulating.

Historically, the while, this book has an interest perhaps not quite apprehended by its writers. It sets forth with animated precision the manner in which the elder academies were established in the "great century" of Louis XIV.; and how the Revolution suppressed them, one and all. It tells how the Institute was established to replace them by the Convention, in 1795. It describes how, with certain modifications, the old academies revived as sections of the Institute, how they thus persisted throughout the Empire, and how at last, under the Restoration, their traditional names were restored to them. Yet it loyally insists on the persistent vigor of that Revolutionary foundation, the Institute, which firmly and happily unites and embraces them all. Thus, beyond almost any other book on which one could instantly lay hand, it implies at once the love of system and the love of tradition combined in the characteristic temper of France. It implies, too, both the strength and the futility of Revolutionary polity. This could prune, and could innovate, with splendidly humane enthusiasm; it could not eradicate. The Institute is now itself a tradition, not supplanting, but strengthening, the elder traditions with which its career has become intertwined. It is only through some wider recognition, such as this signally happy one, that all the French past has its glories, that the France of the future can rise to its full power and dignity.

BARRETT WENDELL.

Anecdotes Historiques par le Baron Honoré Duveyrier. Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par Maurice Tournoux. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1907, pp. xxvii, 358.) The Société d'Histoire Contemporaine deserves but little praise for the publication of this volume, which undoubtedly has less to commend it to serious attention than any other for which the society has stood sponsor.

While, no doubt, a competent lawyer who filled with credit several offices for which his legal training may be presumed to have fitted him, Duveyrier never held any office of real importance and was never a participant in important historical events. With two or three exceptions he had no especial opportunities for witnessing important events or securing evidence concerning them. As a commissioner to investigate the mutiny at Nancy, as a special emissary to Condé, and as a member of the Tribunal throughout its existence, Duveyrier had his best opportunities to witness affairs concerning which the historical student and the memoir-reader would gladly hear more, but of these, save a brief interview with Bonaparte, not a word does the worthy octogenarian record. Duveyrier fell in the limbo between the emigrating or guillotined aristocrats and the Revolutionary reformers and terrorists; but, if credence is to be given to his *Anecdotes* written under Louis Philippe, and printed in 1837 in one hundred copies, he might be considered an Orleanist. A clear, competent, well-informed explanation of the career of Égalité would be invaluable, but the attempt to defend him against

the accusations of complicity in the events of October 5 and 6 has little merit except as the rambling recollections of events forty years in the past, written by an old man who had received a retainer from the duke himself and who was anxious to win the favor of the duke's son for his own sons.

From page 167 it appears that Duveyrier's personal papers were destroyed during the Terror, and from page 2 that he was without his later papers when writing. On page 2 and elsewhere he prides himself upon the clearness and correctness of his memory. In spite of this the suspicions of the reader are aroused and investigation reveals discrepancies of a curious and even serious sort. The result is that the whole narrative is so subject to suspicion that an historian can give it no weight except as confirmatory evidence.

The two longest articles are the one already mentioned on the Duke of Orleans, and another on the "Biens Nationaux Romains", in connection with which he was employed by the Directory. The best reading is in the briefer anecdotes of Dumouriez and Fouché. The introduction by M. Tourneux is good as far as it goes, but it should have included a full biographical account of the self-complacent and garrulous old baron.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Correspondance du Duc d'Enghien (1801-1804) et Documents sur son Enlèvement et sa Mort. Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par le Comte Boulay de la Meurthe. Tome II. *Découverte du Complot: La Sentence de Vincennes.* (Paris, Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. 469.) The Société d'Histoire Contemporaine and Count Boulay de la Meurthe deserve hearty praise for the successful completion, after the lapse of four years, of the work of collecting and publishing all the documents which can throw light upon the fate of the Duke of Enghien. The first volume, published in 1904 (reviewed in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, X. 423), contained the correspondence of the Condés and Bourbons relating to the duke and to plots, such as that of Cadoudal, against the First Consul. These documents showed clearly the nature of the schemes, the responsibility of the Count of Artois as their patron or promoter, and not only the innocence of Enghien, but even his outspoken disapproval of political assassination.

The present volume contains more than 150 documents relating directly to the fatal event of March, 1804, from which month most of them date. Instead of following the exact chronological order, the editor has wisely arranged the documents, according to their character, in four chapters. The first is perhaps the most interesting portion of the two volumes, for successive documents reveal, almost day by day, the work of the secret police of the Consulate, and show how, bit by bit, it ferreted out the royalist, military, and republican plots, and the conspiracy of Cadoudal, and ultimately brought the Duke of Enghien under its surveillance. The workings of Bonaparte's mind are exposed and the selection

of his victim becomes explicable. The second chapter follows the events of the arrest, and the third, of the trial and execution. They add little new information, but for the first time place all the documents before the reader. The final chapter gives the aftermath of the tragedy, including the diplomatic correspondence, especially the reports of the various ambassadors at Paris to their respective sovereigns.

The collection and arrangement of the documents has been done with the greatest diligence and discretion. The citations for the documents, whether from manuscript or from printed sources, is frequently inadequate for the guidance of the student. The annotation is generally complete and satisfactory. A thorough index would have doubled the usefulness of the work. It was perhaps excusable to let the excellent introduction of the first volume stand for both, but a comprehensive narrative summary of the immediate circumstances of the tragedy, written with the editor's complete mastery of the materials, would be a welcome addition to this volume.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk. Achtste Deel. Door P. J. Blok. (Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1908, pp. 334.) The professor of the Fatherland's history at the University of Leyden has placed the readers of his previous seven volumes under obligations of thankfulness for this final work of rapid review of events and movements from about 1835 until the opening of the twentieth century. This extra issue is in bulk about half the size of each of the others and is in the nature of an *Anhngsel*, though a valuable summary of Dutch affairs, almost to date. Indeed one wonders at the courage of the former preceptor in the royal household in even mentioning certain themes, which millions of Hollanders look upon not as dead facts, but as still burning questions. We are bound to say that Dr. Blok, being a disciplined historiographer, has passed the ordeal of the hot plowshares safely. It would be difficult to find out from the text, when he is picturing affairs in the cockpit of partizan politics, or sketching Kuyper and Schaepman and the "Liberaal" leaders, to what stripe or color of party the historian himself belongs; and this, in a land where, in spite of so much modern legislation, sectarian religion and active politics are so interblended.

The volume opens in the middle of book XIII. and completes book XIV. The historian depicts widely the last days of the unpopular King William's reign and passes in rapid review the initial years of William II., the wise and conciliatory king. One cannot but note a parallel with the succession of Frederick Henry to Maurice, in the days of the Republic. William III., an able and brilliant ruler, long outlived his usefulness, saving his own reputation and conferring a vast benefit on the Fatherland when he took for his second wife the German princess Emma of Waldeck-Pyrmont. However, the outstanding figure on

Blok's final pages is not royal but popular, one of the people's own brothers, Thorbecke. His statesmanship completed the work of Hogen-dorp, who had made a kingdom in name fulfil the hopes of the federalism that for two centuries passed for a republic; but Thorbecke prepared the Netherlands to resist the disintegrating effects of the revolutionary wave of 1848; and this he did by both strengthening popular freedom and safeguarding the throne, later guiding the nation with consummate statesmanship for a quarter of a century. Modern economics and the affairs of the East Indian colonies are set forth with some fullness, but the relations of the Netherlands to the Franco-Prussian and South African wars are merely glanced at. Exceedingly valuable, in its terse, graphic array—often making an elect word do the work of many sentences—is Blok's survey of literature, art, customs, fashions and economics, which makes this an outline "history of our own times" in Nederland. Index, notes on sources, references to authorities and map are up to the preceding high standard. In a word, this volume is less valuable as a history than as an accurate and illuminating handbook of references. It will answer many questions.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

Frederic William Maitland: Two Lectures and a Bibliography. By A. L. Smith, Balliol College, Oxford. (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. 71.) These lectures, by an Oxford don of the highest reputation as a teacher of history, are thoughtful discussions of Professor Maitland's historical method, of his conception of history, and of the quality of his work. In the first lecture the clue to Maitland's greatness is found in his spiritual conception of history, which may be regarded as a religious conception, although he called himself a dissenter from all the churches, and in his broad and profound human sympathy, with which his imagination, insight and humor are closely allied. In the second lecture, Maitland is considered as a "converted lawyer", come back to the historical fold, whose legal training gave him an interest in the history of ideas and a practical, as opposed to a purely academic, point of view. "We now study history in order that yesterday may not paralyse to-day and to-day may not paralyse to-morrow." Indeed, as Mr. Smith points out, in Maitland's most important work, that relating to the ideas of corporateness and community, the historian's vision became, as may be believed, prophetic of the future organization of society.

In so brief a study of so great a man, much that should be said has not been touched upon. This the author of these excellent lectures would be the first to admit; and it is to be hoped that he, or another, will devote a book many times the size of this to so worthy a theme. To such a work, a necessary preliminary has been performed in the long bibliography of writings by and upon Maitland, and of reviews of his works, which is included in this volume.

Die Entwicklung der altchinesischen Ornamentik, von Werner von Hoerschelmann. [Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte herausgegeben von Karl Lamprecht, IV.] (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1907, pp. 48; with 32 tables.) From real objects and from the numerous illustrations contained in a few standard Chinese books, the author finds that the geometric patterns and the ornamental designs of animals which are common in metal works of the Shang dynasty (1766-1122 B. C.) become freer and more varied in those of the Chow dynasty (1122-221 B. C.); and that under the Han (202 B. C.-220 A. D.), especially after Wu Ti's expeditions and the introduction of Buddhism, animals and plants, and even man, are represented in far richer variety and with marvelously greater freedom and truth to nature. Here the influence of Indian, western Asiatic and Hellenistic designs is considered unmistakable. Chinese art has received a new impetus, and is passing from the stage of mere ornamentation to that of free art, namely painting.

K. ASAKAWA.

The Bibliographer's Manual of American History, containing an Account of all State, Territory, Town and County Histories relating to the United States of North America, with Verbatim Copies of their Titles and useful Bibliographical Notes, together with the Prices at which they have been sold for the last forty years. Compiled by Thomas Lindsley Bradford, M.D. Edited and revised by Stan. V. Henkels. Volume II., F to L, nos. 1601-3103. (Philadelphia, Stan. V. Henkels and Company, 1907, pp. 349.) In books of reference of this sort, form and matter are usually so thoroughly fixed in the first volume that we are not to expect serious improvement in the second. Dr. Bradford's book shows from F to L the same faults which it showed from A to E. It is far from complete within the scope which the preface defines; and this could not fail to be the case when for the first twelve letters of the alphabet not 3000 titles are given. Of these titles there are in foreign languages almost none that do not contain misprints. In one title the reviewer noticed eight. The authorities for the annotations are almost always the statements of sale catalogues, all of which are taken as equally true, though in many cases they are inadequate and misleading. A few specimens may be given of the sorts of errors which recur. At number 1611 we have *Falcknern* for Falckner because the former (dative) appears on the title page; at number 1612 we have *Falndrau* instead of Flandrau, involving a great displacement; at number 2036a the "Gentleman of Elvas" is strangely declared to have been De Soto himself. At number 2212 we have J. A. Urlsperger, *De Praestantia Coloniae Georgico-Anglicanae* (1747), improperly entered under "Heckingio, Gottfrido" [*sic*], because the name of the latter worthy as presiding over the academic exercises occurs in capitals and in the ablative upon the title page, while Urlsperger's is less conspicuous. Yet the book of course contains, as was explained in our notice of the first volume, a great deal of useful matter.

Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625. Edited by Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL.D., President of the College of William and Mary. [Original Narratives of Early American History. Volume V.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xv, 478.) This volume edited by Dr. Tyler deals with the London Company period of the Virginia settlement. The purpose of Dr. Jameson and of Dr. Tyler has been to include the most important original narratives of that period. Much has been selected from John Smith, in fact, in a volume containing 460 pages, 294 pages have been taken from Smith's *True Relation*, from the *Description of Virginia and Proceedings of the Colony*, and from his *General History* (the fourth book). The remaining 166 pages of the volume contain the *Observations of George Percy, 1607*; the *Relation of Lord Delaware, 1611*; a *Letter of Don Diego de Molina, 1613*, to the King of Spain urging the destruction of the colony and describing conditions in Virginia, and a *Letter of Father Pierre Biard, 1614*, to the head of the Society of Jesus at Rome relative to the English settlement in America; letters of John Rolfe, 1614, and John Pory, 1619; *Proceedings of the Virginia Assembly, 1619*; *Virginia's Answer to Captain Butler, 1623*; the *Relation of the Virginia Assembly, 1624*, and *Discourse of the Old Company, 1625*; of which narratives nearly all are contained in Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, Brown's *Genesis*, or other books easily accessible.

In reviewing this volume, it is necessary to consider the purpose of the editors, namely, to include the most important and interesting narratives. It is undoubtedly a fact that the most interesting narratives have been selected. Had the editors used the word "documents" instead of "narratives", we should, of course, have needed to add much or to make a different selection; and indeed the many-sided history of the colony of Virginia under the company has not been, and probably cannot be, adequately treated in a volume of selections.

Accepting *Narratives of Early Virginia* as it stands, too high praise cannot be given to the splendid editorial work which has been done. The general reader who likes John Smith's vivacious narratives has often longed for an annotated edition. Dr. Tyler has annotated every selection, whether from Smith or others, in such a scholarly way that the book will not only prove helpful to general readers, but also to investigators in the field of Virginia history. Take some instances of his annotating of Smith's *Description of Virginia*. Smith speaks of the "two rivers of Quiyoughcohanoche", which, from the notes, we find to be "Upper and Lower Chippokes Creeks in Prince George and Surry counties". "Youghtamund" is our Pamunky and "Mattapanient" is our Mattaponi. Hundreds of such other annotations could be given to illustrate the carefulness with which Dr. Tyler has located the Indian geographical names and Smith's geographical explorations. The volume will, therefore, be gratefully received by students and lovers of Virginia history.

Our Colonial Curriculum, 1607-1776. By Colyer Meriwether, Ph.D. (Washington, Capital Publishing Company, 1907, pp. 301.) Of the various important phases of our social history, which it is agreed ought to be more extensively cultivated, least attention has been given to educational history, although it is generally admitted that our national development has been profoundly influenced by our system of education.

The volume noted above is a study of one phase of this subject during the colonial period. The author states that his purpose is to indicate what the different subjects in the curriculum then implied in the entire course from infancy to graduation in college. The book has eight chapters headed as follows: Elementary Course, the General College Course, Ancient Languages, Theology and Philosophy, Geography History and Modern Language, Mathematics, Science, Disputation. The title is misleading. The author covers a wide field and gives excessive space to a consideration of the curriculum of schools and universities in England and other European countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The portion of the book bearing strictly on the curriculum in the colonies is thus not as large as it should be. Moreover it is devoted rather to a discussion of the contents of text-books than to a clear account of the development of the colonial curriculum with illustrations of programmes of specific schools. The greater portion of the book has to do with collegiate subjects with the emphasis on conditions at Harvard. The curriculum at Princeton, King's College (Columbia), the University of Pennsylvania, and other colleges founded before the Revolution is not discussed.

The book is disappointing to the specialist in several particulars. It does not conform to the technical requirements of scholarship. The lack of references for certain important statements, the neglect to mention specific dates, and the habit of making broad generalizations on insufficient data impair the author's conclusions. The chief fault consists in assuming that a condition true in one section or colony or of one institution, at a particular date, is also true for all the colonies for the whole period. A case in point is the statement on page 35 that only a small portion of the people learned to sign their names, an assertion that needs more proof than is given. On page 68 the extraordinary statement is made that "It is well known that the elementary schools provided for generally by law in New England were mainly to teach Latin." Reference to the laws will show that only certain towns were to maintain grammar schools, and that the *elementary* schools in the smaller towns were to teach only reading and writing.

The author is at his best in describing conditions at Harvard and his analysis of text-books is good, though less complete than George E. Littlefield's *Early Schools and School-Books of New England*. The author does not refer to this book nor to Dr. Louis F. Snow's *The College Curriculum in the United States*, the early chapters of which contain the best recent discussion of the field in question. There is a

bibliography appended but no index. In spite of its incompleteness the book represents much study and should be in the library of all persons interested in this field.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois by "Un Habitant des Kaskaskias". Reprinted in facsimile from the original edition published at Philadelphia in 1772, with an introduction by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. (Providence, Rhode Island, 1908, pp. 53.) By 1772 the French people at Kaskaskia, educated by contact with pushing Americans and by the misgovernment of Colonel Reid and Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins, had arrived at the point of claiming political rights, and sent their agents to General Gage with a memorial asking that civil government be established in the Illinois country. While negotiations respecting the matter were being carried on there was printed at Philadelphia, in 1772, a pamphlet entitled *Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois*. It urges the Illinois French to clamor for their rights and to adopt and maintain a stronger view of their importance as a colony. It is signed "Un Habitant des Kaskaskias". But one copy is known and this is preserved in the library of the Philadelphia Library Company. From this the tract has been reprinted, in one hundred copies, by the Club for Colonial Reprints, with an interesting and suitable introduction by Messrs. Alvord and Carter.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Volumes X., XI., XII., 1778. (Washington Government Printing Office, 1908, pp. 1338.) In matters of form and arrangement these volumes resemble their predecessors. The chief events with which they deal are the sending of the committee of conference to Washington at Valley Forge; the partial execution of the convention with Burgoyne; the election of Greene as quartermaster-general and of Steuben as inspector-general; certain emissions and depreciations of paper money; the discussions between Washington and Congress as to long enlistments; the alliance with France and the reception of Gerard; the dealings with the three British commissioners; the ratification of the Articles of Confederation by eleven states; and the arrival of the French fleet. The index to the three volumes seems excellent.

The Seven Ages of Washington: a Biography. By Owen Wister. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907, pp. xv, 263.) It would hardly be generous to take Mr. Wister at his word and criticize his book as a biography, which it assuredly is not. He has attempted, and he admits it in the preface, to give seven portraits of Washington, showing him as he appeared in his ancestry, his boyhood, his young manhood,

his married life, his command of the army, his presidency of the republic, and in the estimation of posterity. This portraiture, he thinks, is needed because we have received from previous biographers "a frozen image of George Washington held up for Americans to admire, rigid with congealed virtue, ungenial, unreal, to whom from our school-days up we have been paying a sincere and respectful regard, but a regard without interest, sympathy, heart—or indeed, belief".

This quotation is characteristic of the book's worst faults, which are crude historical knowledge and statements which are not consistent with themselves. It is crude historically because the ordinary biography of Washington does not present a "frozen image" of the man; nor is the true Washington that jovial and genial gentleman whom the author wants us to believe will appear in his book. It is inconsistent because it is impossible for one to have a "sincere and respectful" regard for a thing in which he has no "interest, sympathy, heart—or indeed, belief". The author has not a correct view of the historical setting of his portrait. He does not understand, for example, Jefferson's relation to the conditions which confronted him, relations which involved the whole political and much of the social situation in his day. So out of touch is the presentation with the history of the time that the informed reader will find it unreliable and the uninformed reader will get from it an erroneous view of a man whose best service was, not that he could swear on occasion and was careful with his wine, but that he had a sane and common-sense view of a difficult political and military situation.

Nor is Mr. Wister entirely acceptable from the standpoint of style. Although there is a rapid and attractive flow of words, there are many such crude expressions as that Congress "had none save Washington to look to for the safety of its skin" (p. 194), that mutiny was Gates's last chance and "he played it to the limit" (*ibid.*), and that "the infant Republic struggled tooth and nail" (p. 214). Strong adjectives are abundant and they are usually made to serve the purpose of adulation. Foot-notes are omitted, although in a book which claims to give a new view of Washington, they might well be abundant; there is no index; and the bibliography of twelve titles is so unimportant that it might have been omitted, even from the standpoint of the general reader.

The older school of hero-makers stressed Washington's personal virtues, a later school—whose influence has not yet died—stressed his dignity of appearance; Mr. Wister stresses his strong feelings. From the first we had a model for the young, from the second an ideal colonial gentleman, and from the third we have a man of human passions; all are idealized beyond reality. It would be good if some qualified student would write a life of Washington large enough to tell about his services with all necessary completeness, and scientific enough to recognize his limitations.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

The Poems of Philip Freneau, Poet of the American Revolution. Volume III. Edited for the Princeton Historical Society by Fred Lewis Pattee of the Pennsylvania State College. (Princeton, The University Library, 1907, pp. xiv, 430.) The historian of literature has fixed Freneau's position among the poets. "He was", says Professor Trent, "the only genuine poet of consequence produced in America before the nineteenth century, . . . the first writer of American verse of whom it may be truly said that he had an affluence of talents and some traces of genius." But as an exponent of the feeling of his age his poems will ever have an interest for the historian of political and social conditions. Here we find such common feelings of the people of the day as contempt for Great Britain, disdain for even the suggestion of aristocracy and monarchy, devotion to democratic equality, sensitive love of liberty, national optimism, and welcome for fugitives from the unequal conditions of European society. The expression has sometimes the coarseness of the fanatic, and the verse is frequently mere doggerel, but the satire is keen and true to the class and community which were represented by the author. A few of his poems show a love of nature and a facility in elevated sentiment, but it is safe to say that he was most valued by the people of his day, as of ours, for this quality of popular interpreter.

The third and last volume of Freneau's poems covers the period from 1790, when he became an editor, until 1815, the date of the last contemporary edition of his poems. They include two periods of political interest; one while he edited Jefferson's party organ and the other while the second war with England was being fought. The poems of the first period are full of political subjects. Two deal with much spirit with the Jay treaty from the Republican standpoint (pp. 132, 133), seven are on our relations with France (pp. 84, 88, 89, 92, 99, 102, 106), and there are many others on incidents equally related to public affairs. Freneau's experience at sea makes him turn to maritime subjects and in this respect he is at his best in the War of 1812. He wrote about the navy in his Republican days, but not in a tone of admiration and patriotism. He has left three jeering poems of 1797 on the frigate *Constitution*, written when she was an offense to most Republicans because she was expected to fight republican France. But when fifteen years later the *Constitution* defeated the *Guerrière* he wrote most enthusiastically of the event. The majority of his later poems are connected with patriotic events, and although they have lost their partizan bias, they have not on that account lost their biting quality. With Freneau hatred of his country's enemies was quite as strong a stimulus as hatred of the Federalists.

Volume III., like its predecessors in the series, contains adequate notes explanatory of the text. It has also an index which applies to the poems as well as to the descriptions of poems and a bibliography of the poetry of Freneau.

Life and Times of Stephen Higginson. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907, pp. viii, 306.) In this life of his grandfather Colonel Higginson reminds us how full of charm and free from reproach pietistic biography may sometimes be. The character of the subject in this case contributes to the happy result. Stephen Higginson led an active and honorable life, judged public questions with great sagacity and discussed them with rare vigor of expression, shunned office and made no claim to greatness, but held an advisory place of marked influence among great men and great events. Furthermore, his strong opinions were redeemed by personal charity and a sense of humor—as his biographer delightfully shows in the introductory anecdote. Such a career stands best on a candid statement of its merits.

The reader is doubtless aware of the calendar and collection of Stephen Higginson's letters published, with a brief sketch of his life, by Dr. Jameson in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1896. Colonel Higginson made important contribution to this preliminary work, and on the sources there given or mentioned the present biography is chiefly based. The first chapters present Higginson's social and business environment and what little is known of his life during the Revolutionary period and of his personal share in the early politics of the "Essex Junto". From about 1782 the materials are more abundant, and one feels that the author might have worked out a clearer account of Higginson's policy in the Colonial (why this name?) Congress. On the other hand, nothing could be more effective than the characterization on page forty-two beginning: "The habit of the quarter-deck, in fact, went all through the Federalist party of Massachusetts."

Subsequent chapters show the remarkable effectiveness of Higginson's arguments for a stronger union of the states. His clear grasp of the many reasons, commercial, political and social, for this great reform constitutes his best claim upon the notice of posterity. He is duly awarded credit for the first suggestion of ratification by nine states in convention. Just praise is also given to his share in the suppression of the Shays Rebellion.

An account of "Laco" and his letters, in which judgment is left to some future biographer of Hancock, is followed by several further chapters on commercial and political affairs. These are full of interest, but the relations of Higginson to the history of the Federalist party could have been more closely traced. Also some rearrangement of material and the further development of certain questions might be suggested. The account of Higginson's invaluable work as navy agent and the glimpses of his later life are most entertaining. In the course of the book the author finds many opportunities for his genial felicity of observation, but limitations of space forbid quotation here.

JOSEPH PARKER WARREN.

The Journal of the Debates in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, May-September, 1787, as recorded by James Madison. In two volumes. Edited by Gaillard Hunt. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908, pp. xvii, 392; vi, 461.) This is a re-issue, evidently from the same type, of Madison's debates as printed in volumes three and four of Hunt's *Writings of James Madison*. By the use of a somewhat longer printed page and by the compression of the printed matter the text of this reissue is reduced to 168 pages less than that contained in the *Writings of Madison*. In one case at least a reference in a note has not been changed to conform with the altered pagination. Several slight corrections have been made in the introduction and in the text, but a number of errors have been left uncorrected.

It is unfortunate that the editor did not see fit to rewrite his introduction. The statement (vol. I., p. xi) that the "notes of Yates, King, and Pierce are the only unofficial record of the convention extant, besides Madison's" was misleading in 1902 when made in the introduction to the third volume of the *Writings of Madison*. Much additional material has been found and printed since 1902. The bibliographical information contained in Mr. Hunt's introduction is now superseded by that given in Professor Farrand's article on *The Records of the Federal Convention*, published in the number of this journal for October, 1907.

Mr. Hunt has supplied a somewhat urgent need by the separate issue of his edition of Madison's debates. Gilpin's edition was not printed from Madison's original manuscript. The fifth volume of Elliot and Scott's reprint are both based on Gilpin's text. The text in the *Documentary History of the Constitution* was printed from the original manuscript, but its indication of erasures and interlineations almost unfits it for use by the ordinary student or reader. The debates have been edited in a careful and scholarly manner. It may be proper, however, to express regret that the word "Journal" should have been used as part of the title of an edition of Madison's debates; such a use is not only inaccurate but leads to confusion, in as much as the notes to the debates contain frequent references to the printed journal of the convention of 1787.

W. F. DODD.

The Writings of James Madison. Volume VII., 1803-1807. Edited by Gaillard Hunt. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908, pp. x, 469.) While we have nothing but praise for the manner in which Mr. Hunt has annotated his texts, and have no doubt that, given his principles of selection, he has made a judicious choice, we feel disposed to complain of the principles of selection themselves. In this volume of 469 pages, only thirty-six consist of matter heretofore unprinted. A little more than half of the pages reproduce what is already in the folio *American State Papers*. More than two-thirds of the remainder are occupied by Madison's *Examination into the British Doctrine con-*

cerning *Neutral Trade*, printed in 1806 and reprinted in *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, edited by Rives. Some of the rest is also in Rives. Twelve instructions written by Madison as Secretary of State, and one of his letters, are all that is new. The volume, in fact, is almost entirely made up of Madison's instructions. They are documents of great interest and importance to the student of history, and we admit the difficulty of making a choice when, voluminous writer though Madison was, one cannot expect that a collection of his writings shall be allowed to extend beyond a moderate number of volumes. But on the other hand there are, to mention no other parts of Madison's correspondence, among the Jefferson Papers nearly ninety of his letters to Jefferson written during these five years, not one of which Rives printed, and not one of which Mr. Hunt prints. They ought to be valuable to the historian. From extracts quoted by Mr. Henry Adams we should judge that they are so. They are quite fresh material, while sets of the *American State Papers* are in every considerable library.

The Union Cause in Kentucky, 1860-1865. By Captain Thomas Speed. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907, pp. xxiii, 355.) Mr. Speed's book is by no means a connected history of Kentucky during the Civil War. He belongs to a family honorably famed for friendship with Abraham Lincoln, which served faithfully and sacrificed much in behalf of the cause of the Union. Mr. Speed thinks that no proper treatment of the course of events in Kentucky has been made by those who have undertaken to write her Civil War history, and issues his own book simply to correct their mistakes. He mentions three histories, two of which, those of Collins and Smith, are Southern in tone; the third is by a Unionist, a writer no less distinguished than Professor Nathaniel S. Shaler of Harvard University. Naturally the Southern histories do not satisfy Mr. Speed; but Shaler's Unionist presentment satisfies him scarcely more. The Harvard professor goes much too far, he thinks, in declaring that after all the best brain and brawn of Kentucky went with the South; that only the "thinner soils" furnished men for the North, an inferior and impoverished stock; that the best leadership, both in politics and the field, took sides with the Confederacy.

Mr. Speed's material, though not well arranged, is abundant. His accuracy is vouched for by Justice John M. Harlan of the United States Supreme Court, who introduces the book with a letter of commendation. The Union cause could not have prevailed but for the loyal efforts of the border-states, among which Kentucky through position and character was perhaps most important. What precisely her Union men did it behooves us to know. Such an effort as this to set straight the record, an effort made by a witness on the ground and well-accredited, is surely entitled to consideration.

J. K. HOSMER.

Richard Hooker Wilmer, Second Bishop of Alabama. A Biography, by Walter C. Whitaker, Rector of St. John's Church, Knoxville, Tennessee. (Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs and Company, 1907, pp. 323.) This life of Bishop Wilmer of the diocese of Alabama is an excellent example of what a good personal biography should be. The story of the career here recorded runs smoothly from Alexandria, Virginia, where the eminent churchman passed his boyhood days, to the region of the upper James River in Virginia, to Richmond at the opening of the Civil War and finally ends with the long Episcopal residence in the suburbs of Mobile, Alabama.

The man's personality, his practical common-sense religion, his democratic ways and his rugged honesty stand out on every page. An ardent churchman, filled with a zeal which in many of his fellow-clergy amounted to extravagance and exclusiveness, he yet participated before the close of his life in a meeting which looked to the union of all Protestant churches. A strong secessionist in Richmond urging the members of the convention to hasten out of the Union and an unbending opponent to General Thomas, the military governor of Alabama at the close of the war, he nevertheless yielded with grace to the situation after 1865 and accepted advice and gifts from the North for the furtherance of his Alabama work.

Bishop Wilmer was in a position to see and hear much that would be interesting during the Civil War, yet his biographer does not reproduce a great deal that is of historical importance. He sharply criticized President Davis for retaining Bragg at the head of the Army of Tennessee after the latter had lost the respect of his subordinate officers; but he nevertheless steadfastly supported the president in the bitter months after the fall of Atlanta.

Though the book does not consciously enter, as indeed there was no occasion to do, into any account of the larger events that paralleled the ardent churchman's career, it does unconsciously shed grateful rays of light on Virginia life just before the war—especially the unique aristocracy that dwelt along the banks of the upper James where there was not a male communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church in a region more than a hundred and fifty miles long!

The sound sense of this eminent Southern leader comes out in his advice to farmers to keep their fences in order, plow their fields and reduce all useless expense if they would prosper, and in his criticism of those who look with scorn upon manual labor. Had there been more sturdy, rugged Wilmers, many of the ills incident to thriftlessness and squalid poverty in various sections of the South might have been escaped. This life of the Alabama clergyman well repays a careful perusal both from the viewpoint of church history and from that of a lively human interest.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The History of North America. Edited by Francis Newton Thorpe, Ph.D. Volume XVI. *The Reconstruction Period.* By Peter Joseph Hamilton. (Philadelphia, George Barrie and Sons, 1905, pp. xxi, 571.) This is the sixteenth volume in George Barrie and Son's *History of North America* and it brings the work down to the close of the Reconstruction period and the restoration of white supremacy in the South. Francis Newton Thorpe, the present editor of the series, contributes an introduction in which he discusses in a general way the larger meaning of reconstruction—a meaning, which, he says cannot be fully known in America for many years, perhaps for centuries. Mr. Thorpe sees in the reconstruction of the South a great “organic and humane” movement full of good to the white race as well as to the negro since both were elevated to a “higher plane”. It was, he says, “part of the general and ever slowly developing definition of the rights of men” and the Southern white man who criticizes the Reconstructionists ought not to overlook the “awful responsibility” for the black race that was lifted from his shoulders by the grant of full civil and political privileges to the negro.

The author is a Southern man though of Northern ancestry, a fact, which in the opinion of the editor, is an essential qualification for the task here undertaken, for, he says, “it is practically impossible for one whose experience has been wholly in the North to know the meaning of reconstruction.”

Mr. Hamilton makes no pretense to having contributed anything new to the subject with which he deals but on the contrary admits that he has relied mainly on the various monographs that have appeared in recent years. His work shows that he has drawn largely from these sources although none of them are mentioned except in his prefatory note. Nowhere in the body of his book is there a single foot-note or citation of authority, neither of which, he says, was permitted by the plan of his work. His treatment of the reconstruction process in its various forms is so distinctly judicial that the story in many places verges on colorlessness. Nevertheless he characterizes the whole reconstruction movement as a “Tenth Crusade, an attempt to force upon the old Southern States . . . new ideals whose realization involved a complete change in state, family, church and industry” (p. 19). Again he says, “The methods pursued produced deplorable results for they were based upon theories and took no account of the silent, unconquerable resistance of race instinct and public opinion” (p. 526). In his treatment of such subjects as the “black codes”, the freedmen’s bureau, and the Ku Klux organization the author exhibits more conservatism than most Southern writers, though, regarding the Ku Klux movement, he expresses the opinion that there was no other course open to the South since some “control of the situation” was a necessity (p. 449).

The book contains fifty-six illustrations, mostly portraits, many of which are either inappropriate or out of place in the text. We note

some unimportant errors of fact: the veto of the Reconstruction Act was not the first to be overridden (p. 174) but the twentieth; *Hooper* on page 265 should be Hooker and *General* should be Colonel; Beauvoir (p. 84) is not in Louisiana but in Mississippi.

J. W. GARNER.

Chile: Its History and Development, Natural Features, Products, Commerce and Present Conditions. By G. F. Scott Elliot, M.A., F.R.G.S. With an Introduction by Martin Hume. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xxviii, 363.) Two attractive hand-books for the west coast of South America have recently appeared. That on Peru, noticed in the April number of the REVIEW, makes less of an appeal to the historian than does this volume on Chile, which devotes three-quarters of its space to history. Its author, Mr. Elliot, who has spent "a few months" in Chile, admits that there is "a certain audacity in a stranger venturing to criticize the Society of a country" where he has been so short a time (p. 273). But he is vouched for as "thoroughly qualified" by no less a person than Major Martin Hume in an entertaining, if rather superfluous, introduction.

There is a decided lack of proportion in the historical allotments. The well-known Araucanian wars are treated very fully, while the nineteenth century is slighted. The war with Peru and the Balmacedan revolution are accorded very weak treatment. Not only are such features as the behavior of the Chilean troops in Lima omitted entirely but there is no comprehensive grasp of Chile's foreign relations, and there is no mention of the "Baltimore" incident and our strained relations with Chile in 1891-1892.

At the end of the book is a "Bibliography". It includes Dundonald's *Autobiography* which has never a word about Chile, and omits altogether his important *Services in Chile, Peru and Brazil*. Separate entries are made for the tales of all the buccaneers whose voyages to the coast of Chile are found in the collections of Pinkerton and Burney but there is not the slightest reference to such indispensable aids as J. T. Medina's numerous works or even the entertaining and very valuable narratives of Lady Graham or Captain Basil Hall, which one would not suppose a loyal "Britisher" could have overlooked.

One gathers from the foot-notes that the author's main reliance has been Hancock. There has been little attempt to go back to the original sources. Indeed, the great collections of documents do not appear to have come within Mr. Elliot's horizon. It scarcely needs to be added that his work can hardly be regarded as a serious addition to our knowledge of Chilean history. Anyone who is acquainted with so much of her history as is given in Hancock's *Chile* and Akers's *South America* will find little that is new and miss much that is worthy of remark. Nevertheless, the last hundred pages, descriptive of present-day conditions, are well worth perusal. The index is inadequate but the map is excellent and the illustrations sometimes illustrate the text.

The book should really be judged simply as an entertaining handbook. From this standpoint the work has been well although rather hastily done. The result is an attractive *vademecum*, pleasing to the eye, light in the hand, and convenient in several ways both to the general reader and the traveller.

HIRAM BINGHAM.

TEXT-BOOKS

The Teaching of History, by Dr. Oskar Jäger. Translated by H. J. Chaytor, M.A. With an Introduction by C. H. Firth, M.A. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell; London, Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1908, pp. ix, 228.) This book has been translated from the German for the use of English teachers of history in elementary and secondary schools. Though it describes the conditions of historical teaching in German schools there are many hints of value for American teachers. It is not a book which enumerates special arts or methods of instruction except as they are given incidentally to the main purpose. This purpose is to tell how history is taught in Prussia, its aims, the reasons for the choice of particular historical periods, the order in which they should be studied, and the relation of history to other studies in the curriculum. The author says, "There is a general impression that our pupils learn history only during the so-called history hours; yet nothing is more obvious than the fact that historical information and impressions may be derived by our pupils from many other sources; consequently there can be no fruitful discussion of historical instruction until we have secured a clear view of these tributary streams of influence, if we may use the term, and their effect upon the main stream of historical teaching." This is the key-note of the book. Great emphasis is laid on the correlation of history with other subjects such as Latin, German literature, geography and religious instruction. An appendix contains illustrations of the "lecture" or story told the pupils by the teacher; *e. g.*, one on Events after Canossa treats of the difficult subject of the conflict between Henry IV. and Gregory VII. The book is a welcome addition to the literature of the subject.

M. W. J.

Manual of American History, Diplomacy, and Government. By Albert Bushnell Hart, Professor of American History at Harvard University. (Cambridge, Published by Harvard University, 1908, pp. xvi, 554.) For a number of years, teachers of history have received material assistance in their work through the outlines and suggestions prepared by Professor Hart. This volume still farther renders us his debtors, for it not only contains a careful selection of the best material from the earlier volumes but embodies also significant topics and essential bibliographies adequate to bring the narrative down to the present. The three courses outlined in the edition of 1903 have been increased to six.

Course A provides for a general narrative course which traces American political and constitutional development, in ninety lectures, from the organization of government under the Constitution through the problems of President Roosevelt's administration. Emphasis is likewise given to economic and social questions, and to the development of the West. Topics of the latest date are also included, such as: State Authority over Local and Municipal Governments; Federal Control over Corporations; and Dependencies. Course B constitutes a brief narrative course to be covered in thirty lectures, from the end of the Revolution to the effects of the Second Hague Conference. American diplomatic history is similarly provided for in course C, with ninety lectures, and course D, with thirty lectures. Courses E and F are outlines for advanced courses on American government. Extensive directions are included for class-room papers, library reports and examinations. This volume will be welcomed by the alert teacher even though he may not have access to the wealth of material suggested. The mechanical arrangement is excellent. It is to be regretted that an index has not been provided, as in the former editions.

J. A. JAMES.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

From July 1 to September 25 the address of the Managing Editor will be 244 Goldwin Smith Hall, Ithaca, New York; after that, as usual, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

Eduard Zeller, for sixty years the foremost authority on the history of Greek philosophy, died on March 19 at the advanced age of ninety-four. As a student at Berlin he was influenced by Hegelian conceptions, which he helped to introduce into theological studies through the medium of the *Theologische Jahrbücher*, of which he was one of the founders in 1842. In 1847 he became professor of theology at Bern, and two years later was appointed to the same chair at Marburg. In 1844-1852 appeared the first edition of his celebrated work, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. Among his other works are *Die Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche* (1847); *Das theologische System Zwinglis* (1853); and *Staat und Kirche* (1873).

Gaston Boissier, perpetual secretary of the French Academy, and author of several brilliant works on the history, religion and literature of ancient Rome, died in June, aged eighty-four. His books, *Cicéron et ses Amis*, *La Religion Romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins*, and *La Fin du Paganisme*, passed through numerous editions. Later works deal with Catiline and Tacitus.

Theodor Ritter von Sickel, the eminent palaeographer and historian, died in April, aged eighty-one. He studied at the École des Chartes, and in 1857 was appointed professor at the University of Vienna. In 1867 he became director of the Institute for Austrian History, and in 1901, director of the Austrian Institute of Historical Studies at Rome. He edited a large number of texts relating to the medieval history of Germany, and documents from Austrian archives relative to the council of Trent.

Arthur-Michel de Boislisle, member of the Institute and of the Committee on Historical Works, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Society of the History of France and president of the Society of the History of Paris, died recently at the age of seventy-two. The long list of his works includes several volumes of texts and studies relating to the financial history of the Ancient Régime and his *chef-d'œuvre*, the edition of the *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, begun in 1879, and unfinished in twenty volumes.

Nicolas-Émile Gebhart, member of the French Academy, professor in the Faculty of Letters at Paris, and author of several brilliantly-

written historical works on medieval Italy, as well as of artistic and literary studies in various fields, died on April 24, aged sixty-eight. His writings include *Origines de la Renaissance en Italie* (1879), which was crowned by the Academy; *L'Italie Mystique: Histoire de la Renaissance Religieuse au Moyen Âge* (1890); and *Moines et Papes* (1896).

Mr. A. Howard Clark, who has been Secretary of the American Historical Association since 1900, and had been its assistant secretary for eleven years previous, has been constrained, by the pressure of his duties at the Smithsonian Institution, to ask relief from the public-spirited labors which he has so long sustained on behalf of the Association, and has offered his resignation. Pending action in respect to the matter, correspondence regarding the business of his office may be sent to J. F. Jameson, whose address is given in the first item above.

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart takes advantage of a sabbatical year to engage in a tour around the world, beginning in June. During his absence Professor William MacDonald of Brown University will conduct the courses at Harvard usually given by Professor Hart. Dr. A. C. Coolidge has been promoted to a professorship of history in Harvard University; Professor R. M. Johnston of Bryn Mawr has been appointed, and Dr. R. B. Merriman promoted, to an assistant professorship. The removal to Cambridge of Andover Theological Seminary adds courses by Professor Platner to the list of courses in church history available to Harvard students.

Professor Herman V. Ames of the University of Pennsylvania has been advanced from assistant professor of American history to a professorship of American constitutional history.

Dr. Lawrence M. Larson has become assistant professor of history in the University of Illinois.

Dr. U. B. Phillips, assistant professor of history in the University of Wisconsin, has accepted the chair of history in Tulane University.

Mr. W. L. Westerman, hitherto of the University of Minnesota, has been made assistant professor of history in the University of Wisconsin. Mr. W. J. Chase has also been made assistant professor there. Mr. Richard F. Scholz has been called from Madison to the chair of ancient history in the University of California, as successor of Professor William S. Ferguson. Mr. James Edward Tuthill, also of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor in the newly-organized State University of Kentucky, Lexington.

Professor Walter L. Fleming has resigned the position of secretary of the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies which is to take place at Richmond in connection with the next meeting of the American Historical Association. Professor St. George L. Sioussat has consented to serve in his place.

After this year Dr. James Schouler will not lecture at the Johns Hopkins University, but in retiring has founded a lectureship in his-

tory and political science. The courses are to be given annually, by lecturers of promise or prominence in those fields.

Dr. G. W. Prothero of the *Quarterly Review*, who was prevented from coming to America this spring, will give a course at Harvard during the second half of the coming year on the growth of the British Empire. Dr. C. Raymond Beazley of Oxford will lecture next autumn at the Lowell Institute and at several American Universities.

Professor Hume Brown has been appointed historiographer royal for Scotland to succeed the late David Masson.

Arrangements for the next annual meeting of the American Historical Association have been completed in their main outlines. On Monday evening, December 28, the members of this Association and of the American Political Science Association will in joint session listen to the inaugural address of Mr. James Bryce, as president of the latter body. On Tuesday morning there will be a separate session in Washington; in the afternoon a special train to Richmond; in the evening the presidential address of Professor George B. Adams. On Wednesday there will be two conferences, on the Relations of Geography to History and on the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools; also papers in European History. On Thursday, beside the usual conference of those interested in the work of state and local historical societies, there will be "round-table" conferences on research in English history, in American colonial and Revolutionary history and in Southern history. In the evening General E. P. Alexander, C. S. A., and other officers and authorities in Civil War history, will discuss certain aspects of the campaigns in Virginia. On Friday, January 1, the formal exercises being concluded, there will be an excursion to Charlottesville and the University of Virginia. Between sessions there will also be opportunities to visit the battlefields of Petersburg, Seven Pines and Yellow Tavern.

At the time of issue of this journal the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1906, reviewed elsewhere, is just issuing from the Government Printing Office. It will be remembered that volume II. of the *Annual Report* for 1905, containing Mr. Griffin's bibliography of the American historical societies, can be obtained only from the Superintendent of Documents, the price (\$1.00) being sent to that official with the order. The two volumes for 1906 are distributed in the ordinary manner to all members of the Association in good standing. The *Annual Report* for 1907 is nearly ready for the press and composition upon it will be begun as soon as possible after the opening of the new fiscal year. Its second volume will comprise the first half of the Diplomatic Archives of the Republic of Texas, edited by Professor George P. Garrison.

The Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government, appointed by the President to serve under the authority of the Committee on Department Methods ("Keep Com-

mission") and consisting of Messrs. C. F. Adams, C. M. Andrews, W. A. Dunning, W. C. Ford, A. B. Hart, J. F. Jameson, A. T. Mahan, A. C. McLaughlin and F. J. Turner, met in Washington on March 28 and organized, with Mr. Ford as chairman and Mr. Jameson as secretary. Preliminaries were considered and the subsequent work was allotted in subdivisions to the respective members. Formal reports by them were considered at the second meeting, held on June 1 and 2. The committee cannot expect to finish its labors for some months. It is believed that they will result in plans of publication through which the government's historical product may be given a broader scope, higher standards and greater utility to historians.

At the Madison meeting of the American Historical Association the conference on the work of historical societies appointed a committee of seven, under the chairmanship of Dr. Dunbar Rowland, to consider the possibilities of co-operation among historical societies, especially among those of the Mississippi valley. A meeting was held in Washington on April 16 which resulted in several tentative steps of progress. The committee resolved to recommend that historical societies, in so far as is possible, refrain from further transcription of documents in foreign archives until carefully prepared general lists can be made by joint effort.

We are able to recommend without hesitation, to those who need to have copying or research effected for them in the archives or libraries of Paris, the establishment entitled "*Le Document*", of which Monsieur L. Jacob, *archiviste paléographe*, is the director. His address is 17, rue de Sévigné. The establishment is under the patronage of the Société de l'École des Chartes and the members of its staff are graduates of that school, whose diploma, as is well known, is a guaranty of competence in such work as M. Jacob offers to perform. A photographer and a draftsman are attached to the office, so that reproductions of manuscripts, miniatures and maps may be obtained from it as well as copies and data of research.

An International Historical Congress on the Peninsular War and its Epoch (1807-1815) will be held at Saragossa from October 14 to 20, inclusive, as part of the centenary celebration of the siege of that city. The following sections are being arranged for: political history of the Peninsula (1807-1815); military history; interior history; relations between Peninsular history and that of other countries; the siege of Saragossa; bibliography, memoirs, biography, correspondence, unedited materials. Dr. Eduardo Ibarra Rodríguez, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters in the University, is president of the committee of organization, whose secretary is Miguel Allué Salvador, 7, Plaza de Aragón, Zaragoza.

Professor J. H. Robinson has contributed to the series of lectures on science, philosophy and art, delivered at Columbia University during the academic year 1907-1908 by professors chosen to represent the

several departments of instruction, an excellent discourse on the aims and scope of *History* (Columbia University Press, 1908, pp. 29) from Herodotus to the present time.

Professor Robert De Courcy Ward of Harvard University is publishing in the *Progressive Science* series (Putnams) a work on *Climate, considered in Relation to Man*.

An Alphabetical Index and Index Encyclopedia to Periodical Articles on Religion 1890-1899, compiled and edited by E. C. Richardson with the co-operation of C. S. Thayer, W. C. Hawkes, P. Martin and various members of the faculty of Hartford Theological Seminary (New York, Scribners, 1908), is based on an examination of some 1500 reviews. More than 60,000 articles, treating of 15,000 subjects, are classified.

The Librairie Picard has begun a new series, the "Library of Religious History", with a volume on the *Histoire du Dogme de la Papauté, des Origines à la Fin du Quatrième Siècle* (pp. 492), by the Abbé J. Turmel. Among the volumes in preparation are: *La Religion de l'Égypte Ancienne*, by J. Capart; *Les Cultes Indigènes de l'Europe Occidentale sous l'Empire Romain*, by J. Toutain; *La Réforme Catholique en France et le Concile de Trente*, by the Abbé Humbert; *Le Totémisme*, by Abbé Bros; and *La Magie*, by Abbé Habert.

An *Encyclopadia of Islam*, a dictionary of the geography, ethnography and biography of the Mohammedan peoples, prepared by a number of leading Orientalists under the supervision of Professor M. Th. Houtsma of the University of Utrecht, and Dr. M. Seligsohn, is being published under the patronage of the International Association of Scientific Academies. The work, which will be issued in English, French and German editions, will be complete in three large volumes of fifteen parts each. The first part (London, Luzac, 1908, pp. 64) has already appeared.

Jacques Rosenthal, the bookseller of Munich, has published under the title *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* a catalogue of educational works covering 590 pages and describing 8,241 numbers. It is particularly rich in the bibliography of educational publications of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and includes lists of incunabula and manuscripts. The appendix includes several manuscripts dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The paper on *The Place of Geography in the Teaching of History*, read by Professor George L. Burr before the New England History Teachers' Association at the twenty-second annual meeting, October 19, together with the discussion of the paper, has been published by the association through Ginn and Company.

In the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* of May-June M. Louis Hourticq notices publications, mainly of the last three years, concerning the history of art.

Among the forthcoming volumes in *Everyman's Library* (Dutton) are *Chronicles of the Crusades* by Joinville and Villehardouin, newly translated by Sir Frank Marziàls, *Marco Polo*, Hakluyt's *Voyages* and

Hoare's translation of Giraldus Cambrensis's *Itinerary through Wales*.

Materials important for the study of the cartography of Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, for the geographical history of Germany, Holland and Russia, and for the history of the exploration of North America and the Polar lands are collected in *Anecdota Cartographica Septentrionalia* (Copenhagen, Høst, 32 pages of text and 11 plates) edited by Axel Anthon Björnbo and Carl S. Petersen with an English translation by Sophia Bertelsen, and printed at the expense of the Royal Danish Society of Sciences. The work contains reproductions, descriptions, and tables of names of the following maps, none of which have been easily accessible hitherto: an anonymous Catalan sea-chart of the fourteenth century, from the National Library, Museo Borbonico, Naples; two maps by Henricus Martellus Germanus, one of the North, c. 1490, from the University Library, Leyden; the other, of Scandinavia, c. 1490, from the British Museum; section of an anonymous chart of the Atlantic Ocean, c. 1504, from the Royal Bavarian Army Library, Munich; map of Denmark and adjacent countries, c. 1550-1565, by Cornelis Anthoniszoon, from the former University Library, Helmstedt; Marcus Jorden's map of Schleswig and Holstein, 1559, from the University Library, Leyden; anonymous map of the Inner Baltic, 1550-1600, from the University Library, Leyden; anonymous map of North Fjord, 1594, Imperial Library, Vienna; anonymous sketch for a map of the southern part of the west coast of Norway, 1586-1600, Imperial Library, Vienna; map of the northernmost parts of Europe, 1601, by Simon van Salinghen, Royal Archives, Stockholm; and a map of Iceland, Greenland, and the northeastern part of America, 1626, by Joris Carolus, from the Royal Archives at the Hague, with the place-names given by the Dutch explorers, as far south as New York.

Under the title *Rossija i Italija*, the Russian professor, E. Shmurlo, has issued through the press of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, the first fascicle of the first volume of a collection of historical materials and studies concerning the relations of Russia with Italy, the results of researches in the Roman archives entrusted to him by the Russian government.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Monod, *La Méthode en Histoire: L'Analyse; La Méthode en Histoire: La Synthèse* (Revue Bleue, April 11, 18); James Bryce, *The Influence of National Character and Historical Environment on the Development of the Common Law* (The Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation, December); Eduard Spranger, *Wilhelm v. Humboldts Rede "Über die Aufgabe des Geschichtschreibers" und die Schellingsche Philosophie* (Historische Zeitschrift, C. 3).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Professor J. H. Breasted of the University of Chicago has published in Scribner's "Historical Series for Bible Students" *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, based upon his larger *History of Egypt*, which appeared two years ago.

In M. H. Pognon's important volume, *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la Région de Mossoul* (Paris, Lecoivre, 1908, pp. 228, with 42 plates outside the text), the author has added nearly one hundred new texts to the small number of examples of Syrian epigraphy, besides republishing several others previously issued in an imperfect manner. Thirty-seven texts are prior to the Arabian occupation and of these a dozen date from the first or second century, A. D. Twenty date from the eighth to the tenth century, fifty from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, and five from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Beside the Syrian inscriptions there are nine others, one Babylonian, one Assyrian, four Hebraic and three Armenian.

Rev. Dr. George Adam Smith, professor at the United Free Church College, Glasgow, and the well-known author of the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, has published through Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton a work entitled *Jerusalem: the Topography, Economics, and History from the Earliest Times to 70 A. D.*

Another study of the Holy City, which begins at the year 70 A. D., has been written by Dr. Selah Merrill, for sixteen years consul at Jerusalem. His book, *Ancient Jerusalem* (Revell, 1908, pp. 419), embodies the results of thirty-five years' research in the locality and contains over 100 charts, maps and photographs.

Recent volumes in the *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, edited by Professors E. Drerup, H. Grimme, and J. P. Kirsch (Paderborn, F. Schöningh), are Professor Henri Francotte's *La Polis Grecque*, researches on the formation and the organization of cities, leagues and confederations in ancient Greece (pp. viii, 252); and Dr. Hans Weber's *Attisches Prozessrecht in den attischen Seebundstaaten* (pp. 66).

To the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for May-June, M. Ch. Lécivain contributes a long first installment of a review of the numerous publications, other than French, relative to Latin antiquities, issued from 1902 to 1907, inclusive.

Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire, A. D. 69-70 (Macmillan), by Mr. Bernard W. Henderson, sub-rector and tutor of Exeter College, Oxford, is designed as a companion to the "Histories" of Tacitus, and deals largely with the strategical and geographical aspects of the campaigns.

A considerable mass of materials for a much-needed general account of the Roman legions is becoming available in the fairly numerous monographs devoted to the history of individual legions. An important addition to this class of studies is made by Dr. Hubert van de Weerd

in his *Étude Historique sur Trois Légions Romaines du Bas-Danube* (*V^e Macedonica, XI^e Claudia, I^e Italica*) suivi d'un *Aperçu Général sur l'Armée Romaine de la Province de Mésie Inférieure sous le Haut-Empire* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1907, pp. 410), fascicle sixteen of the collection published by members of the conferences of history and of philology of the University of Louvain.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri and Recent Discoveries* (Quarterly Review, April); Paul Allard, *Sidoine Apollinaire sous les Règnes d'Avitus et de Majorien* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Father F. Savio has published in the collection, "Fede e Scienza", a critical study, *La Questione di Papa Liberio* (Rome, 1907, pp. 218). The author prints the documentary material on which his important conclusions are based.

The Rev. J. F. Bethune-Baker, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, has published through the Cambridge University Press a study of the Nestorian controversy, entitled *Nestorius and his Teaching*, a fresh examination of the evidence made with special reference to the newly recovered apology of Nestorius (The Bazaar of Heraclides), the Syriac version of an account of the controversy written in Greek by Nestorius himself. The author concludes that "Nestorius was not Nestorian."

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Mr. Frederic Austin Ogg, assistant in history in Harvard University, has compiled *A Source Book of Medieval History* (American Book Company, 1908, pp. 504), designed to meet the requirements of secondary schools, and the freshman year of college work. The documents are translated and are edited with introductions and with fuller notes than are usually found in works of this class.

Under the title *The Inquisition* (Longmans, 1908, pp. xiv, 284), B. L. Conway has translated a critical and historical study of the coercive power of the church by the Abbé Vacandard. The earlier chapters of the work review the suppression of heresy from the period of the primitive church; the latter are devoted to the theory and practice of the Inquisition and to a defense and criticism.

The Lives of S. Francis of Assisi, by Brother Thomas of Celano, now first translated into English by A. G. Ferrers Howell of Trinity College, Cambridge, has been recently issued by Methuen (pp. 260). The translation is based on Fr. E. d'Alençon's new edition of the original, published in Rome in 1906.

M. Achille Luchaire, of the Institute, concludes his series of studies on the political work of Innocent III. in a fifth volume, *Innocent III. Les Royautés Vassales du Saint-Siège* (Paris, Hachette).

Dr. P. M. Baumgarten has published a study relative to the *bull-*

tores, taxatores, domorum cursores of the pontifical chancery in his work *Aus Kanzlei und Kammer. Erörterungen zur Kurialen Hof- und Verwaltungsgeschichte im XIII., XIV. and XV. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, pp. xviii, 412).

Fritz Pradel has contributed to the series of *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* an erudite volume on *Griechische und Süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* (Giesen, A. Töpelmann, 1907, pp. viii, 151), containing the texts of religious medicinal receipts and of exorcisms from a Marcanus of the sixteenth century and from a Barberini manuscript of 1497, together with an historical commentary in which the author seeks to distinguish the Christian, gnostic and pagan elements.

The second volume of *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, entitled *The End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press), includes chapters on the Westminster Press, by E. Gordon Duff, and on Universities and Public Schools to the Time of Colet, by the Rev. Dr. T. A. Walker.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Gougaud, *L'Œuvre des Scotti dans l'Europe Continentale (fin VI^e-fin XI^e Siècles)*, concl. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April); A. Luchaire, *Innocent III. et le Quatrième Concile de Latran*, concl. (*Revue Historique*, May-June); W. S. Holdsworth, *The Legal Profession in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, II. (*Law Quarterly Review*, April).

MODERN HISTORY

The fifth volume of Professor J. von Pflugk-Harttung's *Weltgeschichte. Die Entwicklung der Menschheit in Staat und Gesellschaft, in Kultur und Geistesleben*, is a *Geschichte der Neuzeit. Das politische Zeitalter 1650-1815* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1908, pp. xix, 643, 629, with numerous tables and appendixes). Volumes I.-III. have not yet appeared.

The Macmillan Company has issued a second revised edition of Dr. Emil Reich's *Foundations of Modern Europe* (1908, pp. 250). While no serious changes appear to have been introduced, the phraseology has been improved.

Albert Malet, professor of history at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand, has issued through the house of Hachette, Paris, a good, comprehensive compendium, *L'Histoire Contemporaine, 1789-1900* (pp. 708), with numerous illustrations, maps and plans.

The first number (March 15, 1908) of the monthly *Revue de Hongrie*, organ of the French Literary Society of Budapest, contains an article on *La Révolution Française et la Hongrie, 1790*, by Professor H. Marczali, of the University of Budapest.

Mr. Frederic Harrison has collected into a volume entitled *National and Social Problems* (Macmillan, 1908, pp. 450) seventeen essays, published at intervals during the last fifty years. Those of especial interest to historical students deal with various problems and aspects of im-

perialism, with France after the Franco-German war, and with the making of Italy. Each is prefaced by a brief statement of the circumstances under which it was written, and a general introduction to the volume explains the author's point of view.

An account of British and Russian policy in Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia and Tibet is given by Dr. Rouire in *La Rivalité Anglo-Russe au XIX^e Siècle en Asie* (Paris, A. Colin). The author also discusses the gains and losses to both states from the Anglo-Russian Convention. Most of the book has appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Professor Giuseppe Cugnoni has published the *Piano di Riforma uniliato a Pio VII. dal Cardinale G. A. Sala* (Tolentino, Filelfo, 1907, pp. 507), which has been rediscovered in the Vatican archives and is now first printed in full.

Dr. Gottlob Egelhaaf, rector of the Karlgymnasium, Stuttgart, has published a *Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit vom Frankfurter Frieden bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, Krabbe, 1908, pp. viii, 452), which contains a condensed account of the chief events from 1871 to February of the present year. A very full index increases the value of the book as a work of reference.

Neutral Rights and Obligations in the Anglo-Boer War, by Robert Granville Campbell, is the latest issue of the Johns Hopkins University Studies (pp. vii, 149).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Lallemand, *Les Maladies Épidémiques en Europe du XVI^e au XIX^e Siècle*, I. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); L. Cardauns, *Paul III., Karl V. und Franz I. in den Jahren 1535 und 1536* (*Quellen und Forschungen*, XI. 1); N. Japikse, *Louis XIV. et la Guerre Anglo-Hollandaise, 1665-1667* (*Revue Historique*, May-June); G. Pagès, *À propos de la Guerre Anglo-Hollandaise de 1665-1667* (*Revue Historique*, May-June); R. Durand, *Louis XIV. et Jacques II. à la Veille de la Révolution de 1689. Les trois Missions de Bonrepaus en Angleterre, 1686-1688*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, March); Gustave de Roszkowski, *La Paix de Portsmouth* (*Revue de Droit International*, X. 2, 1908).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

A fourth revised edition of Professor D. J. Medley's admirable handbook, *A Student's Manual of English Constitutional History*, has been issued through the house of Simpkin (1908, pp. xxviii, 650).

Under the title *Táin Bó Cuálnge*, M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, of the Institute, has issued through the house of Champion, Paris (1907, pp. 84), the first fascicle of his translation of the Cuchulainn Saga, the oldest epic of Western Europe. A German translation with the text was published by E. Windisch in 1905.

The Macmillan Company is issuing the sixth and concluding volume of Sir Walter Besant's *Survey of London*, which deals with the city in Roman, Saxon and Norman times.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published a volume on *Scandinavian Britain* by W. G. Collingwood, with an introductory chapter by F. York Powell.

Agricultural Writers, from Sir Walter of Henley to Arthur Young, 1200-1800 (London, H. Cox, 1908, pp. 228) by Dr. D. McDonald, fellow of the Linnean Society, gives an account of the various writers, with a great number of facsimile pages, title-pages and extracts from their works. The book is based upon articles which appeared in the *Field*, 1903-1907.

G. G. Coulton, author of *From St. Francis to Dante*, and other studies in medieval history, is publishing through Methuen a book on *Chaucer and his England*, which deals not only with the poet but with the whole society of his day.

A. M. Burke's *Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England and Wales* (The Sackville Press, 1908, pp. 163) contains an historical and general account of the registers and an index to those in England and Wales of earlier date than 1813, giving date and earliest entry, with notes showing which have been printed, etc.

Despite its title, *The Romance of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham*, by Philip Gibbs (Methuen), is a serious historical monograph.

Longmans announce a volume on *Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York, and his Times*, by Miss Alice Shield, with a preface by Mr. Andrew Lang, who collaborated with the same writer in the study of *The King over the Water*, noted in our last issue.

Colonel Hugh Pearse has written a *Memoir of the Life and Military Services of Viscount Lake*, Baron Lake of Delhi and Laswaree, 1744-1808 (Blackwood, pp. 431), who served in America, commanded a brigade against the French in Holland, and was commander-in-chief in Ireland and in India.

In the *Memoirs of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman* (London, Smith Elder, 1980) Sir William Lee-Warner records the career of one who played an important part at the siege of Delhi, continued in the field till the close of the Mutiny, helped to reorganize the Indian army, and later became governor of Jamaica and Queensland.

Professor C. Sanford Terry of the University of Aberdeen has compiled an index to the papers relating to Scotland described or calendared in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*. The work, which is being published by Messrs. Maclehose, will be uniform in size with the reports, and will contain, besides the index, short descriptive notes of the Scottish papers in the series.

The fifth volume of *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun* (Edinburgh, Blackwood), excellently edited by F. J. Amours, deals with Scottish history from 1165 to 1335.

The first volume of the scholarly history of *The Archbishops of St. Andrews* (Edinburgh, Blackwood), by Professor John Herkless and Mr.

R. K. Hannay, makes clear the state of the primatial see in the century before the Reformation.

British government publications: L. O. Pike, *Year-Books of the Reign of King Edward III., Year XX., Part I.; Calendar of the Close Rolls, Edward III., 1354-1360; Register of the Privy Council (Scotland), VIII., 1544-1660; House of Lords Manuscripts, 1699-1702.*

Other documentary publications: F. W. Maitland and G. J. Turner, *Year-Books of Edward II., vol. IV., 3 and 4 Edward II.* [Selden Society Publications]; C. H. Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads* (1908, pp. cxxiii, 387) [Publications of the Navy Records Society, XXXIII.]; J. H. Pollen, *Unpublished Documents relating to the English Martyrs, I., 1584-1603* [Catholic Record Society]; W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1622-1623*, a calendar of documents in the India Office and British Museum (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. xl, 389); D. Littlejohn, *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire, III., 1642-1660* [New Spalding Club].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. M. Powicke, *The Chancery during the Minority of Henry III.* (English Historical Review, April); Stella Kramer, *The Amalgamation of the English Mercantile Crafts, II.* (English Historical Review, April); J. B. Williams, *The Newsbooks and Letters of News of the Restoration* (English Historical Review, April); William Pitt, *Earl of Chatham* (Edinburgh Review, April); Theodora Keith, *Economic Condition of Scotland under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate* (Scottish Historical Review, April); Edmund Curtis, *The English and Ostmen in Ireland* (English Historical Review, April).

FRANCE

Louis Dimier's two volumes on *Les Préjugés Ennemis de l'Histoire de France* (Librairie Nationale, 1908) relate to the effect of the counter-revolution on national feeling toward the historic past, and attack the democratic prejudice against the kingly office; the economic prejudice against the work of military power; and the feudal prejudice against administrative order. The various revolutionary religious sects and modern criticism of such matters as taxation, *lettres de cachet*, English liberties, etc., are considered. An earlier work by the same author is *Les Maîtres de la Contre-Révolution au Dix-Neuvième Siècle*, treating of Maistre, Taine, Renan, Fustel de Coulanges, Le Play, and others.

A work which promises to be of great value is M. J. Déchelette's *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique, Celtique, et Gallo-Romaine*, of which the first volume, *Archéologie Préhistorique* (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. 743), indicates the large advances recently made in our knowledge of the inhabitants of Gaul during the Stone Age. Bibliographical references and illustrations are abundant.

A translation of Anatole France's *Joan of Arc* will be issued by Mr. John Lane.

Several historical workers are engaged in collecting and publishing

the documents pertaining to the administration of papal finances in various dioceses and provinces of France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A collection of this character has been made by Abbé Vaucelle, and issued by Picard under the title *Les Annales du Diocèse de Tours de 1421 à 1521* (pp. 107).

A monograph on *L'Université de Caen à la Fin du XVI^e Siècle* (Caen, Delesques, 1908, pp. 88) by M. Henri Prentout, professor at the University of Caen, is an instructive discussion of the influence of the counter-reformation and of parliamentary reforms upon the university between 1564 and 1608. Among the topics treated are the relation of the university to the local and central authorities, the men who shaped its policy, pedagogical ideas of the period, and the budget of the university.

Chaligny, ses Seigneurs et son Comté (Nancy, Crepin-Leblond, 1907, pp. 582), a careful monograph by P. Fournier, includes a thorough study of the economic history of the place, which throws light on conditions in Lorraine, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

M. Gabriel de Mun's study of *Richelieu et la Maison de Savoie* (Paris, Plon) throws new light on a chapter of diplomatic history.

Die Memoiren des Marquis d'Argenson, by Dr. Karl Durand, forms the sixth *Heft* in Professors von Below, Finke and Meinecke's *Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1908, pp. vi, 100).

M. Paul Gaffarel has published a well-documented précis of *La Politique Coloniale en France de 1789 à 1830* (Paris, Alcan, 1908, pp. 496).

In Amédée Vialay's important work, *La Vente des Biens Nationaux pendant la Révolution Française* (Paris, Perrin, 1908), the author treats his subject from the legislative, economic and social points of view.

The Society for the History of the French Revolution has appointed MM. M. Tourneux, P. Robiquet and P. Caron a committee to study and report on the question of Louis XVII.-Naundorff.

The Comte Vandal's excellent work, *L'Avènement de Bonaparte* (Paris, Plon, two volumes), embraces the brief period from the military disasters of the Directory to the victory of Marengo.

M. Octave Festy's *Le Mouvement Ouvrier au Début de la Monarchie de Juillet (1830-1834)* (Paris, Cornély), is a recent addition to the Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne, published under the auspices of the Society of Modern History.

André Lebey's *Louis Napoléon Bonaparte et la Révolution de 1848* is from unpublished sources.

The twelfth and concluding volume of the *Histoire Socialiste* (Paris, Rouff), published under the direction of M. Jean Jaurès, consists of two parts: "La Troisième République (1871-1900)" by M. J. Labusquière and "La Conclusion. Le Bilan Social du XIX^e Siècle" by M.

Jaurès. An analytical index to the entire history will soon be issued.

Documentary publications: A. Chuquet, *Souvenirs du Baron de Frénilly, Pair de France (1768-1828)* (Paris, Plon, 1908, pp. xix, 564); *Mémoires et Correspondance de Louis Rossel, 1844-1871* (Paris, Stock, 1908 pp. 600). [Rossel was chief of staff to the Commune.]

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Nouaillac, *Le Règne de Henri IV. (1589-1610). Sources, Travaux et Questions à traiter*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, February); P. de Vaisière, *Grimm et la Révolution Française* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); F. Galabert, *Le Club de Montauban pendant la Constituante. Son Organisation, son Rôle dans l'Administration Locale*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, March); H. Carré, *L'Assemblée Constituante et la "Mise en Vacances" des Parlements, Novembre 1789-Janvier 1790*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, February); A. Chuquet, *Les Orateurs de la Constituante, d'après Camille Desmoulins* (Revue Bleue, May 2); *Recent Napoleonic Literature* (Quarterly Review, April).

ITALY, SPAIN

The Cardinal Secretary of State has sent to the bishops of Italy a circular letter establishing regulations for the preservation of the documents, monuments and sacred objects confided to the care of the clergy in the various dioceses. Each bishop is to appoint a "Commissariato permanente pei Documenti e Monumenti Custoditi dal Clero." Catalogues of the documents preserved in the ecclesiastical archives of the diocese, as well as of other valuables, are to be compiled.

The house of Loescher, Rome, has in press the first supplement to the first volume of E. Calvi's *Bibliografia Generale di Roma*. The supplement, like the first volume, covers the medieval period and it also has an appendix on the catacombs and on the churches of Rome.

In Professor Lamprecht's *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte: Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*, L. M. Hartmann has issued the first half of the third volume of his *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, entitled *Italien und die fränkische Herrschaft* (Gotha, Perthes, 1908, pp. ix, 309).

In Mr. J. Wood Brown's interesting book, *The Builders of Florence* (Dutton), the author traces the evolution of the city from its beginnings to the sixteenth century. A notable feature of the work is the historical explanation of architectural development.

Mr. H. C. Hollway-Calthrop's biography of *Petrarch: His Life and Times* (Putnams) is based upon the Italian sources, especially upon Fracassetti.

The third volume of the *Codex Diplomaticus Ord. E.S. Augustini Papiæ* (Rome, Loescher, 1907), edited by R. Maiocchi and N. Casacca, contains a large number of documents, not previously published, important for the history of Pavia and Lombardy from 1501 to 1566.

The first volume of this series, issued in 1905, began with documents of the year 1258. The work will be complete in six volumes.

G. Bonelli has rediscovered the papers of Monsignor Stella, bishop of Brescia in the sixteenth century and formerly Cardinal Pole's agent at Rome, which include letters and memoirs relative to the affairs of France and England from 1515 to 1570, letters to Cardinal Pole, correspondence of the agent Michele Facchetti (1559-1564) on Italian affairs, besides documents relating to the history of Brescia and to the bishop's family. A catalogue of some of these manuscripts has appeared in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, series 4, fascicle 16, December 31, 1907.

In C. Grimaldi's work on *Giorgio Pisani e il suo Tentativo di Riforma* (Venice, Callegui, 1907), the author has constructed from manuscript sources an account of a Venetian aristocrat of the latter part of the eighteenth century, of his political ideas, and of the society of malcontents whom he led.

Signor Alessandro Luzio has recast and completed his valuable contribution to the history of Italian unification, *I Martiri di Belfiore* (Milan, Cogliati), first published three years ago. The work includes many letters, journals and official documents.

F. Guardione's two-volume work, *La Rivoluzione di Messina contro la Spagna* (Palermo, Reber, 1907), contains 212 documents drawn from Spanish archives and from those of Palermo.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Schneider, *Toscanische Studien*, I. (Quellen und Forschungen, XI. 1); H. Otto, *Eine Briefsammlung vornehmlich zur Geschichte italienischer Kommunen in der zweiten Hälfte des Mittelalters* (Quellen und Forschungen, XI. 1); M. Antonelli, *La Dominazione Pontificia nel Patrimonio negli Ultimi Venti Anni del Periodo Avignonese*, con. (Archivio della R. Società Romana, XXX. 2-4); Moritz Brosch, *Albizi und Medici* (Historische Vierteljahrsschrift, March); Eduard Fueter, *Guicciardini als Historiker* (Historische Zeitschrift, C. 3); J. Rambaud, *L'Église de Naples sous la Domination Napoléonienne* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April); G. de Grandmaison, *Les Débuts de Joseph Bonaparte à Madrid* (January-April, 1809) (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); A. Luchaire, *Un Roi Anticlérical: Le Portugais Sanche I^{er}*, (Revue Bleue, March 7).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

The report of the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome for the year 1907-1908 is printed in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XI. 1. The Institute has in hand five large undertakings. In the first of these, the collection of *Nuntiaturberichte*, the tenth volume of the first series has been issued, as noted in our October number (p. 216); in the same series, the first division of the fifth volume, the nuntiature of Morone and the legations of Farnese and Cervini, is nearly printed but will not be issued until the completion of the second division. In the third

series, the fifth volume, the concluding year of the South German nuntiature of Portia, will be published during the present summer. The Prague *Nuntiaturberichte* of 1603-1606 are nearly ready for the press. The second undertaking, the *Repertorium Germanicum*, II., which is expected to go to press at the beginning of next year, contains materials relating to the anti-Pope Clement VII., edited by Dr. Göller. In pursuance of the third undertaking, the systematic examination of Italian archives and libraries, it is proposed to examine the Angevin registers in Naples, which contain rich material for the history of the Hohenstaufens in South Italy. Investigations of Tuscan archives are nearly concluded, and progress has been made in the series of *Regesta Chartarum Italiae*, a volume of which was published during the year. The fourth undertaking, the investigation of the monuments of Hohenstaufen art in South Italy, was furthered by the labors of Dr. Haseloff and others; and the fifth project, a study of the transmission and contents of old Christian literature before Eusebius, has been entrusted to Licentiate Freiherr von Soden. Of individual investigations, Dr. Göller's first volume on the history of the papal penitentiary is reviewed in the present number of this journal; and Dr. A. O. Meyer has in press the first division of his important work, *England und die katholische Kirche unter Elisabeth*.

The Hessian government has recently created an Historical Commission for the Grand Duchy of Hesse. Among its projects are the preparation of a *Codex Diplomaticus* of Mayence, an edition of the *Codex Laurensianus*, the publication of an atlas and an historical bibliography of Hesse, the continuation of the *Hessische Gelehrten-geschichte*, etc.

Dr. Bruno Krusch, state archivist, has contributed a *Geschichte des Staatsarchivs zu Breslau* (1908, pp. viii, 348) to the series of *Mitteilungen der K. Preussischen Archivverwaltung* (Leipzig, Hirzel).

Recent numbers in the *Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte*, edited by Professors von Below, Finke and Meinecke (Berlin, Rothschild, 1908), are: *Der Lehrerstand des 18. Jahrhunderts im vorderösterreichischen Breisgau. Ein Beitrag zur österreichischen und deutschen Volksschulgeschichte*, by Dr. Max Moser (pp. xx, 225); *Die Lage Tirols zu Ausgang des Mittelalters und die Ursachen des Bauernkrieges*, by Dr. H. Wopfner (pp. xvi, 232); and *Zur Entstehung der Verfassung bairisch-österreichischer Städte*, by J. Lahusen (pp. vii, 78).

Dr. Ernst Seraphim, who in collaboration with A. Seraphim wrote *Geschichte Liv-, Esth-, und Kurlands*, has published a *Baltische Geschichte im Grundriss* (Reval, F. Klunge, 1908, pp. vii, 418), covering the whole history of the German Baltic provinces, especially the struggle attending their Germanization.

The third *Ergänzungsheft* of the periodical *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, is *Die Reformation des Kaisers Sigmund*, edited by Dr. H.

Werner (Berlin, Duncker, 1908, pp. lviii, 113), and described as the first German *Reformschrift* written by a layman before Luther.

M. Albert Waddington, professor at Lyons, has published the second and concluding volume of *Le Grand Électeur Frédéric-Guillaume de Brandebourg* (Paris, Plon), devoted to the Great Elector's foreign policy from 1660 to 1688.

The Macmillan Company is to publish a series of brief biographies on modern Germany edited by Professors Sidney B. Fay and Guy S. Ford. The first volumes will be *The Great Elector* by S. B. Fay, *Frederick William I.* by R. C. H. Catterall, *Frederick the Great* by E. F. Henderson, *Freiherr vom Stein* by G. S. Ford, and *Emperor William II.* by Burt Estes Howard.

Three new volumes have recently been added to the *Acta Borussica*, a collection whose history, aims and progress are fully set forth by its principal director, Professor G. Schmoller, in his *Nachrichten über die Acta Borussica* (Berlin, Parey, 1908, pp. 15). It is twenty years since the Prussian Academy of Sciences, which had then completed the issue of the *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand* in thirty volumes, and had begun to publish the political correspondence of Frederick the Great and Prussian *Staatsschriften* of his time, determined upon a comprehensive collection relating to the internal administration of the Prussian State in the eighteenth century, entitled *Acta Borussica: Denkmäler der Preussischen Staatsverwaltung im 18. Jahrhundert*. The collection comprises two divisions, one dealing with state administration and bearing the general title, *Die Behördenorganisation und die Allgemeine Staatsverwaltung Preussens im 18. Jahrhundert*; and a second division, without general title, devoted to various phases of the economic history of the period. Each division includes both documentary and descriptive volumes. Up to the present year the following volumes had been issued: in the first division, volumes I.-IV. and VI.b.-VIII., containing documentary material of the years 1701-1723 and 1740-1750, and a descriptive volume, VI.a.; in the second division, two descriptive volumes on the grain-trade policy of Europe and Prussia, one on the Prussian system of minting and coinage, and three volumes, two documentary and one descriptive, on the Prussian silk industry. The three latest volumes belong to the first division, and are IV.a. and b., *Akten, 1723-1729*, edited by G. Schmoller and W. Stolze (Berlin, Parey, 1908, pp. vii, 884, 571), and IX., *Akten, 1750-1753*, edited by G. Schmoller and O. Hintze (1908, pp. 891).

Under the title *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (Munich, Oldenbourg, pp. 498), Friedrich Meinecke, editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, has published some studies on the genesis of the German national state.

Dr. Oscar Stillich has undertaken a work in five volumes on *Die Politischen Parteien in Deutschland* (Leipzig, Klinkhardt). The first volume aims at giving a scientific account of the principles and historical development of the Conservatives.

The *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève* (III. 2) includes in addition to abstracts of several of the papers read at the sessions of 1906-1907, an illustrated article à propos of certain tombs discovered at Cessy near Gex, believed to date from the period of the barbarian invasions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Dehio, *Deutsche Kunstgeschichte und deutsche Geschichte* (Historische Zeitschrift, C. 3); Andrew D. White, *The Statesmanship of Stein*, I. (Atlantic Monthly, May); E. Salzer, *Fürst Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst und die deutsche Frage* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, March).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The latest volume of reports of the meetings of the Division of Letters of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Amsterdam contains two historical articles. In the first Professor Blok discusses propositions made to Lord Castlereagh in 1813 by the Prince of Orange, later King William I., which formed the basis of the political arrangements made by the powers in the following years. In the second paper G. Heymans discusses history considered as a science.

The volume *Handelingen en Mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, 1906-1907 (Leyden, Brill, 1907, pp. iv, 156), contains a paper by Professor Pijper on Erasmus and the Reformation in the Netherlands, and an article by Professor P. J. Blok on the negotiations between William III. and England in 1672, in which some documents found in London have been for the first time utilized.

Professor E. Heyck has contributed to the richly illustrated series of *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte*, of which he is the editor, a volume on *Wilhelm von Oranien und die Entstehung der Freien Niederlande* (Leipzig, Velhagen and Klasing).

Professor William I. Hull of Swarthmore College, in the course of investigations into the history of the Society of Friends in the Netherlands, discovered in a vault at Devonshire House the minutes of the monthly meetings of Friesland throughout the period from 1677 to 1701, a portion of the missing records of the Dutch Friends, long sought by others.

Father van den Gheyn, conservator of manuscripts at the Royal Library of Belgium, has compiled an *Album Belge de Paléographie*, a collection of facsimiles of Belgian manuscripts and of the writings of Belgian authors, from the seventh to the sixteenth century. M. H. Pirenne, of the University of Ghent, has prepared an album of charters of the Belgian provinces, the first work of its kind.

Dr. L. Van der Essen's *Étude Critique et Littéraire sur les Vitae des Saints Mérovingiens de l'Ancienne Belgique* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1907, pp. 447), a Louvain treatise, is a work of the highest scholarship, and of excellent literary form. The hagiographic productions of each

of the ancient dioceses of Belgium are studied in succession for the purpose of examining in each life the development of the legendary element, and the literary processes employed by the hagiographers. The author has in preparation a supplementary volume on *La Formation et le Développement de l'Hagiographie Mérovingienne en Belgique*.

Documentary publications: G. Brom, *Regesten van Oorkonden betreffende het Sticht Utrecht (694-1301)* (Utrecht, A. Oosthoek); M. Schoengen, *Jacobus Trajecti, alias de Voeght, Narratio de Inchoatione Domus Clericorum in Zwollis, met Acten en Bescheiden betreffende dit Fraterhuis* (Amsterdam, J. Müller, 1908, pp. ccxiv, 682). [Important for the history of the religious movement of the Netherlands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.]

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The concluding volume (II., part II., of the second series) of the *Regesta Diplomatica Historiae Danicae* appeared in 1907. The character of this great work is indicated by its subtitle: *Index Chronologicus Diplomatum et Litterarum Historiam Danicam inde ab Antiquissimis Temporibus usque ad Annum 1660 illustrantium, quae in Libris hactenus editis vulgata sunt, cura Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Danicae*. It contains a résumé of the documents, with full bibliographical indications.

The second volume of the *Acta Pontificum Danica: Pavelige Aktstykker vedrørende Danmark, 1316-1536*, issued at the expense of the Carlsberg Foundation, and edited by A. Krarup and J. Lindbaek, is a calendar to the documents in the Vatican archives relating to Denmark and dating from 1378 to 1431. The most important texts are given *in extenso*.

The Academy of Letters of Cracow is publishing, through the house of Champion, Paris, a collection of facsimiles of charters and diplomas, reproduced in heliogravures, entitled *Monumenta Poloniae Paleographica*, edited by Stanislaus Krzyżanowsky. The work will consist of five or six parts, of which the first contains twenty-seven plates.

The diaries and letters of the last king of Poland, Stanislaus Poniatowsky, which remained for many years sealed in the archives of the Russian Foreign Office until the present Tsar sanctioned their use, have been published in the January number of *Vestnik Evropy*.

The second volume of the *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I.*, by T. Schiemann (Berlin, Reimer, 1908, pp. xiv, 521), extends from the death of Alexander I. to the Revolution of July.

Under the title *Memoirs of a Russian Governor*, Harpers have published a translation by Mr. H. Rosenthal of the memoirs of Prince Urussov, governor of Bessarabia in 1903-1904.

The Bulgarian Archaeological Society, founded in 1901, has just published its first report (Varna, Tabakov, 1907, pp. 63).

A new edition of Sir Charles Eliot's *Turkey in Europe*, with an ad-

ditional chapter on the events from 1869 to the present day, has been published by Longmans.

M. Charles Diehl, professor of Byzantine history at the University of Paris, has published, through Armand Colin, a second series of *Figures Byzantines*. The contents of the volume are: Byzance et l'Occident à l'Époque des Croisades; Anne Comnène; Irène Doukas; Les Aventures d'Andronic Comnène; Un Poète de Cour; Princesses d'Occident; À la Cour des Comnènes et des Paléologues; Deux Romans de Chevalerie Byzantins.

In the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, phil.-hist. Kl. (Munich, G. Franz, 1908), Professor Hans Prutz has a paper on *Die Anfänge der Hospitaliter auf Rhodos, 1310-1355* (pp. 57).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The annual bibliography entitled *Writings on American History, 1906*, the progress of whose preparation has been mentioned before in these pages, will probably appear soon after the issue of this number of the REVIEW. It has been prepared by Miss Grace G. Griffin and is published by the Macmillan Company. Its plan so closely resembles that of the volume for 1903, issued by Professor McLaughlin, that a formal review seems unnecessary. The volume for 1907 is in an advanced state of preparation and may be expected to appear about the end of 1908.

The main work upon which the Department of Economic Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has been engaged will, it is now understood, take the form of a series of twelve volumes bearing the general title *Contributions to American Economic History*. The titles of the individual volumes will be substantially the following: Volume I. Population and Immigration; II. Agriculture and Forestry, including Public Domain and Irrigation; III. Mining; IV. Manufactures; V. Transportation; VI. Domestic and Foreign Commerce; VII. Money and Banking; VIII. The Labor Movement; IX. Industrial Organization; X. Social Legislation; XI. Federal and State Finance; XII. The Negro in Slavery and Freedom. Royal octavo volumes of not more than five hundred pages are intended; some of those designated above may have to be brought out in two or more parts.

At the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Lake Minnetonka, Minnesota, on June 22 and 23, there were a number of valuable papers, discussions and conferences. We mention a few of the papers which possess a wider interest: "The Exploration of Vérendrye and his Sons", by Dr. Warren Upham; "The British Board of Trade and the American Colonies", by Professor O. M. Dickerson; "Slavery as a Factor in Missouri History", by Professor Jonas Viles. The most noteworthy discussion was upon the question of co-operation among the historical agencies and activities of the Mississippi Valley.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its sixteenth annual meeting in New York City on May 17. The annual address was delivered by President Cyrus Adler. Other addresses were as follows: "The Jews of New Jersey from the Earliest Times to 1850", by Albert M. Friedenberg; "Why this is not a Christian Country", by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald; "Additional Notes on the History of the Jews in Surinam", by Rev. P. A. Hilfman; "Some Additional Notes on the History of the Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times", "Some Jewish Associates of John Brown", by Leon Hühner; "Roderigo Lopez, Queen Elizabeth's Physician, and his Relations to America", and "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800", III., by Max J. Kohler.

The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America has permanently adopted the policy of historical publication, constituting the returns from Miss Kimball's *Correspondence of William Pitt* into a fund for the purpose, and adding to that fund a sum with which they plan to publish other works, perhaps the papers and correspondence of Richard Henry Lee. Mrs. Annie L. Sioussat remains chairman of the committee of the society charged with this branch of its activities.

In the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History* (Scribner) two volumes were published early in June, the seventh and eighth of the series, embracing the text of Governor John Winthrop's *Journal*, carefully edited by Dr. James K. Hosmer.

Three useful bibliographies have just been issued by the Library of Congress, compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. They are: *List of Works relating to Deep Waterways from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean* (pp. 59); *A List of Works relating to the First and Second Banks of the United States, with chronological list of reports, etc., contained in the American State Papers and in the Congressional documents* (pp. 47); and *Select List of Books, with references to periodicals, relating to Currency and Banking, with special regard to recent conditions* (pp. 93).

Mr. P. Lee Phillips of the Division of Maps and Charts in the Library of Congress proposes to issue a facsimile reproduction of John Filson's map of Kentucky, of which but six copies are known. This he will probably follow with reproductions of Augustine Herman's map of Virginia from the unique copy in the British Museum, of Bernard Romans's map of Florida from the unique copy in the Library of Congress, and of other rare maps. Of the Filson issue there will be two hundred copies for sale (Washington, Lowdermilk), small quarto books including about twenty pages of letter-press.

The volume of *Proceedings* of the American Political Science Association at its fourth annual meeting held at Madison, Wisconsin, December 27-31, 1907 (Baltimore, The Waverly Press, pp. 339), is devoted to a variety of topics: "Latin American Republics", "Colonial Government", "The Making and Revision of Law", "The Newer Institutional Forms of Democracy", "The Administration of Justice", "Public

Service Commissions". All of the papers deal primarily with existing conditions and important present-day problems, but some are of partly historical character, such as "Some Merits and Defects of the French Colonial System", by Professor W. B. Munro.

The *Proceedings and Papers*, volume I., part II. (1906-1907), of the Bibliographical Society of America has been issued by the society. The papers of chief interest to the historical student are these: "Bibliographical Activities of Historical Societies of the United States", by Dr. R. G. Thwaites; a list of "Bibliographies published by Historical Societies of the United States", prepared by Isaac S. Bradley of the Wisconsin State Historical Society; and "The Need of a Bibliography of American Colonial Newspapers", by Clarence S. Brigham of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The March number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* bears the general title "Lessons of the Financial Crisis", and comprises some eighteen papers treating various phases of the subject. The issue for May is devoted to "Control of Municipal Public Service Corporations". Somewhat apart from the main theme of the number is the paper by Dr. W. F. Dodd on "The Finances of the District of Columbia", a résumé of the financial history of the district since 1871.

Dr. F. C. Clark's paper entitled "The Maryland Episode", begun in the November issue of the *Magazine of History*, is continued in the issue for December. Of the contents of the January number of that periodical may be noted a paper on "Privateering in the Revolution", by the late Samuel Roads, Jr.; a first paper on "Fenianism and Fenian Raids in Vermont", by the late Edward A. Sowles (continued in the February number); and the second paper of Rev. W. W. Beauchamp on "The Moravians at Onondaga". In the February number Walter H. Crockett gives some account of Vermont soldiers in the Revolution. Of the "Original Documents", the letter of Colonel William Campbell to Rev. Charles Cummings, dated March 28, 1781, relating to the battle of Guilford Court House, deserves mention.

Messrs. Ainsworth and Company of Chicago announce as forthcoming a new volume on American history by Professor H. W. Caldwell of the University of Nebraska. The book is intended for advanced work in high schools.

Three or four years ago Mrs. Catherine Seipp of Chicago offered a prize of three thousand dollars for the best essay on the history of the German element in the United States, with especial reference to its political, social, moral and educational influence. This prize has now been awarded to Professor Albert B. Faust of Cornell University.

Mr. F. J. Stimson's recently published work, *The Law of the Federal and State Constitutions of the United States, with an Historical Study of their Principles*, embodies a comparative analysis of all the state constitutions. It includes also a chronological table of English social legislation.

The Labor Contract from Individual to Collective Bargaining (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin No. 182, pp. 152), by Margaret A. Schaffner, is stated by the author to be preliminary to a larger study of collective bargaining upon which she is engaged. The present chapters treat the period lying between the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the period of transition from individual to organized industry in the United States. The study is based on documentary materials from a variety of sources, particularly the records kept in the central administrative offices of the labor unions, and also on personal investigations among employers and workmen.

The *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society for December is almost entirely made up of letters from various archives. There are "Letters from the First Catholic Bishop of Charleston, South Carolina" (Dr. John England), 1821-1829; "A Collection of Old Letters from the Archives of Georgetown College" (among them: Bishop Carroll to John Hancock, 1791; Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Washington, 1798); "Excerpts from Letters in the Baltimore Archives" (1800-1812); "Correspondence between the Sees of Quebec and Baltimore" (35 pp., 1811-1848). The paper by Martin I. J. Griffin on "Asylum: a Colony of French Catholics in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, 1794-1800", concluded in this issue, contains a letter from Andrew Jackson to President Monroe, written from Pensacola, August 4, 1821, relating to the appointment of Fromentin as federal judge at Pensacola.

The fifth *Heft* in the *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte*, edited by Professor Karl Lamprecht, is Dr. Ernst C. Meyer's *Wahlamt und Vorwahl in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1908, pp. xxx, 210), a contribution to the constitutional history of the Union, especially to the history of the latest constitutional reforms.

The Macmillan Company are about to publish *The United States as a World Power*, by Professor A. C. Coolidge.

Outline for Review: American History, by Charles Bertram Newton and Edwin Bryant Treat (American Book Company, pp. 109), is one of the series of which the volumes for Greek, Roman and English history have been noticed in previous issues of this journal.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The latest of the Filson Club Publications (no. 23) is *Traditions of the Earliest Visits of Foreigners to North America* (Louisville, John P. Morton and Company, 1908, pp. xxii, 179), by Colonel Reuben T. Durrett, president of the club. The book, which is illustrated with many engravings of Welsh scenery, is chiefly devoted to the traditions respecting the voyage of Prince Madoc and to those respecting the existence of colonies of Welshmen among the Indians of the Middle West. The book cannot be said to have advanced the former subject

beyond the point to which it was carried by Thomas Stephens's book, nor to have made the latter traditions credible by students of philology; but its object is entertainment rather than criticism.

Mr. Ludwig Rosenthal of Munich will publish a facsimile of the rare tract *Epistola Christofori Colom: de insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inventis*, a fine copy of which was recently discovered by him.

The Thirteen Colonies of North America, 1497 to 1763, by Reginald W. Jeffery, is a comprehensive account of our colonial history by an Oxford historian (London, Methuen, pp. 308).

Letters of Cortes: the Five Letters of Relation from Fernando Cortes to the Emperor Charles V. (two volumes), translated and edited, with a biographical introduction and notes compiled from original sources, by Francis A. McNutt, has come from the press of Messrs. Putnam.

Of the proposed volumes of Colonial Entries in the Registers of the Privy Council, the transcript of all the material to be included in the first volume, down to 1688, is now completed.

The John Carter Brown Library has issued in facsimile *Three Proclamations concerning the Lottery for Virginia, 1613-1621*, with an introduction by G. P. Winship.

British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675 (Johns Hopkins University Studies, series xxvi., nos. 1-2-3, pp. 151), by Professor Charles M. Andrews, is a valuable study of a subject hitherto but very inadequately treated. The various commissions, councils, committees and boards appointed in the period named, for the supervision and management of trade, domestic, foreign and colonial, and for the general oversight of the colonies, are carefully studied in regard to both organization and activities. Several documents are printed: Instructions, Board of Trade, 1650; Instructions for the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1670-1672; Additional Instructions for the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1670-1672; Draft of Instructions for the Council of Trade and Plantations, 1672-1674; Heads of Business of Council, 1670-1674.

John Murray of London has published *Quaker and Courtier: the Life and Work of William Penn*, by Mrs. Colquhoun Grant.

Defence of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, by J. H. Moore, has just been issued by Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, Raleigh.

Mr. Sidney George Fisher's *Struggle for American Independence* has now appeared.

Rochambeau: a Commemoration by the Congress of the United States of America of the Services of the French Auxiliary Forces in the War of Independence, prepared by authority of Congress under the direction of the Joint Committee on the Library, by DeB. Randolph Keim, is an attractive volume coming from the Government Printing Office. The work is an outcome of the erection of the Rochambeau

statue in Washington, unveiled in 1902, and some 225 of the 667 pages of the book are devoted to a history of those events. An account of the participation of France in the War of Independence, together with some personal history of Rochambeau, occupies about half of the volume. There are many portraits, and to the whole is appended a list of the works relating to the French alliance, by A. P. C. Griffin.

Professor Max Farrand's elaborate edition of the *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* is in the hands of Messrs. Little, Brown and Company for immediate publication.

The Grafton Press have issued *Andrew Ellicott, his Life and Letters*, by Catharine Van Cortlandt Mathews. Ellicott was employed by the government in 1790 to survey and lay out the city of Washington, and as surveyor-general of the United States was concerned with some important boundary surveys.

The John P. Branch Historical Papers, issued by Randolph-Macon College under the editorship of Professor William E. Dodd, consists this year of a volume of about two hundred pages. Except for an article on General Hugh Mercer, it is occupied with a sketch of John Taylor of Caroline, by Professor Dodd, and a large amount of Taylor's correspondence of the period from 1793 to 1824.

Dr. S. H. Goodnight of the University of Wisconsin has made a study of the influence of Germany upon the cultural development of America in the first half of the nineteenth century, and his work, entitled *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846*, has been issued as *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin No. 188* (pp. 264). More than half of the volume is occupied with a chronological list of the references to periodicals, beginning with the year 1800.

Mr. Gaillard Hunt of the Department of State has written a life of John C. Calhoun, which will be published shortly by George W. Jacobs and Company in their *Crisis* series.

The account of the expedition of Colonel A. W. Doniphan from New Mexico to Chihuahua, 1846-1847, prepared by W. E. Connelley and published by the Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, includes a reprint of the narrative of Captain John T. Hughes, a member of the expedition, which was first published in 1847.

The Life and Letters of George Bancroft, by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, has recently come from the press of Scribner's Sons, and will be reviewed in the next issue of this journal.

The Illinois State Historical Society has issued separately *Abraham Lincoln in 1854*, an address delivered before the society, January 30, 1908, by Horace White.

Professor Henry P. Willis is preparing a volume on Stephen Douglas, to be published by George W. Jacobs and Company in their *American Crisis Biographies*. Professor Walter L. Fleming is preparing a volume on Andrew Johnson for the same series.

Mr. Louis Pelzer, of the State Historical Society of Iowa, is pre-

paring a biography of Augustus Caesar Dodge, the first United States Senator from Iowa and later United States Minister to Spain. The book will appear in the *Iowa Biographical Series*.

The first two volumes of Professor John Bassett Moore's *Works of James Buchanan* (Lippincott) have now appeared.

A third volume of papers relating to the Civil War has just been published by the Maine Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. The papers are for the most part narratives of personal experiences. To mention only a few of them, Major-General J. L. Chamberlain describes the review of the Army of the Potomac at Washington at the close of the war; Major-General Henry C. Merriam contributes an account of the capture of Mobile; and General J. P. Cilley recounts the experiences of the First Maine Cavalry on the morning of the surrender of Appomattox.

The department of history and political science of West Virginia University has projected, under the general title: *West Virginia University Studies in American History*, a series of monographs on American diplomatic history and foreign policy. The first number treats of "Russo-American Relations during the American Civil War", the second and third of "The Alaska Purchase and Americo-Canadian Relations", all by Professor J. M. Callahan.

Gold, Prices and Wages under the Greenback Standard, by Wesley C. Mitchell (University of California Publications in Economics, volume I., Berkeley, the University Press, pp. xv, 627), is an elaborate statistical study of relative prices and wages as influenced by the monetary conditions of the period.

Former Senator William M. Stewart has published through Messrs. Neale of Washington a volume of *Reminiscences*.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The January-March issue of the *Granite State Magazine* contains an article by John C. French entitled "New Hampshire Men at Bunker Hill", and part one of a paper on "The Vermont Grants", by O. D. Clough.

Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis has reprinted from a forthcoming volume of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts a very interesting paper on "John Harvard's Life in America", in which are included many instructive details respecting social and political life in New England in 1637-1638.

The late Judge Mellen Chamberlain's *History of Chelsea*, completed by Miss Jenny Chamberlain Watts and Mr. William R. Cutter in accordance with arrangements previously mentioned in this journal (XIII. 423), has now been published in two volumes by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Associated Publishers of American Records, New Haven, announce a volume by Mr. T. W. Bicknell of Providence, entitled *Sowams*.

Sowams (now Barrington, Rhode Island) was the home of Massasoit and the location of the proprietary founded by Governor Bradford, the Winslows, Captain Myles Standish and others. Mr. Bicknell has discovered the original records in reference to the great sachem and those of the proprietary (1653-1797), and the latter, together with a chapter on proprietary titles, will be the chief feature of the book.

The Life and Times of Samuel Gorton, by Adelos Gorton, bears the imprint of G. S. Ferguson Company, Philadelphia.

Professor William C. Poland of Brown University has printed in a pamphlet an address on *Robert Feke, the Early Newport Portrait Painter, and the Beginnings of Colonial Painting*, which he read before the Rhode Island Historical Society. He would be glad of additional information respecting Feke or his works.

Printers and Printing in Providence, 1762-1907, compiled mainly by William Carroll, has been issued by the Providence Typographical Union.

The life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, by Professor Marion Dexter Learned, is continued in the issue of the *German American Annals* for March and April.

Mr. Richard D. Fisher has presented to the Maryland Historical Society a transcript (105 pp.) of a unique pamphlet in the British Public Record Office: *The Proceedings of the Committee Appointed to examine into the Importation of Goods by the brigantine Good Intent, Capt. Errington, from London, in February, 1770* (Annapolis, 1770). The preparation of the proceedings for the press was entrusted to Ebenezer Mackie, William Paca and Stephen West, the last mentioned, it would appear, being the principal author of the pamphlet.

The Virginia Historical Society has caused the transcripts of letters of Richard Henry Lee, bequeathed to the society by the late Mr. Cassius F. Lee, to be bound or mounted for more secure preservation. Under the auspices of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities the memorial building at Jamestown Island, erected on the site of the church built there about 1617, was on May 13 dedicated, by Bishop Randolph and ministers of various churches, as a place of worship for all denominations.

As indicated in this department of the REVIEW for April the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has now begun the publication of those portions of the "Randolph Manuscript" which have not hitherto found their way into print. The most important document from this collection which appears in the April number of the magazine is "The Last Charter for the Northern Neck" (September 27, 1688). The publication of abstracts and copies from the English records is resumed. Of the letters of Roger Atkinson, 1769-1776, contributed and edited by Dr. A. J. Morrison, that of October 1, 1774, characterizing the Virginia delegates to the Continental Congress, is of especial interest.

The *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library*, volume I., no. 2, issued in April, is a "Finding List of Biography" (pp. 131).

George W. Jacobs and Company have published *The History of Truro Parish in Virginia*, by Philip Slaughter, D.D., edited with notes and addenda by Rev. E. L. Godwin. The work is based on the vestry records of Truro Parish, which had been lost to sight for three quarters of a century and were recovered by Dr. Slaughter.

Mr. Henry A. M. Smith contributes to the January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* a paper on "Charleston: the Original Plan and the Earliest Settlers", accompanied by a reproduction of a copy (made about 1725) of the original plan of Charles Town and by a list of the grantees, two documents rescued some years ago from imminent destruction. In the April issue Mr. Smith has a similar article on Georgetown. The magazine reprints (January) from the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* some letters of John Barnwell, giving an account of the Tuscarora expedition (1712), and continues through both numbers the series of miscellaneous papers and letters of Lafayette to Henry Laurens. The April number resumes the publication of "Abstracts from the Records of the Court of Ordinary of the Province of South Carolina, 1672-1700", and "South Carolina Gleanings in England".

Leaves from my Historical Scrap Book, second series, by Barnett A. Elzas (Charleston, 1908, pp. 42), includes some pages of selections from the index to historical material in the *Courier* which Dr. Elzas has for some time been preparing. This index, we understand, has now been completed. Other matters of interest in this pamphlet are: a "List of Persons Banished from Charles Town by the British in 1781", from the diary of Josiah Smith, Jr.; some reminiscences of Judah P. Benjamin, from the papers of the late Gabriel Manigault; a sketch of John Henry and a speech made by him on a motion for his expulsion from the legislature of North Carolina in 1809.

Mr. G. W. J. De Renne of Wormsloe, Savannah, has printed in two volumes the autobiographical manuscript which Governor Wilson Lumpkin of Georgia left behind him, entitled *Incidents Connected with the Life of Wilson Lumpkin*. The book, which is of great importance to the history of Georgia politics and of the removal of the Cherokees from the state, is privately printed, but some copies are for sale by Messrs. Dodd, Mead and Company.

The True Story of Andersonville Prison: a Defense of Major Henry Wirz comes from the press of the Neale Publishing Company and is the work of J. M. Page in collaboration with M. J. Haley.

The Mississippi Association of History Teachers was permanently organized as an auxiliary of the Mississippi Historical Society on May 1, 1908. This organization was first proposed at the decennial celebration of the Mississippi Historical Society last January. The Historical Society will print and distribute the papers of the Association of History Teachers as a new series of publications. The first issue of the new series will be distributed at an early date.

The Howard Memorial Library has published, in a small number of copies, a little pamphlet of *Notes Gathered from the Archives of the Cathedral Church of St. Louis, New Orleans, Louisiana*, by Rev. Celestin M. Chambon, curate of the cathedral.

The steps taken by the Ohio Valley Historical Conference last November, as mentioned in these pages of the REVIEW in April, have resulted in the organization of the Ohio Valley Historical Association. Mr. E. O. Randall is president and G. L. Martzoff is corresponding secretary. The next annual meeting of the association will be held during the Thanksgiving season of 1908, the place not yet determined.

The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777, is a compilation from the Draper manuscripts, edited by Dr. R. G. Thwaites and Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg. It is understood that a second volume of materials from the Draper collection, relating to the Revolution in this region, is projected.

The September-October number of the *University of Cincinnati Studies* is a monograph of 82 pages on "The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis", by Theodore Thomas Belote. The study is based mainly on the Gallipolis papers in the possession of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

Among the "Selections from the Papers of Governor Allen Trimble" printed in the April number of *The "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly* are letters from Henry Dana Ward, Hiram Ketchum, Luke Tiernan and others, 1831 and 1832, concerning presidential politics, particularly Clay and the Anti-Masonic movement. Of especial interest is a letter from Allen Trimble to Thomas Corwin, April 28, 1840.

Professor Edwin Erle Sparks has edited, and published through the Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, reprints of three rare tracts on the Illinois country, namely, the letters of Birkbeck and Flower concerning the English colony at Albion, Illinois.

The superintendent of public instruction of Illinois has issued a "Circular of Suggestions for School Celebrations" of the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The circular has been prepared by a committee connected with the Illinois State Historical Library and contains, among other things, excerpts from various writings concerning Lincoln, Douglas, and the debates, and also several of the campaign songs of the time.

In the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for May appears the fourth chapter of L. F. Johnson's sketches of early settlements on the south side of the Kentucky River, bearing the general title "Franklin County", to which is added a supplemental chapter by G. C. Downing.

It is encouraging to note that a movement is on foot in Tennessee for the better care and preservation of the state archives and other historical material. The Tennessee Historical Society recently presented to the general assembly of the state an earnest memorial asking for the

creation of a state department of archives and history similar to that established in Alabama, and for the erection of a suitable archives repository. The society offers to turn over its collections to the state to hold in trust and perpetual deposit as soon as the state shall make proper provision for their care and preservation. The society's valuable collections of manuscripts and antiquities are in very unsuitable quarters; the state archives, though some improvement in the care of them has lately taken place, are still in a lamentable condition, and it is to be hoped that the legislature may be induced to take some effective measures for bringing the state into the line of progress in historical matters which many of the Southern States have already adopted.

The *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the year 1907 contains the usual reports setting forth the activities of the society during the year, including descriptions of manuscript and other accessions to the library, and reports from the various local historical societies throughout the state. The most important body of manuscripts received by the society during the year is the papers of the late Henry S. Baird, comprising letters, account-books and miscellaneous documents dating as early as 1819. The papers printed in this volume of the *Proceedings* have, for the most part, been noted as separates in previous issues of the REVIEW. The society has reprinted volume V. of its *Collections* (for the years 1867, 1868 and 1869), which has become somewhat rare. It has lately been trying the experiment of sending out lecturers to its several local auxiliary societies to stir up popular interest in Western history. The state society pays the lecturers, when they are not already on the society's staff, but the local society meets travelling and hall expenses. The trial this spring has been sufficiently successful to warrant the experiment on a larger scale next winter. The society has issued as Bulletin No. 42 a checklist of publications of the society extending from 1850 to 1908, with an index. No. 43 is devoted to local public museums in Wisconsin.

The Financial History of Wisconsin, by R. V. Phelan (University of Wisconsin Bulletin No. 193, pp. 475), is a valuable addition to our literature of state economics. Among the prominent features of Wisconsin's financial history emphasized by the author are: the provisions of the constitution with regard to the state debt, the sale of public lands and the management (or mismanagement) of the funds arising from their sale, the great development of corporation taxes, and tendencies toward centralization in the assessment and levy of local taxes.

In the April issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Mr. Louis Pelzer continues his interesting study of "The History and Principles of the Democratic Party of Iowa". The present paper deals with the period 1846-1857, the period of the first constitution. The *Journal* in this issue contains an autobiographical sketch of John Chambers, second governor of the territory of Iowa.

The article of chief interest in the April number of the *Annals of*

Iowa is a paper on William Pitt Fessenden, by William Salter. The *Annals* prints also a report by Colonel Samuel R. Curtis on operations of Iowa troops in Missouri in June, 1861.

"Amana: the Community of True Inspiration" is the title of a four hundred page book which will soon be issued by the State Historical Society of Iowa. The book deals with the history of the community in Europe and America.

The January number of the *Missouri Historical Society Collections* contains a first installment of a journal kept by Stephen Watts Kearney, of an expedition made in 1820 from "Camp Missouri", near the present city of Omaha, to "Camp Coldwater", near the present cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis. The journal is edited by V. Mott Porter. In the same issue is printed, with extensive annotations, a letter of instructions from Baron Carondelet to Don Carlos Howard, pertaining mainly to the fortification of St. Louis.

The Missouri Historical Review, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, in its issues for April, July and October, 1907, contained copies of documents on file in the office of the secretary of state relating to troubles along the Kansas border during the years 1858, 1859 and 1860, popularly known as the Border Warfare. The principal articles in the April (1908) issue of that periodical are: "The Conquest of St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781", by Clarence W. Alvord; and "Rufus King and the Missouri Compromise", by H. C. Hockett.

An addition to the Carnegie Library building in Oklahoma City is being constructed, at a cost of some \$25,000, expressly for the use of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The legislature of the state has recently made an appropriation to sustain the work of the society.

The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District: a Study in Industrial Evolution, by Benjamin McKie Rastall (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin No. 198, pp. 166), is a somewhat detailed account of the strikes of 1894 and 1903-1904 from first-hand investigations by the author.

By proclamation of the President (April 16) under the authority of section 2 of an Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities, approved June 8, 1906, the following have been established as national monuments: Chaco Canyon, New Mexico (extensive prehistoric ruins); Gila Cliff Dwellings, New Mexico; Montezuma Castle, Arizona; Tonto, Arizona (ruins of cliff dwellings).

Bulletin 35 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is *Antiquities of the Upper Gila and Salt River Valley in Arizona and New Mexico*, by Walter Hough. One hundred and seventy-four different ruins are enumerated, many of them described in some detail and an effort made to reconstruct in outline the culture of the inhabitants, who are supposed to have become extinct before the time of Coronado's expedition.

The Nez Percés since Lewis and Clark, by Kate C. McBeth, is from the press of F. H. Revell Company.

The board of directors of the Oregon Historical Society at its March meeting adopted the initial numbers of a series of leaflets on different phases of Oregon history to be supplied to the pupils of the common schools of the state. The first number will give a sketch of prehistoric Oregon, prepared by Mrs. Ellen Condon McCornack.

The paper of chief importance in the March issue of the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society is "Political Beginnings in Oregon", by Marie M. Bradley. The period treated is that of the provisional government, 1839-1849. There is also in this issue a good sketch, by W. D. Fenton, of Edward Dickinson Baker, soldier in the Mexican War, member of Congress from Illinois, and for a few months before his death, in 1861, senator from Oregon.

We have received the first number (February) of *Enciclopedia Filipina*, a monthly publication devoted to "política, administración, legislación comparada, historia, economía, legislación financiera, sociología". The editor is Felipe G. Calderon. The articles possessing historical interest are: "El Comercio Filipino bajo la Administración Española", by Chester Lloyd Jones of the University of Pennsylvania; "El Cargo de Juez de Paz", by C. S. Lobingier; and "Los últimos Dias del Régimen Español en Filipinos", by Felipe G. Calderon.

The Bureau of Insular Affairs in the War Department is preparing for publication the papers and correspondence of Emilio Aguinaldo, to be published in several volumes.

The twelfth volume of the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, edited by Professor George M. Wrong and Mr. H. H. Langton, has appeared (Toronto, Morang and Company). The extent of the past year's historical output relating to Canada may be judged by the fact that in this volume of 212 pages there are more than one hundred and seventy-five reviews.

A revised, enlarged and illustrated edition of Mr. Henry Kirk's *First English Conquest of Canada; with some Account of the Earliest Settlements in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland* will shortly be published in London by Sampson Low.

Sir John A. Macdonald, by George R. Parkin (Toronto, Morang and Company, *The Makers of Canada* series) has now come from the press.

A work that should prove to be of much interest is Mr. H. A. Cody's *An Apostle of the North: the Life and Memoirs of William Carpenter Bompas*, just published in this country by Messrs. Dutton. Bishop Bompas was the first bishop of Athabasca, 1874-1884, bishop of Mackenzie River, 1884-1891, and first bishop of Selkirk (Yukon), 1891-1906, and carried on his work in a country almost entirely shut out from communication with the rest of the world. An introduction is furnished by the archbishop of Rupert's Land.

La Colombie Britannique: Étude sur la Colonisation au Canada, by Albert Métin, has been brought out in Paris by Colin.

"The Possibilities of South American History and Politics as a

Field for Research", a paper read by Dr. Hiram Bingham before the American Political Science Association at its annual meeting in December, is printed in the February issue of the *Bulletin of the International Bureau of American Republics*. The paper is especially useful for its account of the manuscript and printed sources for South American history to be found in the libraries of the United States.


G. P. Putnam's Sons have published a volume by Professor Bernard Moses entitled: *South America on the Eve of Emancipation; the Southern Spanish Colonies in the Last Half-Century of their Dependence*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: George Louis Beer, *The Early English Colonial Movement*, I. (Political Science Quarterly, March); B. C. Steiner, *The Maryland Charter and the Early Explorations of that Province* (Sewanee Review, April); Horace Kephart, *Pennsylvania's Part in the Winning of the West* (Pennsylvania German, May); William H. Loyd, Jr., *The Courts of Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century Prior to the Revolution* (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, January); *The Courts from the Revolution to the Revision of the Civil Code* (*ibid.*, February); Max Farrand, *The West and the Principles of the Revolution* (Yale Review, May); A. W. Savary, *The Narrative of Colonel Fanning*, concl. (Canadian Magazine, March, April); Frederick T. Hill, *Wall Street during the Revolution* (Harper's Magazine, June); Walter L. Fleming, *Jefferson Davis at West Point* (Metropolitan Magazine, June); John C. Hildt, *John Randolph's Mission to Russia* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Robert W. Neeser, *The Navy's Part in the Acquisition of California* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); Jesse W. Weik, *Lincoln's Vote for Vice-President in the Philadelphia Convention of 1856* (Century, June); Carl Schurz, *President Johnson and his War on Congress* (McClure's Magazine, June); George F. Shrady, M.D., *General Grant's Last Days* (Century, May, June); Woodrow Wilson, *The States and the Federal Government* (North American Review, May); E. W. Kemmerer, *The Progress of the Filipino People toward Self-Government* (Political Science Quarterly, March); Jerónimo Becker, *La Independencia de América* (La España Moderna, January, March, April).

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